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THE

HISTORY

OF

APPIAN

OF

ALEXANDRIA,

IN

TWO PARTS.

THE

First Consisting of the

Punick,
Syrian,
Parthian,
Mithridatick,
} Illyrian,
Spanish, and
Hannibalick
Wars.

THE

SECOND Containing Five BOOKS

OF THE

Civil Wars

OF

ROME.

Made English by *J. D.*

The Third Edition.

LONDON,

Printed for *Abel Roper* at the *Black Boy*, and *Richard Basset* at the *Mitre*, in *Fleet-Street*, and *William Turner* at the *Angel* at *Lincolns-Inn* Back-gate, 1703.

TO HIS

EXCELLENCY

THE

EARL

OF

OSSORY, &c.

May it please your Lordship,

Ould I as truly boast I had perform-ed your Commands in making Appian *English, as I can that I attempted it by your Command, I should with much more confidence (than now I dare) present it to your Lordship: for the least flattering imagination that I were able to make*

this excellent Hiſtorian ſpeak as well, and prove as pleaſing to your Lordſhip in ours, as he does in any other foreign Language, would be apt to create in me a confidence, pardonable only in thoſe who are ſucceſsful in their obedience, and whoſe Performances are equal to their Wiſhes.

But ſince the knowledge of my own weakneſs forbids me to entertain any ſuch thoughts, I come with all humility to lay at your Lordſhips feet not the effects of my well doing, but of my good will; and though I am ſufficiently ſenſible of my want of power to give height to my deſires; yet I reſt ſatisfied in this, that Experience hath taught me, your Lordſhip can never want goodneſs to accept of my intentions. And whilſt you have ſo much of that Heaven about you, I can fear little damage from any Earthly Defects of mine.

And whilſt your Lordſhip is pleaſed to own Appian, *and undertake his protection in this Humble Dreſs of mine, what doubt can I harbour of his finding a happy Reception in the World? You, who have been ſo great an Example of the main ſubject he treats of,* Military Prowеſs; *You, who have ſo ſeaſonably preſſed your ſelf forward,*

both

both in Naval and Land-Service for the Glory of your King and Country, that no Example of Roman Bravery could ever reach to; You, whom if Appian *himself were still alive, he would be proud of the opportunity of exceeding all he has done (in one of his greatest Excellencies) by giving a Character of so illustrious a Worthy.*

For I dare leave it to any impartial Reader of this Age to judge, whether any of his Descriptions of those Hero's, whose Actions he writes, comes not short in many points of what justly might be said of your Lordship, or if any there be (sure I am) none but the two great Scipios *can pretend to claim any Parallel. You like them have unintereſſed fought for your Country, and in this have exceeded them, that when your Glory was already at that height made you the envy of ill men, you still thrust your self into those hazards makes you the Admiration of all that have either Goodness or Honour, which together with your other excellent Qualities deservedly entitles you to that Attribute once given to the Emperour* Titus, *of being,* The Delight of all Humane Kind.

But why should I strive to tell the World what they already know, and what none will dispute with me: 'Tis an

Honour

Honour too great for me, that your Lordship has by laying this Command upon me, given me an occasion to publish the hearty desire I have to acknowledge all your Lordships Favours, and to assume a liberty (few men living but would be proud to share in) of declaring my self,

My Lord,

Your Lordships

Most Humble, most Faithful,

And most Obedient Servant

J. D.

TO THE READER.

THough this Hiſtory be ſo excellent in it ſelf, both as to its Method and Original Style, that it needs no Preface to recommend it, yet ſuch is the invincible power of Cuſtom, that a looſe Sheet muſt be caſt away to uſher it among the people; and I cannot be ſo ſtubborn to diſoblige them in ſo trivial a matter: and though I know it is no purpoſe to ſay any thing of my ſelf, ſince all I can ſay will not ſtop the leaſt cenſure; yet for others ſatisfaction I will ſpeak ſomething of my Author, and this Book, as 'tis his.

He was, though Native of *Alexandria*, a Roman Citizen, and for his exquiſite parts and Learning ſo much reſpected in his time, that he was ſucceſſively Advocate to two Emperours of *Rome*; an Employment which gave him the opportunity of having at his command the prime Records of the Empire, which it is poſſible firſt put him upon compoſing this Hiſtory: for by ſeveral hints in theſe Books of his we find the uſe he made thereof, and eſpecially of the private Memoirs of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, written with his own hand, which he tells us he had ſeen, and whereby poſſibly he was enabled ſo exactly to diſcourſe of thoſe intricate cauſes of diſguſt between young *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, which he does in his Civil Wars, and which poſſibly he had been much more large upon in his Hiſtory of *Egypt*, had not that among others unfortunately been loſt.

For he began his Hiſtory from the Infancy of the Roman State (his firſt Book treating of their Affairs under their Kings) and ſo continued it, not by hudling all their Actions together according to an exact ſeries of time, but by compoſing a particular Book of every great and renowned War in any Province or Country, without intermingling it with the Affairs of any other Country farther than the neceſſity of the Story required, till at length he concluded with the Battel of

Actium,

Actium, and Conqueſt of *Egypt*, which was the laſt Province reduced under the Roman Power, and with which the whole Empire became entirely ſettled in peace under the Government of *Cæſar Auguſtus*.

And certainly all the mighty Actions of ſo great and glorious a people as thoſe of *Rome*, compiled by ſo excellent an Author, muſt needs have been a Work worthy of the World: but whether it were the pleaſure of Fate to make us ſenſible that all things ſublunary are ſubject to decay, or (as the French Tranſlator will have it) a juſt puniſhment from Heaven for the Roman Pride, Avarice, and Cruelty, that no entire Hiſtory of all their prodigious Undertakings ſhould be tranſmitted to Poſterity, this fell under fate of moſt Roman Hiſtories, and of thirty two Books written by *Appian*, nineteen have been eaten up by devouring time, and thirteen only preſerved to our days, *viz.* the *Punick*, *Syrian*, *Parthian*, *Mithridatick*, *Illyrian*, *Gallick* (and that too but a fragment) *Spaniſh* and *Hanniballick* War, with five Books of the Civil Wars, all which are here made Engliſh. True it is, that in the Latine Copy with the *Annot. Var.* there are ſeveral fragmenrs of other Wars managed by the Roman People, but ſo utterly imperfect, that the tranſlating of them would have given little or no ſatisfaction to the Reader.

I have but one thing more to add, that is, notwithſtanding our misfortunes in being deprived of ſo great a part of this noble Hiſtory, we may take occaſion to admire the excellent method and contrivance of *Appian*, his compoſure being ſuch, that though ſo many of his Books are loſt, yet the want of them renders not thoſe left imperfect (as *Livy*, or other Hiſtorians are by ſo much as is left of them) but by taking the whole Affairs of every Country from the firſt dealings the Romans had with them, till ſuch time as they were reduced to a Roman Province, he makes every Book independant, and become a perfect Hiſtory, and withal the Reader not being amuſed, nor his memory confounded by running from one Action to another, nor the Affairs of one people or Nation to another, according to the ſeries of time is not expoſed to the hazard of forgetting what he had before read of a Concern, that breaks of in the middle, to give way to others, as we ſee in many other Hiſtories, but may go on with all Delight imaginable every thing here treated of, being perfect and entire in it ſelf.

THE

THE PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

DEsigning to write a History of the Roman Wars, I judged it convenient to begin it with the Bounds of their Empire. In the first place, the greatest part of those Nations inhabiting the Coasts of the British Ocean pay them obedience; from thence entring into the Mediterranean Sea by the Straits of Gibraltar, *which way soever you cast your eyes, all that you behold of Isles or Ports or Lands, is subject to their Dominion. The first people found on the right hand Coast of that Sea are the Mauritanians or Moors, and after them several other Africans, as far as* Carthage, *and up in the main Land are the* Nomades, *whom the Latines call Numidians, as they call the Country* Numidia. *Continuing onwards on the Sea Coast by the Lybians, as far as the* * Syrtes *on the Coast of* Cyrene, *and* Cyrene *it self. Next them succeed the* Marmarides, *the Hammoniens, and all the people neighbouring upon the* * Palus Marien. *Next them is found that great City which took its name from its Founder,* Alexander, *scituate upon the Confines of* Egypt, *and then all* Egypt *stretching it self up towards the Springs of the* Nile, *as far as the Oriental Æthiopians, and returning to the Sea at* Pelusium, *from whence going along the Coast you find* Syria, Palestine, *and above them a part of* Arabia *on the Banks of the Red Sea. Next to* Palestine *lies* Phœnicia, *above which is the Country of* *Cœlo Syria, *which extends it self as far as* Euphrates. *A little higher are the Palmyrians, environed with sandy Deserts, which likewise extend themselves as far as* Euphrates: *Those which give Bounds to the Syrians are the Cilicians and Cappadocians their Neighbours, with that* Armenia *called the lesser: then follow all those other Nations which submit to the Roman Empire on the* * *Euxine Sea, of which number the Syrians and Cilicians lie upon the Mediterranean. As for the Armenians and Cappadocians, they are on one side bounded by the Pontick Nations, and on the other side joyn those people*

* Or Quicksands.

* This is possibly that which *Herodotus* calls *Palus Tritandis.*

* Or the Lower Syria.

* Now called the Black Sea.

living in the Continent, environed by Armenia Major, *where the Romans levy no Tribute, but only have a right of naming their Kings. Now between the Cappadocians and the Cilicians there is a great* Peninsula *which advances into the Sea, whose right hand Coasts are bounded by the Euxine, Propontick, Hellespout and Ægean Seas, and the left by the Seas of* Pamphylia *and* Egypt, *for all these Seas compose this* Peninsula, *whose Inhabitants towards the Egyptian Sea are the Pamphilians and the Lycians, and after them the Carians, as far as* Ionia: *and those towards the Euxine Sea, the Propontick and Hellespont are the Galatians, Bythinians, Mysians and Phrygians: and those who inhabit the middle parts are the Lydians and Pisidians: so many different Nations within this* Peninsula *submitted to the Roman Rule. Moreover, beyond the Strait on the European side they possessed other Provinces on the Euxine Sea, as* Mysia *and* Thrace, *so far at least as they lay upon that Sea.*

Opposite to Ionia *begins the Gulf of the Ægean Sea, next to it is the Sea of* Ionia, *and then that of* Sicily, *which is followed by the Tyrrhene Sea which reaches to the Pillars of* Hercules. *On the Coasts of all these Seas which extend themselves from* Ionia *to the Ocean, there lie many Provinces of the Roman Empire, as all* Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia, *the remainder of* Thrace, Pannonia *and* Illyria, *and after them* Italy, *which is washed at the bottom of it by the Ionian Sea, passes along the* Tyrrhene, *extending it self as far as* Gaul, *a part of which lies upon the Mediterranean; others are bounded by the Northern Ocean, and some have the* Rhine *for their Frontier. Next follows all* Spain *and* Celtiberia, *which extend themselves along the Coasts of the Northern and Western Ocean to the Pillars of* Hercules.

I shall speak of these people more exactly, as the method I have proposed to follow, shall direct me. But now having described the Bounds of this Empire towards the Sea, entring into the Continent we shall find that part of Mauritania, *which lies upon the Occidental Ethiopians, and after it many Countries of* Africa (*almost uninhabited by reason of the excessive heats and multitude of wild Beasts*) *stretching as far as the Oriental* Æthiopia, *which are the Frontiers of the Roman Empire in* Africa. *As for their Dominions in* Asia *they are bounded by the* Euphrates, *Mount* Caucasus, *and* Colchos, *extending it self to the Euxine Sea, and the remainder of that Sea Coast. In* Europe *its Bounds are the two great Rivers of the* Rhine, *and the* Danube, *of which the* Rhine *loses it self in the Northern Ocean, and the* Danube *in the Euxine Sea, not but that the Roman Dominion extends it self ovr some Germans beyond the* Rhine, *and over the Getes whom they call* Daci, *beyond the* Danube.

These are the Limits towards the Continent, as we after a very curious search have learn'd. Besides which all the Islands in the Mediterranean, as the Cyclades, Sporades, Echinades, Tyrrhenides, Baleares, *and an infinite number of others of different names in the Seas of* Africk, Ionia, Egypt Myrtoe, Sicily, *and our Sea, as likewise those which for their excellence the Greeks call great, as* Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Lesbos, Eubœa, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica: *In short, all their Isles as well great as small, depend upon the Romans. Who moreover having landed their Forces in* Britany, *which is an Island so great, that it seems another Continent, they have conquered the better half, slighting the remainder as not worth their pains: nor indeed does that part they possess yield them any great advantage.*

Though

Though they have now ſubdued ſo many People and Nations, yet were they above five hundred years before they could make themſelves Maſters of all Italy. *Two hundred and fifty years they lived under their Kings, till having expelled them with a ſolemn Oath, never to admit them again, their Common-wealth was governed by the worthieſt Citizens, and by Magiſtrates which they yearly changed, inſomuch, that within two hundred years after the firſt five hundred it was by continual Victories, and the aſſiſtance of Strangers, who from all parts ſought their alliance, increaſed to ſuch a height, that in thoſe times the Romans became Conquerors of a great number of Provinces.*

After which Cæſar *having made himſelf the moſt powerful of the Age he lived in, was ſo near uſurping the Sovereignty, that he left the Romans only the ſhaddow and name of a Common-wealth, whilſt he in effect was become abſolute Maſter of it; inſomuch, that from his time even to this all that great Empire has payed obedience to one ſingle perſon, whom, to avoid the violation of their Oath (according to my opinion) they ſtiled nothing but * Emperour; and indeed the name it ſelf ſeems much more genuine, as being likewiſe common to thoſe who commanded an Army for a time: and yet they are indeed Kings in effect. 'Tis now two hundred years ſince the firſt of thoſe Emperours unto our time, during which, a long and conſtant peace having ſecured their Dominion, the City is become both beautiful and rich. For the firſt mightily added to the Provinces, and reſtrained within bounds of duty thoſe which had a mind to revolt. And in ſhort, very prudently choſe rather to content themſelves with thoſe rich Countries on the Sea Coaſt, and with the well ordering of them, than to ſtretch their Empire* ad infinitum, *over poor and barbarous Nations from whom they could reap no advantage: I my ſelf have ſeen at* Rome *Ambaſſadors who have come expreſly to ſubmit themſelves and their Country to the Roman Empire, whom the Emperour would not accept of, becauſe they could bring nothing to his Coffers; for they give Kings to a multitude of Nations, whoſe Dominions they themſelves deſpiſe, and are at the expence to defend ſundry Provinces, eſteeming it a great diſhonour to deſert thoſe whom they have once taken into their protection.*

* Commander in chief, or General of the Army.

They have always been careful to maintain on their Frontiers mighty Armies, as Guards to this vaſt Empire, which both by Sea and Land they have with ſuch labour and diligence maintained, as if it had been but ſome little Province: nor was ever any Dominion of ſo great extent, and ſo long duration together. For if we conſider Greece *ſince the Reign of* Darius, *which was the time of its beginning of Glory, until* Philip *the Son of* Amyntas *adding to him the Athenians, Lacedemonians and Thebans, there would yet be no compariſon: for the Greeks rather made War about the preheminence of their Cities, than to enlarge their Territory; and the nobleſt of their Actions was but the Defence of their Liberty againſt foreign Princes: for when any of them deſigned to paſs into* Sicily, *in order to any Conqueſt, they ſtill came off with diſhonour; or if at any time in a hoſtile manner they entred* Aſia, *they were forced to a retreat without doing any memorable Action. In ſhort, the Grecian Proweſs, as ambitious as it was, never conquered any thing out of* Greece *which it any long time enjoyed, being contented with preſerving the Liberty of that Country, and the reputation of an invincible valour; but after the time of* Philip *the Son of* Amyntas, *and his Son* Alexander, *their Glory ſeems to me very much diminiſhed: nor had the Empire, founded by them in* Aſia *any thing to equal that eſtabliſhed by the Romans in* Europe, *conſidering the weakneſs and effeminacy of*

the Asiaticks, as may be seen in the progress of this History. For the Romans fought but few Battels to subdue all those Provinces they possessed, though they were defended by Macedonians: but Africa *and* Europe *were gained with mighty labour. Besides, those three great Empires of the Assyrians, Medes and Persians did not (put them altogether) continue nine hundred years, as the Roman Power has done, which subsists to this instant, and yet the extent of those three Empires was less by one half than that of the Romans, if we compare the Bounds of one with the other; for the Roman Empire reached from the Western Ocean, as far as Mount* Caucasus, *the* Euphrates, *and to the Æthiopians that are above* Egypt *to* Arabia: *and in short, even to the Oriental Sea, so that the Ocean were its bounds both Eastward and Westward, whilst all the Mediterranean and those Isles it embraces; and even* *(Britain) *in the Northern Ocean submitted to its Dominion. Whereas the Medes and Persians in those times when they were most powerful at Sea, never had more than the Gulph of* Pamphilia, *with the Island of* Cyprus, *and some small matter on the Coasts of the Ionian Sea, besides the Persian Gulf which is of no great extent. As to the Affairs of the Macedonians before the Reign of* Philip *the Son of* Amyntas, *they were but in a bad condition, having no sure Foundation. True it is, that* Philip *was very happy in all he undertook, but he never waged War out of* Greece, *or the Neighbouring Provinces. At last under* Alexander *that Kingdom was raised to a prodigious and an incomparable height of Greatness, as well for its extent, and the number of its people, as for the expeditious felicity of its Victories; yet was it only like a flash of Lightning, if we consider its short continuance. Not but that after it was divided into several* *Satrapies, *every Province did for a long time afterwards maintain and preserve its primitive splendor. For the Kings of* Egypt *only kept in pay two hundred thousand Foot-men, forty thousand Horsemen, three hundred Elephants trained to the War, two thousand Chariots armed with Scythes, with Arms in store for three hundred thousand Men; and besides all these Land-Forces, had in constant readiness two thousand Shallops, or small Vessels, fifteen hundred Gallies, with all their Furniture, eight hundred tall Ships rigged, and splendidly fitted with all Naval Provisions, and richly gilded both in Poop and Prow, on which they were wont to go to War, that they might appear with the greater pomp. As for Money, they had continually in the Treasury seven hundred and forty thousand Egyptian Talents of Silver, as appears by the Registers wherein these things are recorded, which are producible to this day, and particularly those left by* Alexander's *immediate Successor to the Kingdom of* Egypt, *who of all the Kings was the most exact in his Accounts of his Revenues, most splendid in his Expences, and most magnificent in his Buildings, Most certain it is, there were some other* Satrapies *not much inferiour to this, but they all fell to ruine by the Civil Dissentions of the succeeding Princes, than which no more dangerous Plague can infect a great Estate. But the Roman Empire, because admirable both in its greatness and prosperity, by reason of that long continuance, the product of its Senates prudent deliberations, though the raising of this Estate required an extraordinary vigour, and Spirits capable of undergoing incredible labour and overcoming ten thousand difficulties; for success never made them proud nor presumptuous, till they saw themselves firmly settled: and on the other side, adversity never dismayed them; for not the loss of twenty, nay forty, no, nor fifty thousand Men in one single Battel, not the hazard of an absolute ruine by Plague, Famine, or Sedition, ever made them abate of their Courage; but at last having baffled all imaginable dangers for seven hundred years together, and triumph'd over all those difficulties dayly opposed*

* *England*, not known in the Authors days, but by the name of *Britain*; the name of *England* being brought in by the Angles, a People in *Germany*, called in by the Britains to assist them in their War with the Picts, a People that then possessed that part of the Island called then *Caledonia*, now *Scotland*.

* Lieutenancies, or Vicegerencies.

posed them, they raised their Empire to that height of Glory and Greatness, and at present reap the Fruits of both their good Fortune and Prudence.

Many Authors as well Greek as Latine have wrote of all these things, and indeed the Subject is greater than that of the Macedonian Affairs, though they were in their season possibly more considerable. But for my part, after having well considered the Roman Virtue, that I might make the more contemplative comparison of it with that of other Nations, I have given freedom to my thoughts to wander from one place to another, from Carthage *to* Spain, *from thence to* Sicily *or* Macedonia, *and fancied either an Embassie, or a Commission to succour the oppressed, and thence like a perfect Vagabond (that had nothing else to do) returning either to* Carthage *or* Sicily, *I have collected all things necessary to compose this History: I informed my self how often the Romans sent Ambassadors or Armies into* Sicily, *and of every minute Action they performed there, till they reduced it under that obedience it now acknowledges. I enquired into all Treaties of Peace, or Overtures between one or t'other that had been transacted between the Carthaginians and Roman People, what Wrongs one had done to the other, and what Losses and Overthrows each had received till such time as* Carthage *was demolished, and* Africa *was made a Roman Province; and at last how* Carthage *being rebuilt,* Africa *came into the state we now find it: I have followed the same course through all the other Provinces, led by a curiosity to understand all that the Romans had done of great and glorious, to know the sloth or industry of every Nation, the Virtue and Fortune of this victorious People. And in short, all things worthy recording: and imagining it would be no unpleasant thing to the world to know the Roman History, in this manner I laid my design to write the particular Actions of every Province by themselves, omitting what in those times was done elsewhere, and referring it to its proper place and order. I looked upon it likewise as unnecessary to set down throughout the whole the time when every thing passed, judging it sufficient to observe it in Affairs of most Importance.*

Let me add, that heretofore the Romans had but one name, like other men, in process of time they added another; and it is not long since that some of them took a third, the better to make themselves be known, either by some bodily mark, or some advantageous endowment of mind; so some Greeks likewise to their names added Sirnames. Wherefore I shall sometime make use of all their Names, especially when I am treating of Illustrious Personages, to the intent they may be the better known; but I shall call many, as well of the one as the other, by those names most agreeable to the matter in hand.

For the Order and Method of this History, 'tis taken from the time in which these Wars were begun and ended (notwithstanding there were divers others interfer'd, which are omitted to avoid confusion.) Wherefore the several Books shall take their Titles from the matter, as the Punik, Syrian, Parthian, Mithridatick, Iberian, *and* Hannibal's *War*, &c.

As to the Domestick Seditions, and Civil Wars, we shall treat of them according to the time in which the Authors of them lived, as that of Marius *and* Sylla; *of* Pompey *and* Cæsar; *of* Anthony *and the other* Cæsar, *sirnamed* Augustus, *against the Murderers of the first* Cæsar. *And lastly, the War which the Conquerours made one against another, which is the last Civil War, and during which,* Egypt *fell into the Power of the Romans. Thus the*

Affairs

Affairs with ſtrange Nations, ſhall be divided by each Book, and the Civil Wars by the Chiefs of the Parties.

But who am I that write all theſe things? Many perſons know already, and I my ſelf have declared it, but to declare it yet more publickly. I was born in Alexandria, *of an honeſt Family in my Country: afterwards I lived at* Rome *where I pleaded Cauſes before the Tribunal of the* Cæſars, *till ſuch time as they honoured me with the Quality of one of their* Procuratores. *He that would know more, may learn it from the Books I have wrote on this Subject.*

BRITISH MUSEUM 30 JUL 33

APPIAN

APPIAN OF ALEXANDRIA, HIS HISTORY OF THE Roman Wars IN LYBIA, OR, THE PUNICK WAR.

PART I.

The Argument of this Book.

I. *The Foundation of the City of* Carthage. II. *A brief Recital of the Roman Wars againſt the Carthaginians.* III. *The firſt Punick War where* Attilius *was defeated by* Xantippus. IV. *War of the Carthaginians againſt all the People of* Lybia. V. *The cauſe of the ſecond Punick War.* VI. Scipio *obtains Commiſſion for this War, makes preparation*

and advances into Sicily. VII. *The Carthaginians prepare for defence.* VIII. *The occasion of* Masaniſſa's *diſcontent againſt* Syphax, *and the Carthaginians.* IX. Scipio *lands in* Africa. X. Maſaniſſa *lays an ambuſh for* Hanno. XI. Scipio *beſieges, and takes* Locha. XII. *Five thouſand Africans defeated by* Scipio. XIII. Scipio *beſieges* Utica, *where* Syphax *to gain time propoſes Conditions of Peace.* XIV. Aſdrubal *and* Syphax *deſign to ſurprize* Scipio. XV. Scipio *calls a Council, where he reſolves to prevent his Enemies.* XVI. Scipio *aſſaults* Aſdrubal's *Camp by Night, takes it, pillages it, and kills* 30000 *Men.* XVII. Aſdrubal *upon his defeat is condemned to death by the Carthaginians; but yet rallies his forces.* XVIII. *A Sea-Fight between the Romans and Carthaginians.* XIX. *Battel between* Syphax *and* Maſaniſſa, *where* Syphax *is defeated, and taken Priſoner.* XX. Sophonisba, Syphax's *Wife, ſends her excuſes to* Maſaniſſa, *who receives her, and then poiſons her, to avoid the delivering her up to* Scipio. XXI. Hanno *ſuborns People to ſet fire an* Scipio's *Camp, they are diſcovered, and put to death.* XXII. Scipio *waſting the Country, the Carthaginians conſult about the re-calling of* Hannibal, *yet ſend their Ambaſſadors to* Rome, *to treat of Peace, which is concluded between the two Eſtates.* XXIII. Hannibal *returned to* Africa, *prepares for War, and the Carthaginians break the Peace by pillaging the Roman Ships.* XXIV. Hannibal *undertakes the Charge of the Army, is hardly put to it by* Scipio, *whereupon he ſues for Peace, which is granted him; but the People will not conſent.* XXV. Hannibal *confers with* Scipio, *who forces him at length to give Battel.* XXVI. *The two Generals draw up their Armies in Battalia, and make their Orations to their Souldiers.* XXVII. *The Battel between* Hannibal *and* Scipio, *where* Hannibal *is defeated.* XXVIII. Scipio *approaches* Carthage, *the Citizens ſue for Peace, which is granted on Condition the Senate ratifie it.* XXIX. *The People oppoſe the Peace, yet ſend deputies to* Rome, *where at an Aſſembly of the Senate, the Peace is ratified.* Scipio's *Triumph.* XXXI. *Difference betwixt* Maſaniſſa *and the Carthaginians, in which the Romans concern themſelves.* XXXII. *The great Battel between* Maſaniſſa, *and the Carthaginians, with the ſiege of their Camp by that King, who makes them paſs under the Yoke.* XXXIII. *The Romans laying hold on the occaſion, it is decreed in the Senate to make War upon* Carthage, *and that that City be raſed.* XXXIV. *The Conſuls advance into* Sicily, *whither the Carthaginians bring them three hundred of their children for Hoſtages.* XXXV. *From* Sicily *they paſs to* Utica, *where the Carthaginians yield up their Arms.* XXXVI. *The Conſuls declare to the Deputies, the Senates reſolution, touching the demoliſhing of* Carthage. XXXVII. Hanno's *Oration to the Conſuls to move them to compaſſion.* XXXVIII. Cenſorinus *Anſwer.* XXXIX. *The Carthaginians hearing the News, in deſperation prepare for War.* XL. *Deſcription of the City of* Carthage. XLI. *The beginning of the ſiege.* XLII. *A noble Act of* Scipio's, *yet but Tribune.* XLIII. *Death of* Maſaniſſa, *whoſe Goods are divided among his Children by* Scipio, *the Executor of his Will.* XLIV. Scipio *draws* Phameas *to the Roman Party, they go both to* Rome, *and are magnificently received.* XLV. Calphurnius Piſo, *and* L. Mancinus, *come to command the Army, who ſpend the Summer without doing any thing.* XLVI. *The Carthaginians take heart and contemn the Romans.* XLVII. Scipio *choſen Conſul, he comes to* Utica, *where he finds* Mancinus, *and the Army in great danger, from which he diſ-engages them.* XLVIII. *He reeſtabliſhes Diſcipline in the Army.* XLIX. *He takes the place of* Megara. L. *He ſeizes on the Neck of the* Peninſula, *where he fortifies himſelf, and by*

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by that means brings a Famine into the City. LI. *He blocks up the Port of* Carthage *with a dam, and the Carthaginians open another paſſage on the other ſide, at which they iſſue out with a great number of ſhips.* LII. *A Sea-fight with almoſt equal loſs.* LIII. Scipio *ſiezes on the great Plat-form, or Bulwark before the Walls.* LIV. *He takes and pillages the Camp before* Nephere, *and makes himſelf Maſter of all the Plain-country of* Lybia. LV. *He takes the City, and thoſe in the Citadel ſubmit, ſave only the Run-aways with* Aſdrubals *Wife.* LVI. *He ſends the News to* Rome, *and after having given all neceſſary Orders in* Africa, *returns to* Rome, *which he enters in triumph.*

THE Phenicians built *Carthage* in *Africa*, fifty years before the ſack of *Troy*. It was Founded by *Xorus*, and *Carchedon*, or as the Romans, and indeed the Carthaginians themſelves, will have it, by a Tyrian Lady called *Dido*, who (her Husband being privily murdered by *Pygmaleon* Tyrant of *Tyre*, which was revealed to her in a Dream) conveyed aboard all the Treaſure ſhe could, and ſhipping her ſelf with ſome Tyrians that fled from the Tyranny, came to *Lybia*, to that place where now *Carthage* ſtands; and upon the people of that Countries refuſal to receive them, they demanded for their Habitation only ſo much Land as they could compaſs with an Oxe-hide. This propoſition ſeemed ridiculous to the Africans, and they thought it a ſhame to refuſe Strangers a thing of ſo ſmall conſequence; beſides they could not imagine how any Habitation could be built in ſo ſmall a patch of ground, and therefore that they might have the pleaſure to diſcover the Phenicians ſubtilty, they granted their requeſt. Whereupon the Tyrians taking an Oxe-hide, cut it round about, and made ſo fine a Thong, that they therewith encompaſſed the place where they afterwards built the Citadel of *Carthage*, which from thence was called * *Byrſa*. Soon after by little and little extending their limits, and becoming ſtronger then their Neighbours, as they were much more cunning, they cauſed Ships to be built to traffick on the Sea after the manner of the Phenicians, by which means they built a City adjoyning to their Citadel. Their power thus encreaſing, they became Maſters of *Lybia*, and the circumadjacent Sea; and at laſt making War upon *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and all the Iſlands of that Sea, and even in *Spain* it ſelf, they ſent thither Colonies, till at length from ſo ſmall a beginning, they formed an Eſtate comparable in Power to that of the Greeks, and in Riches to that of the Perſians. I.

* Byrſa *in Greek ſignifies a Hide.*

But about ſeven hundred years after the Foundation of *Carthage*, the Romans won *Sicily* from the Carthaginians, and after that *Sardinia*, and at length in the ſecond Punick War, *Spain* it ſelf. After which theſe Nations being in continual War, the Carthaginians under the command of *Hannibal* waſted *Italy* for ſixteen years together, till ſuch time as the Romans commanded by *Cornelius Scipio* the Elder, deprived them of their power, taking from them their Ships, and Elephants, and forcing them to pay Tribute; whereupon a ſecond Peace was concluded between theſe two People. This laſted fifty years, after which began the third and laſt Punick War, in which the young *Scipio* being General of the Romans, *Carthage* was utterly ruined, and ſtrict prohibition made of Rebuilding it. Howe- II.

ver, the Romans founded another Town in a place near adjacent, which they made choice of for the greater conveniency of keeping the Africans in subjection. Now because in our History of *Sicily*, we have already set down all the memorable acts of the Carthaginians there, and in that of *Spain*, what passed in that Country, as likewise in that of *Hannibal*, all the actions of that Captain in *Italy*, we have resolved in this Book to write only what was done in *Lybia*, after the beginning of that War which succeeded that of *Sicily*.

III. When therefore the War of *Sicily* was ended, the Romans armed three hundred and fifty Ships, with which they made a descent into *Lybia*; where after having reduced some Cities under their obedience, they left *Attilius Regulus* to command the Army. This General gained the Romans two hundred Cities more, which surrendred to him, being weary of the Government of *Carthage*; and pressing forward his Conquests, he spoiled their Territories, even to their very Gates. After all these losses, which the Carthaginians believed happened to them only for want of good Generals, they demanded one from the Lacedemonians, who sent to them *Xantippus*. *Attilius* was now encamped near the Fens of *Lybia*, from whence upon Intelligence of this Captain's arrival, he advanced towards the Enemy; but having taken his march along the Edge of the Marshes, and in the greatest heats of Summer, his Souldiers were grievously incommoded by the weight of their Arms, by thirst, heat, labour, and the darts thrown on them, from the Mountains; yet though they marched in this condition all the day, coming towards the Evening to a River, which now only separated the two Armies; he forthwith made his Men pass over, believing it would strike a terrour into *Xantippus* his Army. The Lacedemonian on the other side, judging it would be no hard matter to overcome people harassed in that manner, besides that he had the night to favour him, presently drew up his Army in order and advanced to charge *Attilius*. In which he was not deceived, for of thirty thousand Men that composed the Roman Army, a few only saved themselves in the City of *Aspides*, all the rest were slain or taken Prisoners, and the General himself fell into the Enemies hand. Yet this advantage obstructed not the Carthaginians, tyred with the War, from sending Ambassadors to *Rome* to demand Peace, and *Attilius* himself went upon Parol, to return himself a Prisoner if he obtained it not. And yet this Captain when he came to confer with the prime Men of *Rome*, was so far from inclining them to Peace, that he perswaded them to continue the War; and without doing ought else returned to *Carthage*, resolved to suffer the utmost of their torments, and indeed the Carthaginians shut him up in a Cask driven full of sharp Nails, where he ended his Life most miserably. However, this good success was the cause of *Xantippus* his death, for the Carthaginians fearing lest all the honour of the Victory would be attributed to the Lacedemonians, feigned a gratification of their General, making him magnificent Presents, and sending him back in Galleys of their own, but with orders to the Commanders of them, that as soon as they came into the open Sea, they should throw *Xantippus* and the Lacedemonians over-board; so unhappy a recompence did this valiant Man receive for so brave an Action. And this is all that was done considerable in the first Punick Wars till such time as the Carthaginians quitted to the Romans all their Rights in *Sicily*; Now we have in our Sicilian History set down in what manner this Treaty was made, therefore shall say no more here.

here. It will be sufficient to understand that by this means Peace was concluded between the People of *Rome* and *Carthage*.

IV. Afterwards the Africans who were subject to the Carthaginians and assisted them against *Sicily*, and the *Celtes* who served under their pay in that War, complaining that the promises made them had not been performed, declared War against them, which obliged those of *Carthage* to demand aid from the Romans as their friends, from whom notwithstanding they could obtain no more, save a permission to levy Souldiers in *Italy* at their own Charge: for and indeed by the Articles of the Treaty they could not require so much as that favour; how be it the Romans sent deputyes into *Africa* to determine the difference, and make Peace between these people. But the Africans would by no means hearken to it, offering rather to submit themselves to their government if they desired it, which however they would not accept: this was the reason that made the Carthaginians fit out so powerful a Fleet to revenge themselves on these Revolters, that the Sea being no longer left open to the Lybians; by which they might fetch in Provisions, and the land being left untill'd by reason of the Wars, they were reduced to such great scarcity, as inforced them to return under the Carthaginians obedience.

V. This mighty Fleet not only pillaged the Lybians but even all they met with, and the Romans themselves, whom they threw over-board after they had rifled them, that it might not come to be known at *Rome*, and indeed it was a long time ere these crimes were discovered, and when they were, the Carthaginians seemed very averse to the giving satisfaction, till such time that War being by the Romans declared against them they quitted *Sardinia* in reparation of this injury. And this Article was added to the first treaty of Peace. Sometime after the Carthaginians sent an Army into *Spain* to reduce it under their obedience, and because they assailed those People separately, they had already well advanced their Conquests: When the Saguntines had recourse to the Romans for aid: Hereupon the Carthaginians made a second Treaty, by which they were bound not to Act any Hostilities beyond the River *Iberus*, but this Treaty was soon broken, for *Hannibal* past that River, and leaving the Forces in *Spain* under the Command of other Captains came thundring into *Italy* with a Mighty Army. The Romans had at this time in *Spain*, *Publius Scipio* and his brother *Cneus Cornelius*, who after having gained sundry Victories, were slain by the Enemy. Those who succeeded them had no better success, until *Scipio* the Son of that *Publius* who was kill'd in *Spain* being commanded thither with an Army, all the world looked upon him as a man sent by the Order of Heaven, and guided by a Divine Spirit, so great and glorious were his Actions. At last having gain'd much Honour and Renown, he delivered up the Army into their hands whom the Senate had appointed to succeed him.

VI. Being returned to *Rome* he demanded Commission to pass into *Africa* with an Army, promising himself both to oblige *Hannibal* to quit *Italy*, and to force reason from the Carthaginians in their own Country. Many who had the highest charges in the Commonwealth disliked the project, alleging there was little appearance of doing any good by sending an Army into *Africa*, and quitting *Italy*, already by the Wars reduced almost to extremity, whilst *Hannibal* raged with Fire and Sword, and *Hanno*

was

was coming to fall on them with great multitudes of Ligurians and Celtes. But the oppoſite party argued that it might well be believed that the Carthaginians who attempted not the Conqueſt of *Italy*, but becauſe they feared nothing at Home, would ſoon recal *Hannibal* when they ſaw War at their own Doors, this opinion prevailed, but upon condition that *Scipio* ſhould make no levies in *Italy* ſo long as *Hannibal* was in Arms, but if any Volunteers preſented themſelves he might make uſe of them as likewiſe of the Army of *Sicily*; they likewiſe permitted him to take for his paſſage ten of their Gallies ready fitted, with all thoſe that he could find in *Sicily*, yet without furniſhing him with any Mony, but what himſelf could raiſe among his private friends, ſo mean opinion had they of this enterpriſe which afterwards proved of ſuch mighty importance. But *Scipio* who ſeem'd carried to *Carthage* by ſome Divine Power, tranſported himſelf into *Sicily* with only about ſeven thouſand Horſe and Foot, out of all which he choſe three hundred of the moſt ſtrong and comely youth for a guard to his Perſon; he would not arrive them in *Italy*, but as ſoon as he arrived in *Sicily* he commanded a like number of the richeſt of the Iſland to appear at a certain place with the faireſt Arms and beſt Horſes they could procure; And as ſoon as they were come gave them leave to put other Perſons in their places, which being accepted by the Sicilians he preſented to them his three hundred young men commanding them, to give them their Arms and their Horſes, which they willingly conſented to, thus, inſtead of three hundred Sicilians, *Scipio* mounted and armed his three hundred Italians, who could not but give him thanks for ſuch a favor and indeed did afterwards ſerve him Excellently well in many occaſions.

VII. As ſoon as the Carthaginians underſtood theſe things they gave Commiſſion to *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco* to aſſemble Elephants and ſent to *Mago* who was then raiſing Forces in *Liguria*, ſix thouſand Foot, eight hundred Horſe and ſeven Elephants with Orders forthwith to enter * *Hetruria* with all the force he could make, hoping to oblige *Scipio* to quit his deſign on *Lybia*. *Mago* was not over-quick, in the Execution of theſe Orders, whether it were that he could not joyn with *Hannibal*, who was far diſtant, or that he foreſaw a troubleſome event of the Enterpriſe. *Aſdrubal* upon his return from the Chaſe of the Elephants, levies upon the Lands of the Carthaginians and Lybians, ſix thouſand Foot and eight hundred Horſe, he buys likewiſe five thouſand ſlaves for the Gallies, and the Numidians furniſhed him with two thouſand Horſe, beſides ſome Foreign Mercenary Troops, ſo that having aſſembled an Army compoſed of ſundry Nations, he brought them about two hundred Furlongs from the City and there excerciſed and trained them.

* *Tuſcany.*

VIII. There were at preſent in *Numidia* divers Kings whoſe Eſtates were ſeparate, among whom *Syphax* held the firſt degree. *Maſſaniſſa* Son to the King of the Maſſeſulians a Warlike People, was likewiſe very conſiderable, and was withal ſo comely of perſon and active of mind that *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Giſco* one of the principal men of *Carthage* deſired him for his ſon in law though he were a *Numidian*. As ſoon as the Marriage was agreed upon, that young Prince went to make War in *Spain*; but *Syphax* who was in love with the Lady, mad that ſhe was engaged to another, with an Army invades the Carthaginians Lands, and promiſes *Scipio*

(who

(who came out of *Spain* to confer with him) that if he would assault *Carthage* he would joyn Arms with him; which was the reason that the Carthaginians, who knew well of what importance *Syphax* would be to them in this War, gave him *Masanissa's* Mistress in Marriage without either his or *Asdrubals* own knowledg; for they were both together in *Spain*. That young Prince receiving advice of the affront done him, so much resented it, that to revenge himself he entered into a secret alliance with *Scipio*, which yet could not be kept so private but it came to *Asdrubals* knowledge, who though he were much troubled at the injury done to this Lover and his Mistress, yet he believed he was bound to prefer the publick good to his private resentment, and therefore to make away *Masanissa*. To which end, when this Prince was upon return from *Spain* to take possession of his Fathers Kingdom, lately dead, he gave him some Horse to accompany him, with Orders to destroy him, in what manner soever it were; but the King suspecting their design, withdrew himself privily out of their hands, and went to seise upon his Fathers Kingdom, which after he had got possession of, he drew together a flying wing of people accustomed to fight by night as well as by day and to charge and retreat in a marvelous manner: for so they make war in *Numidia*, where the men easily endure hunger, live on herbs instead of bread, and drink only water, and where the Horses never eat Oats but feed only on Straw and Grass, and drink but seldom. *Masanissa's* Army was composed of twenty thousand men of this temper, with whom he made strange incursions, spoiling the Neighboring Provinces out of design to keep his men in Exercise. These preparations made both the Carthaginians and *Syphax*, who had been complices in the affront put upon the young Prince, believe they were made only to serve against them, wherefore they resolved to prevent him, making account that after they had defeated him, they would go meet the Romans. They had a far greater Army then he, & carried along with them great quantities of Baggage and Waggons, loaden not only with things necessary but voluptuous, on the contrary *Masanissa* was in all labor an Example to his Souldiers; Among all his Cavalry there was no loads either of Provision or Baggage, so that having nothing to hinder them, sometimes they made a retreat, sometimes they charged the Enemy, and then again retired into places strong by Situation. If sometimes he perceived himself pressed too hard upon, he gave order to his people to save themselves as they best could, and in the mean time kept himself concealed only with a few, till such time as all returning by day or by night, they were again assembled at the place by him appointed for their Rendezvouz. Nay sometimes it hapned, that he hid himself only with two horsemen in a Cave, about which the enemy lay encamped, and that without being discovered. And it was indeed his principal care that the enemy should not know the place of his retreat, that they might never be able to assail him, but alwaies be forced to stand upon their own defence, As for provision he gave himself not much trouble, still furnishing himself by nightly surprises and whether it were Village, Town or City, he plundered all, dividing the Prey among his Companions. For which reason many Numidians flocked to him, not for pay, for he had none established, but for booty which was more worth then pay.

IX. Whilst, *Masanissa* thus made war against the Carthaginians, *Scipio* had perfected his preparations in *Sicily*, so that having sacrificed to *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, he set sayl for *Affrica* with two and fifty long Ships, four hundred

hundred Ships of burthen, and a great number of Barks and Shallops: his forces were compoſed of Sixteen thouſand foot and Six hundred horſe, and with them he brought great ſtore of Arms and Engines of War. *Syphax* and the Carthaginians having advice of his coming reſolved to make a diſſembled peace with *Maſaniſſa*, and to patch up things with him until ſuch time as they had defeated *Scipio*. But well he knew their deſign, and that he might pay them in their own Coyn, (having firſt ſent advice to *Scipio*) he comes to find out *Aſdrubal* with his whole body of horſe as if he had been indeed reconciled. It was near unto *Utica* that *Aſdrubal*, *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa* were incamped ſeparately, and *Scipio* having been driven by the winds on that Coaſt, was likewiſe encamped near unto *Aſdrubal*, who had twenty thouſand foot, ſeven thouſand horſe, and twenty ſeven Elephants. Whether *Syphax* were afraid, or that he had a mind to betray all parties, he feigned that his Neighbors had invaded his Kingdom, and under pretence to go and defend it, left the others.

X. *Scipio* in the mean while having reduced ſome Cities under his obedience, ſent daily out ſome of his people to skirmiſh, that he might draw *Aſdrubal* to a battel, which yet he deſpaired to do, when *Maſaniſſa* by night comes ſecretly to his Camp, where after ſome Civilities paſſed on either ſide, he adviſes him to place the next morning five thouſand men in Ambuſh, about thirty furlongs from *Utica*, near the tower of *Agathocles*, formerly Tyrant of *Syracuſa*; And about break of day he perſwades *Aſdrubal*, to ſend *Hanno* who commanded the horſe, to take a view of the *Roman* forces and throw himſelf into *Utica*, leſt the enemy lying ſo near, thoſe inhabitants ſhould revolt, offering himſelf to follow and ſecond him, if *Aſdrubal* thought it convenient. *Hanno* hereupon took the field with a thouſand choſen Carthaginian horſe, and ſome Lybians, *Maſaniſſa* with his Numidians followed: But when they were on the right hand of the Tower, *Hanno* with a few of his people having already taken the way towards *Utica*, a part of thoſe who lay in Ambuſh appeared, which gave opportunity to *Maſaniſſa* to adviſe him, whom *Hanno* had left to command the *Carthaginian* horſe to charge, as if the Enemy had been but an inconſiderable number, and he himſelf followed under pretence of ſeconding him. The Africans hereupon advancing, the reſt of the Ambuſh appeared, and now were theſe unfortunate people encloſed on all ſides, and as well by the Romans as by *Maſaniſſa* himſelf cut all in pieces, ſave only four hundred which were taken Priſoners. After this defeat he poſts after *Hanno*, and coming up him as if he had been his friend, arreſts him and carries him priſoner into *Scipio*'s Camp, and afterwards exchanged him for his Mother who was in *Aſdrubal*'s hands.

XI. After that *Scipio* and *Maſaniſſa* were joyned together, they pillaged the whole Country, and delivered from bondage thoſe Romans which they found in Fetters, deſtined to toyl and ſlavery, and who had been ſent thither by *Hannibal* from *Spain*, *Sicily* and even from *Italy* it ſelf. Afterwards they laid Siege before a great City called *Locha*, where they found great difficulties; yet at length it hapned that as they were bringing the Ladders to the Walls, reſolved to take it by Storm, the inhabitants by a Herauld demanded that they might have permiſſion to march out of the Town, with their Arms and Baggage; whereupon *Scipio* cauſed the Retreat to be ſounded. But the Souldiers angred at the miſeries they had undergone in the ſiege, would not obey, but ſcaled the walls, killing

ling all they met with and ſparing neither ſex nor age; The General ſent away without ranſom all that were ſaved, and as a puniſhment of their diſobedience, he took away all the plunder from the Souldiers, and cauſed thoſe Officers, were the cauſe of it, to caſt Lots for their lives, in the ſight of the whole Army, of whom three only he condemned to death, to whom fortune was not favorable.

XII. Being returned again to waſt the Country, *Aſdrubal* laid a plot to ſurprize him, and to effect it, gave Order to *Mago* who Commanded his horſe, to charge him in the Front, whilſt he another way fell in upon the Rear. The Romans finding themſelves thus engaged in the midſt of their Enemies, divided their Army, likewiſe into two parts, and *Scipio* and *Maſaniſſa* commanding each their body, cut in pieces five thouſand Africans, took eighteen hundred Priſoners and purſued the reſt ſo cloſe, that many of them tumbled headlong down the ſteep Rocks.

XIII. Some days after *Scipio* beſieged *Utica* by Sea and by Land, and having joyned two Gallies together, built Towers upon them, from whence he caſt into the City Darts and Stones. Thus he did ſome damage to the inhabitants; but he received likewiſe by the loſs of ſome ſhips. Mean while in the Siege by land they raiſed great platforms near the walls on which they planted batteries and with great * hooks ſtrove to pull down the rampire. The inhabitants on the other ſide undermined the beſiegers works by paſſages under ground, tumbling them down as faſt as they raiſed them; they twined aſide the hooks with Ropes, ſo that they could take no effect; they oppoſed to the Rams great Timbers or Booms which received the blow without endamaging the walls, and when the wind blew towards the Engines they darted out fire-brands to burn them. Inſomuch that *Scipio* out of hopes to take the City by this way of fighting, reſolved to carry it by aſſault, when *Syphax* having intelligence of his deſign advances his Army, and encamps near *Aſdrubal*. He declares himſelf a friend to both parties; But it was only to gain ſo much time, till thoſe other Ships then building for the Carthaginians were in a readineſs, and the Souldiers raiſed in *Gaul* and *Liguria* arrived. He would likewiſe have become a Mediator between the two Eſtates and propoſed a Treaty, the Conditions of which were, that the Carthaginian Army ſhould return out of *Italy*, and the Romans depart out of *Lybia* and for the reſt that *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and the other Iſles that had belonged to the Carthaginians, together with *Spain*, ſhould remain entire to the people of *Rome* making his proteſtation that if either of the parties refuſed to conſent to theſe propoſitions he would joyn with the other; In the mean time he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to gain *Maſaniſſa*, promiſing to ſecure to him the Kingdom of the Maſſeſuliens, and to give him in Marriage which of his three daughters he deſired. His agent that came to *Maſaniſſa* with theſe offers brought ſtore of money along with him, to the end that if he could obtain nothing from him he might corrupt ſome of his Domeſticks to Murder him, and accordingly not being able to gain him, before his return, he gave Mony to one of that Princes followers, who promiſed him to execute the treaſon; but when he had received the ſumm diſcovered it to his Maſter who puniſhed the ſuborner. Whereupon *Syphax* ſeeing all his Artifices fail declared himſelf openly for the Carthaginians, and having by means of a Traytor taken a City in the plain Country called *Tholon*, where the Romans had great

* *The* Greek *calls them, ſcyths, and indeed they did call theſe ſort of hooks, ſcyths which they made uſe of in the ſame manner as they did the Rams, only the Rams beat the Walls inwards, and the Scyths pull'd them outwards, and for the word rampier the Greek ſays, the hides and other coverings, there is a like deſcription in the ſeventh Book of* Cæſar's *Commentaries in the Siege of* Bourges.

ſtores of Ammunition and Proviſion, he put to the Sword all the Garriſon who refuſed to yield to him.

XIV. A great recruit of Numidians being come and the Gaules and Ligurian Souldiers arrived with thoſe ſhips the Carthaginians had fitted out, they reſolved to fight. *Syphax* returned to the ſiege of *Utica*. *Aſdrubal* encamped near to *Scipio*, and the Carthaginian fleet came to Anchor directly againſt the other, to the end they might fall on all at a time, and ſo that the Romans being much fewer in number and ſeparate the one from the other, might not be able to ſuſtain the power of their enemies. *Maſaniſſa* having advice of this deſign from ſome Numidians, went and communicated it to *Scipio*, who without any delay (judging that if his Army were thus divided they would not be ſtrong enough to ſtand the ſhock) the ſame night aſſembled the Council, and when he ſaw they loſt time without reſolving any thing, he thus ſpoke to his Captains.

XV. *Certainly Gentlemen, there is a neceſſity in this occaſion both of great Courage and Diligence, and we muſt reſolve to fight like deſperate men. We muſt ſtrive how to prevent our enemies, and behold now the advantage we ſhall gain by it. This unexpected aſſault will ſtrike a terror into them, and ſince we are the fewer in number, by charging them with all our forces joyned together, we ſhall not have to deal with all our enemies, but only with thoſe we ſhall firſt attempt, ſince their Camps are ſeparate one from the other: thus we ſhall be equal in number and ſurpaſs them in good fortune and bravery. If God give us victory over the firſt we will ſcorn the other. If therefore you approve my opinion I will tell you in a few words which of three Armies we ſhall firſt aſſault, in what manner we are to act, and when to begin.* As ſoon as they had all given their approbation of this advice. *It is time,* ſaid he, *to put in Execution our deſign as ſoon as we have made an end of this conference. Whilſt it is night and dark, the fight will ſeem more dreadful to our enemies, and we ſhall find them leſs prepared; beſides the obſcurity will hinder them from being able to ſuccour one another, and in this manner we ſhall prevent this deſign they have of aſſailing us to morrow. Now as they are three Armies, that at Sea is diſtant, and it is not poſſible to aſſault ſhips by night;* Aſdrubal *and* Syphax *are not encamped far from each other,* Aſdrubal *is the Principal Chief, and* Syphax *barbarous, effeminate and fearful as he is, will never undertake any thing in the dark; Wherefore let us make an attempt upon* Aſdrubal *with all our Forces, and place* Maſaniſſa *in Ambuſh againſt* Syphax, *if by chance and contrary to our belief he ſhould come to aſſiſt the other. Let us march with our foot directly to* Aſdrubal's *Camp and ſtorm it couragiouſly on all ſides, till we have forced his trenches. As for the Horſe ſince they are not fit for this night ſervice, We will place them on the Avenues of the enemies Camp, that if by misfortune we be repulſed they may ſupport and favour our Retreat, and if we gain the advantage they may purſue and deſtroy the flyers.* Having finiſhed this diſcourſe he gave order to his Captains forthwith to draw their Souldiers to Arms, whilſt he ſacrificed to Courage and Fear, that none might in the night be terrified, but on the Contrary the whole Army bear themſelves couragiouſly in the Enterpriſe.

XVI. About the third watch the Trumpets ſounded a dead march and all the Army advanced towards *Aſdrubal*'s Camp without making the leaſt noiſe till ſuch time as the Horſe had ſeized the Avenues, and the foot were upon the Ditch. Then was there raiſed among them a terrible noiſe of confuſed

confuſed voices mixed with Trumpets, the more to affright the enemy, and therewith falling on, they beat back the guards, fill'd up the trench, pull'd down the Paliſadoes, and ſome of the boldeſt preſſing forwards began to ſet fire on the Tents. The Africans full of confuſion take their Arms between ſleep and waking, and endeavor to draw into a battel, but the tumult was ſo great they could not hear the voices of them that Commanded, and their General himſelf knew not the cauſe of the Alarm. The Romans thronged in among theſe people whom they found in diſorder and ill Armed, ſetting all before them on fire, and putting all they met with to the Sword; Their ſhouts, the ſight of them, and their fierceneſs, ſtroke terror into theſe miſerable people, and the night and the incertainty of the danger increaſed it, ſo that believing all their Camp was abſolutely taken, fearing to be involved in the general ruine they thronged in crouds towards the plain, where they thought they might be in more ſecurity, and every one taking his own way they fell into the hands of the horſemen, who made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter, *Syphax* heard this great noiſe in the night and ſaw the flames, but ſtirred not out of his Camp, only ſent ſome Troops of Horſe to aſſiſt *Aſdrubal* who falling into *Maſaniſſa*'s Ambuſh were all cut of; When at break of day *Syphax* underſtood that *Aſdrubal* was fled, that all his Army were either ſlain, taken, or ran away, that his Camp with all his munition of war was in the Romans poſſeſſion, he deſerted all, retiring farther up into the Continent, out of fear leſt *Scipio* returning from the Chaſe of *Aſdrubal* ſhould turn his Arms againſt him, leaving his Camp and all it's furniture as a prey to *Maſaniſſa*. Thus at one ſtroke in leſs then a night the Romans took two Camps and routed two Armies beyond compariſon greater than theirs. The vanquiſhers loſt about one hundred Souldiers, and the vanquiſhed about thirty thouſand, beſides two thouſand four hundred that were taken Priſoners, and ſix hundred Horſe that came to ſubmit themſelves to *Scipio* upon his return from the Victory, as for the Elephants they were all either wounded or killed, *Scipio* having gained in this battel great quantity of Arms, Gold, Silver, Ivory and Horſes, as well Numidian as others, and beholding the Carthaginian forces ruined by this great victory, diſtributed part of the booty among his Souldiers, ſent whatever was moſt precious to *Rome*, and began to Exerciſe his Army in Labor and Travel, expecting *Hannibal*, who was ere long to return from *Italy*, as was likewiſe *Hanno* from *Liguria*.

XVII. *Aſdrubal* General of the Carthaginians having been wounded in this nights battel, ſaved himſelf with five hundred Horſe at *Anda*, where he rallyed ſome Mercenaries, and ſome fled Numidians, and gave liberty to all ſlaves that would bears Arms, and at length underſtanding that his Citizens had condemned him to death for his ill Conduct in this War, and that they had made *Hanno* the Son of *Bomilcar* his Succeſſor, he took a reſolution to keep himſelf with this Army, which conſiſted of three thouſand Horſe and eight thouſand Foot, beſides a great Number of Criminals that reſorted to him, with which he marched through all places where he had any hopes to get proviſions, inuring them to hardſhip, having prepared himſelf to periſh if he could not overcome, which was a long time unknown as well to the Romans as Carthaginians.

XVIII. Mean while *Scipio* marched at the head of his Army to the very Walls of *Carthage*, where he preſented battel to the Citizens, but they would

would not accept it. But *Amilcar* their Admiral went with one hundred Ships to the Port where *Scipio*'s Fleet lay, believing that before *Scipio* could return he ſhould eaſily defeat twenty Roman Gallies with his hundred Ships. But *Scipio* having intelligence of his Deſign ſent his Orders before to block up the Ports mouth with Ships of burthen, which they ranged before it at Anchor, in ſuch manner that there were paſſages left for the Roman Gallies to Sally out when they ſaw an advantage, and yet theſe great Ships were faſtned together by the Yard-arms, and ſerved as a wall againſt the enemies. The work was not quite finiſhed at his arrival, but he ſoon brought it to perfection. The Carthaginian Ships then coming to aſſault the Romans were beaten off by flights of Arrows and Stones, as well from thoſe in the ſhips as on ſhore, and from the walls of the Port, inſomuch that moſt of them being battered and the Souldiers quite tyred they retired in the Evening without doing any thing. As they made their retreat the Roman Gallies ſallied by the paſſages which we ſpoke of before; and when they found they could execute nothing, they retreated into the Port by the ſame paſſages. At length they brought to *Scipio* one of the enemies ſhips, but not a man in her. After theſe encounters, it being now winter, each party retired to their Garriſons.

XIX. The Romans cauſed proviſion to be brought for themſelves by Sea, but thoſe of *Utica* and *Carthage* being in great neceſſity plundred thoſe which brought them, till a recruit of ſhipping being come to *Scipio* he oppoſed the enemy in ſuch manner that they not daring longer to cruiſe as they were wont, thoſe Cities were miſerably afflicted with famine. During this ſame winter *Syphax* not being far diſtant, *Maſaniſſa* deſired of *Scipio* a third part of the Roman Army, which being arrived under the Command of *Lelius* and joyned with that Kings Forces, they together purſued *Syphax*, who ſtill retreated before them, till ſuch time as coming to the Banks of a certain River he was forced to fight. The Numidians according to their Cuſtom caſt at firſt charge ſhowers of Darts at each other, whilſt the Romans covering themſelves with their ſhields ſtill advanced forward. *Syphax* ſeeing *Maſaniſſa* in the heat of the Battel, tranſported with rage makes directly towards him, and *Maſaniſſa* joyfully runs to meet him: After they had generouſly fought as well on one ſide as the other, at length *Syphax* party was routed, and as he was paſſing the river to ſave himſelf his horſe wounded by ſome accidental ſtroke, reared and came backward with his Maſter into the water. Whereupon *Maſaniſſa* preſſing in, took him and one of his ſons priſoners, both which he ſent to *Scipio*. There were in this fight about two thouſand men ſlain, on *Syphax* his party; the *Romans* loſt ſeventy five, and *Maſaniſſa* three hundred, there were likewiſe four thouſand of *Syphax* men taken priſoners, of which two thouſand five hundred were Maſſeſuliens that had deſerted *Maſaniſſa* to take part with *Syphax*, theſe *Maſaniſſa* demanded of *Lelius*, and having obtained his requeſt cauſed them to be all cut in pieces.

XX. After this they entred into the Territories of the Maſſeſuliens, and of *Syphax*, to re-eſtabliſh *Maſaniſſa* in his Kingdom by receiving thoſe who ſubmitted, and forcing thoſe to obey who refuſed. The inhabitants of *Cirtha* ſent deputies unto them with Orders to offer them the Royal Palace, and in particular there came others to *Maſaniſſa* from *Sophonisba* wife of the Priſoner King, to excuſe her of that Marriage to which ſhe had

had been forced. He easily accepted of her Excuses, but when he returned back to *Scipio*, left her still at *Cirtha*, foreseeing what would happen. When *Syphax* was brought to *Scipio*, he was ask't by him what evil Genius had perverted his spirit, to the violation of his faith, and despising of those Gods that were witnesses, by deceving the Romans in taking up arms against them, and following the part of the Carthaginians their common enemy, after having intreated him as a friend to come into *Africa*. To which he answered, *It was* Sophonisba *the daughter of* Asdrubal, *with whom, says he, to my ruine I fell in love, she is passionately affected to her Country, and there's no man can withstand what she desires, though I was your friend, her Charms made me the friend of her Country, and from that happiness in which I lived, has precipitated me into this misery, since therefore I am now at your dispose, and being lost to* Sophonisba, *ought to fix my self to your interests; I give you advice to be careful lest that woman draw* Masanissa *from you, for there is no hopes she should ever favor the* Romans *such a lover she is of her Country.* These things he said either because they were indeed true, or out of jealousie to prejudice *Masanissa*. After this *Scipio* having an esteem of *Syphax* prudence, and because he knew the Country, called him to the Council of War and asked his advice, as *Cyrus* had formerly done with *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*. *Lelius* being come and assuring him of what had been before told him concerning *Sophonisba*, *Scipio* required *Masanissa* to deliver her into his hands, which he seeming averse to do, declaring what had passed between him and that woman, *Scipio* urged it with more rigor, telling him he should not think to withhold by force any part of that spoil which belonged to the people of *Rome*, that he ought first to present her, and afterwards request her back if he thought convenient. Whereupon he departed with some Romans to deliver *Sophonisba* into their hands, but first he posted to her himself alone, and giving her a cup of poison, told her there was but this choice, either to drink that, or be carried Captive to *Rome*, and without saying word more remounted his horse and returned: She having shewed the Cup to her Nurse and intreated her not to mourn her death, since thus she died gloriously, presently drunk up the poison. The Romans being come *Masanissa* exposed the body to their view, and after having given it a funeral worthy a Queen, he returned to wait on *Scipio*, who highly praised him, and to comfort him for the loss of an evil woman, crowned him for the Victory gained over *Syphax*, and made him most Magnificent presents. As for *Syphax* he being carried to *Rome*, some were of opinion they ought to pardon a man, had served them so well in *Spain*, others judged that he ought to be punished the rather, for having revolted from his friends, but whilst these things were in debate he died of a distemper occasioned by grief.

XXI. When *Asdrubal* had well excercised his Army, he sent a Messenger to *Hanno* General of the Carthaginians Army to entreat him to accept him as a Companion in that charge, and withal to tell him that there were some Spaniards in *Scipio*'s Army, who might be corrupted by mony and promises to set on fire the *Roman* Camp, and there he would not fail to be ready at the time appointed, if the General thought it convenient: *Hanno* having received this advice, though he designed to deceive *Asdrubal*, yet resolved to make use of it, and to that end sent one of his people into *Scipio*'s Camp with good quantity of Silver; This man shelters himself there as a Runaway and not being suspected by any one, corrupted many, and after they had set a day for putting their design in execution, he returns

to

to *Hanno*, who presently sends him to *Asdrubal*, but as *Scipio* sacrificed the *Aruspices* having advertised him to beware of fire, he gave order to one of his Domesticks to take care to see the fires put out in all places, where such an accident might be feared. He continued for some days the same sacrifices, and still the entrails threatned him with the same misfortune, which troubled him much and made him resolve to discamp, but the plot was in this manner discovered. A Certain Roman Knight had a Spanish slave who suspecting his companions had some mischievous design, feign'd himself of the party, and by that means having gain'd knowledge of the whole enterprize, discovered it to his Master, his Master brought him to *Scipio*, who causing the guilty wretches to be siezed on, put them all to death, and made their bodies be thrown out of the Camp. *Hanno* who was not far off having news of it, came not to the place appointed. *Asdrubal* who knew nothing of it, came, but seeing there so many dead bodies, suspecting what had happened, retired. *Hanno* took hence an occasion to criminate him, and to beget an ill opinion of him in the minds of the Souldiery, giving out that he was come expresly to surrender himself to *Scipio*, but that he refusing to accept him he was retreated, and by this Calumny much increased the hatred the Carthaginians bore him.

XXII. About the same time *Amilcar* made an assault upon the Roman Fleet, took a Galley and six ships of burthen; but *Hanno* having made an attempt upon those that besieged *Utica* was repulsed and forced to a swift retreat. *Scipio* however tyred with the length of that siege raised it without more ado, and caused his Engins to be carried before *Hypone*, where finding no better succes he burnt them as useless, and took the field drawing thereby some Countries to his party, and pillaging others. Insomuch that the Carthaginians astonished at so many losses and disasters, chose *Hannibal* General, and sent away ships for him, that he might make all the hast he could for *Africa*, and in the mean time they sent deputies to *Scipio* to treat of peace, hoping either to obtain it, or at least gain time enough for *Hannibals* return. *Scipio* grants them truce, and having caused sufficient victuals to be provided for his Army, gives them leave to send Ambassadors to *Rome* to treat the peace with the Senate and people of *Rome*. When they came thither they were received as enemies, for they lodged them without the City, and when they had audience, no other proposition was made to them but to crave pardon. One part of the Senators declaimed against the perfidiousnes of the Carthaginians, the breach of so many treaties, the mischiefs *Hannibal* had done to the people of *Rome* and their allies as well in *Italy* as *Spain*. But others remonstrated that the Romans had more need of peace then the Carthaginians, seeing *Italy* was almost ruined by so many Wars, besides there was much reason to fear so many Fleets & Armies being ready to pour upon *Scypio* at one instant, *Hannibal* going out of *Italy*; *Mago* out of *Liguria*, and *Hanno* being already at *Carthage*. Upon all which the Senate not coming to any agreement: sent the two opinions to *Scipio* to examine, with full Authority to act whatever he thought most advantagious for the good of the Commonwealth: he concluded a peace of which the Articles were, That the Carthaginians should recal *Mago* out of *Liguria*, that for the future they should entertain no foreign Souldiers under their pay, That they should have no more then thirty long ships, That they should not extend their Dominions farther then the place called the *Punick* ditch. That they

should

ſhould deliver up all Captives and Runaways, and that within a limited time they ſhould bring ſixteen hundred Talents into the publick Treaſure. To *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe they granted by this Treaty, that he ſhould enjoy not only the Country of the Maſſeſuliens, but likewiſe all he had Conquered of *Syphax* his Dominions. Theſe Articles being agreed upon, Deputies from *Carthage* went to *Rome*, to ſwear before the Conſuls to keep them inviolable, and Commiſſioners went from *Rome* to *Carthage* to receive the Oath of the *Carthaginian* Magiſtrates. This peace thus ſworn, the people of *Rome* gave *Maſaniſſa* as an acknowledgment of his fidelity, and the ſervices he had done them, a Crown of Gold, a Cup of Gold, a Chariot of Ivory, a Cloak of Purple, a Robe after the Roman Faſhion, a Horſe trapped with Gold, and a compleat Suit of Armor.

XXIII. In the mean time *Hannibal* ſets ſail for *Carthage*, much againſt his own inclination: for he had no confidence in the people of *Carthage*, whom he knew diſtruſtful of their Magiſtrates, and headlong in their Counſels, and believing the peace not yet concluded, or that if it were it would not laſt long, he lands at *Adrumetum*. As ſoon as he was on ſhore he ſends all about to ſeek for Corn, gives Order to buy horſes, Allies himſelf with the Prince of the *Areacides* who are a Nation of *Numidia*. He cauſes to be ſhot to death with Arrows, four thouſand Horſemen that had formerly ſerved *Syphax*, afterwards *Maſaniſſa*, and now at laſt came to offer themſelves to him, becauſe he had a ſuſpition of them, but their Horſes he divided among his own people. Another Prince named *Meſetulus* came likewiſe to joyn with him with *Vermina* one of the Sons of *Syphax*, who yet held a great part of his fathers Kingdom; Moreover he ſeized on ſome of the Cities belonging to *Maſaniſſa* partly by ſurrender, and partly by force, and *Narce* he took by ſurprize in this manner: being in want of proviſions he ſent to them as to his friends till having found an opportunity he cauſed a great many of his people to enter Armed only with Daggers under their Coats, with Orders not to offer any affront to the Merchants till they heard the noiſe of the Trumpet, but then to kill all they met, and make themſelves Maſters of the Gates, thus was this City taken; On the other ſide, though the peace was ſo lately made, *Scipio* yet upon the place, and the Carthaginians Deputies not gone from *Rome*, yet ſome ſhips laden with proviſion for the Romans (having by ſtorm been driven into the Port of *Carthage*) the Common People pillaged them and put the Mariners in Irons, notwithſtanding all the threats of the Senate againſt this ſeditious rabble, and all the prohibition made againſt violating a Peace they had ſo lately ſworn. They cryed out to excuſe themſelves, that the treaty was not juſt, and that they were more apprehenſive of famine then of any danger could arrive by the breach of the peace. Though *Scipio* were much offended at this action; yet he would not revive the war, having once made peace: only he ſent to demand ſatisfaction by the way of Juſtice as of friends that had forgot their duty, but the people would needs have arreſted thoſe who came on the behalf of the Romans, till ſuch time as their deputies were returned from *Rome*. But *Hanno* the Great and *Aſdrubal* Surnamed the Great reſcued them out of the hands of the people, and ſent them back on two Gallies which they fitted out, of which ſome gave notice to *Aſdrubal* Admiral of the Fleet, who then rode at Anchor near the Promontory of *Apollo*, perſwading him to watch the paſſage of thoſe Gallies, and ſet upon them, which he ſo violently performed that two of the Roman deputies were ſlain with arrows, and the others almoſt

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overpreſſed with ſhowers of Darts, with much difficulty ſaved themſelves in the Port where their ſhips lay, and had they not nimbly leapt from one of the Gallies which was already grapled with by the enemy, they had without doubt been taken priſoners. When news of this came to *Rome* the Deputies of *Carthage*, who were ſtill in that City to compleat the treaty, were Commanded by the Senate to depart immediately out of *Italy* as enemies of the Republick, whereupon they took ſhip to return to *Carthage*, but were driven by ſtorm to the place where *Scipio* lay encamped. his Admiral took them, and ſent to him to know what ſhould be done with them, *Nothing*, ſaid he, *of what the Carthaginians have done*, and ſo without any more adoo they were ſent home. The Ancients of *Carthage* (that is to ſay a body of the moſt prudent and honeſt men) hearing of this Excellent goodneſs of *Scipio*'s and comparing the injury they had done to the Romans with the favor they had received, began to declaim againſt the raſhneſs of their fellow Citizens, and to Counſel them they would yet obſerve the treaty, which might ſtill be done if they ask'd *Scipio* pardon for their fault, and ſubmitted to pay a fine, but the people already animated againſt the Senate by reaſon of the miſeries of the war which they imputed to the ill Conduct of that Noble body, and ſet on likewiſe by ſome ſeditious ſpirits ſuffered themſelves to be tranſported with vain hopes, and cauſed *Hannibal* to advance with his Army.

XXIV. That Captain conſidering the importance of this war perſwaded the Carthaginians to call *Aſdrubal* with thoſe forces he had to their aſſiſtance. Whereupon *Aſdrubal* was by the Senate abſolved of thoſe crimes he ſtood charged with, having firſt conſigned over his Army to *Hannibal*. Yet he durſt not publickly ſhow himſelf in the City for fear of the people, but kept concealed in the houſe of one of his friends. Mean while *Scipio* cauſed his Fleet to lie before *Carthage* that he might hinder all proviſion coming by Sea, and the in-land could furniſh no great quantity, by reaſon that during the war they could not till the ground. About the ſame time happened a fight near *Zama* between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*'s horſe, in which the Romans had the advantage. After which happened ſeveral skirmiſhes for ſome days together, but of little conſequence, till ſuch time as *Scipio* underſtanding that *Hannibal* wanted proviſions, and that he expected a ſupply, cauſed a Tribune called *Thermus* to march in the Night to intercept them, who having taken an advantagious poſt, upon an eminence near unto a ſtrait, they muſt of neceſſity paſs, ſlew four thouſand Africans, took as many Priſoners and brought the Conway to *Scipio*. In ſo much that *Hannibal* beholding himſelf reduced to an extream neceſſity, and conſidering what he ſhould do in ſuch a conjuncture, reſolved to ſend meſſengers to *Maſaniſſa* to repreſent to him that he had been bred in *Carthage*, and had there paſſed a conſiderable part of his life, entreating him to labor a peace between *Scipio* and him by beſeeching him to believe that if any thing of ill had happened, the fault was to be imputed to the people, or to ſome particular men more fooliſh then the people, *Maſaniſſa* remembring that he had indeed been bred and brought up in that City whoſe Majeſty he ſtill reverenced, and where he likewiſe had a great many particular friends, beſought *Scipio* with ſo good a grace that he conſented the Treaty ſhould be renewed, on condition that the people of *Carthage* would reſtore to the Romans the ſhip, men, and proviſions, they had taken, or pay for what could not be reſtored at the price, whereas *Scipio* ſhould value them, and for a fine depoſite one thouſand talents. Theſe Conditions being

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ing agreed on, a Truce was granted till ſuch time as the Articles ſhould be carried to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* ſaved himſelf beyond his own hopes. When the Senate of *Carthage* ſaw this agreement they approved it, and intreated the people to give their conſent by repreſenting to them the long train of miſeries would elſe enſue, and the deep neceſſities they were in of men, mony, and proviſions. But the Populacy (as it is the Cuſtom of the Vulgar) believed that the Chiefs in making this peace labored only their private intereſt, that being fortified with the friendſhip of the Romans they might become more powerful in the Country. That *Hannibal* had now done the ſame thing *Aſdrubal* did before, who having firſt by night betrayed his Army would afterwards have ſurrendred himſelf to *Scipio*, having for that end approached his Camp, and lay now concealed in the City. Theſe diſcourſes raiſed a Tumult among the people with terrible crys and Exclamations, and many of them leaving the aſſembly ran preſently to find out *Aſdrubal*, who a little before was retired into the Sepulchre of his Father, having firſt poiſoned himſelf. But they drew him thence dead as he was, cut off his head, and ſetting it on a Pike carried it through the City. Thus was *Aſdrubal* firſt baniſhed without having deſerved it, afterwards *Hanno* accuſed him falſely, and at laſt his own Citizens forced him to become his own Murderer, and when he was dead expoſed his body to a thouſand indignities.

XXV. After having treated *Aſdrubal* in this manner they forthwith ſent to *Hannibal* to break the truce and make war with *Scipio*, ordering him to give him battel as ſoon as he could, becauſe of the ſcarcity they were in. As ſoon as the truce was broke, *Scipio* preſently took a great City called *Partha*, and that done went and encamped near *Hannibal*, who immediately diſcamped: He had three ſeveral times ſent ſpies into the Roman Camp, who being diſcovered and taken, *Scipio* would not put them to death, according to the Law's of war, but made them be carried through the whole Camp, that they might view his Stores, his Engines of War, and his Army imbattelled, and ſo without doing them any injury ſent them back to *Hannibal* to give him an account of what they had ſeen. The Carthaginians ſurprized at this manner of proceeding, demanded a conference, which being granted, he told *Scipio*; *That the people of* Carthage *could not perform that treaty becauſe of the too great ſum of money demanded of them, but if he would pleaſe to remit any thing of that demand, and that the people of* Rome *would content themſelves with* Sicily, Spain, *and the Iſlands they now held, the peace would become both firm and laſting.* To which *Scipio* anſwered, *That* Hannibal *would be fully recompenſed for having by flight quitted* Italy, *if thoſe propoſitions were agreed to*, adding not a word more, but the forbidding him to ſend any further Meſſages. So after ſome threats on one part and the other, each retired to his Camp. There was not far diſtant a City called *Cilla*, near which was a riſing ground, very proper to encamp in, *Hannibal* having deſigned to lodge himſelf there, ſends his vanguard before to poſſeſs it, whilſt he followed with the reſt of the Army. But finding *Scipio* had firſt ſieſed it, he was forced to paſs away all that night in the midſt of a dry plain, ſorely peſtered to ſink wells, where after all the Army had wrought hard, and thrown up mountains of ſand, their mighty pains was recompenſed with the finding but of one well, and that of troubled water, of which the Souldiers drank greedily, without eating, or any other conveniency. There were likewiſe many of them ſtood in Arms all night.

Scipio, who knew all this well enough, was not wanting to assail them next morning harrassed as they were with marching, thirst and want of sleep. It grieved *Hannibal* to the heart to see himself forced to fight thus unseasonably, yet he saw plainly that if he staid there, he should be intollerably straitned for want of water, and if he drew off, his retreat would increase the enemies courage, who would certainly fall on in his rear, for these reasons therefore he resolved to fight, and presently drew into Battalia fifty thousand men and fourscore Elephants.

XXVI. Those mighty creatures he disposed in Equal distances in the Front of the battel, to strike fear into the Romans. Then he composed his vanguard of Gauls and Ligurians, and among them intermixed his bowmen and slingers, who were Moors and people of the Isles *Baleares*. In his main body he placed the Carthaginians and Africans, and in his rear those Italians that had followed his fortune, in whom he had great confidence because they dreaded to be overcome. His Cavalry made his two Wings. As for *Scipio* he had three and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse as well Italians as Romans; besides *Masaniſſa* had a stout body of Numidian horse; and another Prince of that Country, called *Dachamas*, had six hundred auxiliary horse. He divided his Army into three battalia's, Vanguard, Main-body and Rear-guard, as *Hannibal* had done his, save only he kept his battalia's at a more open Order, that the horse upon occasion might have passage between. In the front of every battalia he placed men with stakes the most part Armed with Iron at the ends, and about two * Cubits long, that they might better repulse the Elephants by striking them at hand with these sort of Truncheons, giving Order to the foot to avoid the shock of those great beasts by opening to the right and left, when they made at them, and to pursue them incessantly when they were past with darts and arrows, or hamstring them with their Swords, if they could get so near them. Having thus ordered his foot, he disposed the Numidian Cavalry on his two wings, because the Numidian horses are accustomed to the smell and sight of Elephants; wherefore fearful lest the Italian horses should be frightned, he placed them in the Rear-guard that they might charge between the bodies, and support the infantry whilst they fought against the Elephants, and to every horseman he gave a light Armed Souldier, and great quantity of darts, wherewith to chase away those Monsters if they came upon them. His Cavalry being thus disposed, he gave the Command of the right wing to *Lelius*, of the left to *Octavius*, and himself took Charge of the main battel. *Hannibal* did the same, and as if these two great Captains had acted by the same Spirit, they each kept near their persons a strong body of horse, ready to move on all sides to the relief of those, stood in need. *Hannibal's* party consisted of four thousand horse. *Scipio's* only of two thousand, besides those three hundred Italians to whom he had given Arms in *Sicily*. Both Armies thus drawn up for battel, each General went through the Ranks to incourage his people. "*Scipio* publickly invoked the Gods who having been witnesses of their "Treaties, had been affronted by the Carthaginians as often as they had "violated them, exhorting his Souldiers not so much to consider the Num-"ber of their enemies as their own proper Vertue, which had already "made them Victorious over the same enemies in the same province, re-"monstrating to them that though their having always overcome, should "not clear all their doubts of the success of this battel; Yet the Africans "having

* *Or a Yard.*

"having been always beaten would make them despair. Thus did *Scipio* hearten up his men encouraging them not to think of the smalness of their Number. *Hannibal* on the other side desired his "to re-"member those brave acts they had done, and the noble victories they had "gained not only against the Numidians, but throughout all *Italy*, setting "forth at the same time the inconsiderable number of their enemies, and "exhorting them so to act that the greater number might not be beaten "by the less, nor the natural inhabitants of the Country shamefully for-"ced to yield to strangers. In short both Generals set forth with the most pressing arguments they could invent, the consequences of that battel; "*Hannibal* told his men that they now disputed whether *Carthage* and "with it all *Africa* should command, or be for ever hereafter inslaved. And *Scipio* let the *Roman* Souldiers know "that if they suffered them-"selves to be vanquished they had no place of retreat, but if they gained "the victory the advantages reaped by it would be increase of the "*Roman* Empire, the end of their labors, the so much desired leave of "returning into their Country, and with all immortal glory.

These Orations ended, the Carthaginian Trumpets sounded a charge, and the Roman soon did the like. The battel was begun by the Elephants which came furiously on, being sharply pricked forward by those mounted on them; Those which assailed the wings were stopt by the Numidian horse with showers of Darts, and being wounded turned against their own party, so that their governors no longer able to rule them were forced to draw them out of the battel, both wings had alike advantage, but those which charged on the main body put the Romans hard to it, who were not accustomed to this manner of fight, and could not easily by reason of the weight of their arms move either to shun or assail them, till such time as *Scipio* caused the Rear guard of Italian horse, and the Souldiers lightly armed to advance to the relief of his foot. And because the horse were fearful of those beasts, he commanded his horsemen to alight, and with their darts charge the Elephants, who had caused a great disorder, and to oblige them by his own Example, himself alighted first and wounded an Elephant that came towards him, which so heartned the Romans, that discharging their darts on all sides they so wounded those creatures that they forced them to retreat like the others. These beasts thus driven out of the battel they had nothing now to encounter but men and horses. The right wing Commanded by *Lelius* had put to flight the Numidians that opposed them, after that *Masanissa* had wounded their Prince *Macinta*, but *Hannibal* coming speedily to their assistance renewed the fight. In the left wing where *Octavius* had to do with Gauls and Ligurians, they fought with equal fortune. *Scipio* sent thither the Tribune *Therinus* with some chosen troops; but *Hannibal* having reinforced his left wing speeds away to the relief of the Gauls and Ligurians, taking with him all his Carthaginians and Africans, which *Scipio* perceiving was forced to do the like, and made his main battel advance. And now these two mighty Captains fighting in person, the Souldiers encouraged by the sight of them did acts incredible. All feared to yield, all fought with a wonderful alacrity, exhorting, exciting and encouraging one another. At length victory having long hung in equal Ballance, the Generals moved with compassion to see their Souldiers out of breath, fiercely charged each other, the sooner to put an end to the battel; at the same instant both discharged their darts, *Scipio*'s stuck in *Hannibal*'s buckler, and *Hannibal*'s hurt *Scipio*'s horse, who feeling him-

XXVII.

ſelf wounded overthrew his Maſter to the ground. But *Scipio* nimbly remounting on another, diſcharges a ſecond dart at *Hannibal*, which took no better effect then the former, ſave only it wounded a horſeman that ſat near his Captain. Mean while *Maſaniſſa* having notice comes in, and the Roman Souldiers ſeeing their General perform not only the part of a Captain but of a Private Souldier, fighting for them, gave ſo home a Charge that they put the enemy to flight. As they followed the purſuit, *Hannibal* gained the front of his own men, endeavouring all he could to ſtop them and lead them back to fight, but in vain. At laſt ſince from them he could obtain nothing, he has recourſe to thoſe Italians he had brought with him, who yet kept firm in their Poſt, and makes them advance towards the enemy, hoping whilſt the Romans were eager in purſuit of the flyers he might the eaſier put them in diſorder, but they perceiving his deſign ſtopt as if a retreat had been ſounded and drew up into order. The horſe had now left them and their darts were ſpent, ſo they were forced to cloſe with the enemy and come to Swords point. And now was a terrible ſlaughter nothing to be heard but the groans of dying men and the ſhouts of thoſe that ſlew them, till ſuch time as the enemy were totally routed, the victory no longer doubted of, and *Hannibal*, had betaken himſelf to flight. As he fled he perceived ſome Numidian horſe ſtill in a body, to them he goes and begs them not to forſake him, and as ſoon as they had given him their word turns upon his purſuers with great hopes of defeating them. They were by chance Maſſeſuliens, ſo that *Maſaniſſa* and *Hannibal* came to fight hand to hand. In this Combat *Hannibal* received a blow on his buckler, and at the ſame inſtant ſlew his enemies horſe. *Maſaniſſa* getting up and ſeeking for *Hannibal.* on foot ſlew with a dart a horſeman that encountred him, and received in his buckler, which was of Elephants skin, ſeveral darts, one of which he ſnatches out and throws at *Hannibal*, but by misfortune another horſeman received the ſtroke and loſt his life, and as he ſtrove to pull out another he was wounded in the arm, and forced for a while to retire out of the fight. *Scipio* hearing of this rancounter was in fear for *Maſaniſſa*, but as he was going to relieve him, he found that having bound up his wound he was returning to the fight mounted on a freſh horſe, ſo the battel being renewed, they fought couragiouſly on either ſide, when *Hannibal* perceiving on a little hill, a ſquadron of Spaniards and Gauls, ſpurred towards them to bring them into his aſſiſtance, which gave occaſion to the others unacquainted with the reaſon of his departure, and believing he fled, to become quite heartleſs, and betake themſelves to a diſorderly flight, not after *Hannibal*, but every one where fortune led him. The Romans ſeeing the Enemy thus diſperſed thought themſelves aſſured of the victory, and began without any order to follow the chaſe; for they knew not *Hannibal*'s deſign, who preſently returning to the Charge at the head of thoſe Spaniards and Gauls, *Scipio* was forced to recal his men again from the purſuit, and ſpeedily put them in order to receive the Enemy, whom they had no great difficulty to overcome, being a far greater number then thoſe deſcended from the hill. *Hannibal* ſeeing this laſt puſh had no better ſucceſs then the former, and that all was abſolutely loſt, fled likewiſe, purſued by many, and among others by *Maſaniſſa*, who notwithſtanding the pain & inconveniency of his wound followed him cloſe at the heels, out of the paſſionate deſire he had to take him priſoner and preſent him to *Scipio*, but by the favor of the night which came on he eſcaped his hands, and at laſt accompained only with twenty horſe, which were all could follow him, gained as far as a City called *Tunis*,

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where he met ſeveral horſemen as well Brutians as Spaniards who had there ſaved themſelves after the defeat, but knowing the Spaniards to be raſh and Barbarous, and the Brutians to be Italians of the ſame Country with *Scipio*, he was fearful leſt to obtain pardon for the fault, they had committed in bearing arms againſt their Country, they ſhould deliver him up to his enemy, and ſo departed ſecretly by night, accompanied only with one horſeman in whom he had confidence, ſo that having rode in two days and two nights almoſt three thouſand furlongs he arrived at *Adrumetum* which is a Sea-town where finding ſome troops he had left as guards to his ſtores of Corn, and drawing together forces from the circumadjacent places, and rallying all thoſe had eſcaped from the battel, he began again to make preparation of Arms and Engines of War. But *Scipio* having gained this noble victory, burnt with his own hands, according to the Cuſtom of the Roman Generals, thoſe ſpoils of the enemy that were of ſmall moment, ſending the choiceſt and moſt precious to *Rome*, ten talents of Gold, two thouſand five hundred talents of Silver, many moveables of Ivory, whole Ships loading of Priſoners, the moſt part Gentlemen, with *Lelius* to carry the new's. The remainder he ſold, diſtributing the mony among the Souldiers, giving Military rewards to ſuch as had ſerved him well, particularly a Crown to *Maſaniſſa*; and now being become abſolute Maſter of the field he made himſelf Maſter of the Cities. Such was the ſucceſs of this battel fought in *Africa* between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, who never before had dealings with each other. The Romans loſt two thouſand five hundred men, *Maſaniſſa* ſomewhat more, there died of the enemies five and twenty thouſand, beſides eight thouſand eight hundred taken priſoners, three hundred Spaniards that yielded to *Scipio*, and eight hundred Numidians to *Maſaniſſa*.

XXVIII. Now before the News of this Victory was brought either to *Rome* or *Carthage*, the Carthaginians had writ to *Mago*, who was then raiſing forces in *Gaul* with Orders to make an irruption into *Italy* if it were poſſible, or elſe to come over into *Africa* with ſuch power as he might have raiſed, but theſe Letters being intercepted and brought to *Rome*, were the occaſion of the Senates ſending recruits of foot and horſe, with Ships and Mony to *Scipio*, who after this defeat made *Octavius* March with his Army towards *Carthage*, whither he deſigned to follow with his Fleet. But when the Carthaginians underſtood that *Hannibal* was defeated, they ſent their Deputies to meet *Scipio*, the chief of which were *Hanno* the great, and *Aſdrubal* ſurnamed the *Goat*, they went in a paſſage Boat, on the Prow of which they planted a *Caduceus*, and at their arrival ſtretched forth their hands joyned towards the Conqueror, like people imploring mercy. *Scipio* ordered them to meet him at the Camp, where being ſeated in the Tribunal he cauſed them to be brought to his preſence, whither being come they caſt themſelves on their knees weeping, till being raiſed up by the Uſhers, and having permiſſion to ſpeak, *Aſdrubal* began in this manner. "Moſt certain it is Sirs, that neither *Hanno* whom you ſee here, nor "my ſelf, nor any perſon of wiſdom in all *Carthage*, are guilty of thoſe "crimes wherewith you charge us, for when our unhappy Citizens op- "preſſed by famine injured thoſe ſent from you, we oppoſed our ſelves, "and ſent them back to you. Nor ought the people of *Carthage*, in gene- "ral to be accuſed, who ſent their deputies, and of whom the moſt part "ſigned the Articles with joy, but as the Populacy ſuffer themſelves "to be eaſily ſeduced to their own ruine, whatever is pleaſing to the multi-

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" tude is uſually preferred before that which is moſt profitable. We our " ſelves have had experience of it, for what ever propoſitions we have " made, ſome private calumniators, who never had the boldneſs to diſcover " their thoughts in our preſence, have hindred us from being believed. " Wherefore Sirs, Judge not of our affairs, by what is practiſed in *Rome*, " for your diſcipline in your Counſels is extreamly different from ours, " and if by chance our crime ſeem to ſome greater then the calamity that " conſtrained it, let him conſider that hunger is a pinching neceſſity, and " that that was the principal cauſe of our misfortunes: for had we not " been preſſed by it, it is not to be believed that the ſame people who had " but newly demanded peace, offered ſo much mony, parted with the " greateſt patt of their Dominion, ſworn to obſerve the Articles of Peace, " and ſent to that purpoſe deputies to your Senate, ſhould be violently hur- " ried on to offend you, without expecting the return of thoſe they had " ſent. But we muſt attribute this accident to the anger of ſome God, and " to the tempeſt which caſt your proviſions into our Port; in a time when " almoſt all *Carthage* was ready to periſh with hunger, hunger that per- " nicious counſellor againſt anothers goods, eſpecially in the breſts of peo- " ple wanting all things, 'twould be certainly a piece of injuſtice to puniſh " with ſeverity what this miſerable multitude have done. Yet if you will " impute this fault rather to our malice then our miſery, we confeſs it, we " crave pardon for it. Were we innocent, we would endeavor to juſtifie " our ſelves, but being criminals we ſupplicate for grace, hoping that you " who are in the top of proſperity will the eaſier grant it, if you conſider " that humane affairs are ſubject to ſtrange reverſes, and that thoſe who " were yeſterday in a condition to do injuries, are to day under a ne- " ceſſity of imploring mercy. You may behold, Sirs, a freſh example in " the unhappy City of *Carthage*, ſhe that for ſeven hundred years toge- " has been the greateſt and moſt powerful City of all *Africa*, powerful in " Ships, in Silver, in Elephants, in Foot, in Horſe, She whoſe Dominion " extended over the Lybians, and over many Cities and Iſles by Sea and " Land, in ſhort She that has ſo long been the Rival of your Empire, Now " no more places her hope in her Ports, nor in her Ships, nor in her " Horſe, nor in her Elephants, nor in her Provinces, which ſhe has quit- " ted to you, but ſhe expects her ſafety from your mercy, You that ſhe " has heretofore ſo ill treated. You will do an Action worthy of your " ſelves, if conſidering the deplorable Eſtate to which we are reduced, " you will receive a moderation in the midſt of your proſperity, and ha- " ving regard as well to your own accuſtomed generoſity, as to the " ancient felicity of *Carthage*, you will in our miſery make ſuch a uſe of " the favors of fortune, as may not diſpleaſe the immortal Gods, but that " by your clemency you will acquire a glorious name, that can never die " whilſt there is memory among men. Nor need you hereafter more " fear the perfidiouſneſs of *Carthage*, the chaſtiſement they receive for " their paſt faults will be an eternal warning to them: and as the good " Counſel they had given them, but deſpiſed, had kept them in bounds " of duty, ſo now they have been faulty, repentance joyned with the pu- " niſhment inflicted on them, will prevent their falling again, and whilſt " you inveigh againſt the cruelty and injuſtice of the Carthaginians, you " ſhould be careful leſt you fall into the ſame crimes, for as poverty of- " ten occaſions men to ſin, thoſe who are in proſperity have opportunity " to exerciſe their humanity and goodneſs, thus it is of concern both to " the honor, and the advantage of your Commonwealth, rather to pre-

" ſerve

"ferve ſo great a City, than to deſtroy it; but you may act as you pleaſe: "for our parts we have but two things to oppoſe in our defence, the An- "tient Dignity of the Carthaginian Empire, and that Noble Moderation "you have uſed to the reſt of the World, which joyned with your Valour, "hath raiſed you to ſo high a Soveraignty: And for what concerns the "conditions of the Treaty, we only deſire Peace; for Terms we have none "to propoſe, leaving them wholly to your Diſcretion.

Aſdrubal finiſh'd his Oration with tears: upon which *Scipio* cauſing the Deputies to retire, held a Council about this important Affair with the principal Officers of the Army; and after a long deliberation, cauſed the Carthaginians to return, to whom he ſpake in this manner:

"You are not worthy of pardon, after having ſo often violated your "Faith, and having, as a complement of all, ſo evilly treated our Deputies: "A truth ſo manifeſt, that by your own confeſſion, there is no puniſhment "whatſoever, which you deſerve not, for the expiation of your crimes; "but it is needleſs to reproach you with faults your ſelves confeſs. And "now you have recourſe to prayers: you, that had you gain'd the Victory, "would have rooted out even the Roman Name. We have not treated "you at the like rate, but ſent back your Agents from our City, at the ſame "time you had injured ours, and violated the Treaty: and thoſe very A- "gents being by the Sea caſt into our Camp, and War already declared, I "ſent back to you without offering them the leaſt wrong. Therefore in "the condition your affairs are reduced to, you cannot believe we will or- "der you any thing advantageous. I will therefore tell you my thoughts, "if the Senate approve them, if they think it convenient, we will yet "grant you peace, on condition you ſurrender into the hands of the peo- "ple of *Rome* all your Ships of War, ſave only ten, and all your Elephants: "That you reſtore all you have taken from us, or the value of what can- "not be found; in the eſtimation of which, if any difference ariſe, I will "be Judge: That you likewiſe deliver up all the Captives and Fugitives, "and all thoſe Italian Souldiers, who followed *Hannibal* into *Africa*, which "muſt be performed within a month after the day of publication of the "Peace: That within two months you cauſe *Mago* to return out of *Li- "guria*: That you withdraw all Garriſons out of ſuch Cities as are beyond "the Punick Ditch, and ſend them back their Hoſtages: That beſides all "this you pay us yearly for fifty years, two hundred and fifty Euboick Ta- "lents: That for the future you entertain no Soldiers into your pay, either "out of *Gaul* or *Liguria*: That you make not any war upon *Maſaniſſa*, "or any of our Allies, nor permit any Carthaginian to bear Arms againſt "them; then ſhall your City and Territory remain free to you within the "Punick Ditch, limited by the ſame bounds you poſſeſſed when I entred "*Africa*, provided you put a juſt value on the friendſhip of the people of "*Rome*; and if occaſion requires, aſſiſt them with your Forces by Sea and "Land. If the Senate of *Rome* approve theſe propoſitions, the Roman Ar- "my ſhall depart out of *Lybia*, within fifty days after the ratification; to "perfect which, if you will ſend Deputies to *Rome*, I will in the mean time "grant you Truce, and you ſhall deliver me in Hoſtage one hundred and "fifty of ſuch of your Children as I ſhall chuſe, and pay me a thouſand "Talents for the Armies entertainment; beſides ſuch Proviſions as you "ſhall furniſh. As for the Hoſtages I will return them ſo ſoon as the Peace "is ratified.

The Deputies carried back this anſwer to *Carthage*, where after many deliberations, XXIX.

deliberations, the principal Men of the City adviſed the accepting of theſe Conditions, leſt whilſt they made a difficulty of quitting part of what they poſſeſſed, they ſhould run in danger of looſing all: But the multitude, who ordinarily conſider more what is taken from them, than what is left them, oppoſing it, thinking it mighty ſtrange that the Elders of *Carthage* ſhould in a publick famine, chuſe rather to ſend Proviſions to the Roman Soldiers, than to their own Citizens; and in effect, they went to ſeek out every particular Senator, threatning them all to plunder and fire their Houſes. At laſt it was agreed on to ſend for *Hannibal* into the Council, who having gathered together ſix thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, was retired into the City of *Marthame*. He comes, and though the moſt moderate men were fearful leſt that warlike Men ſhould abſolutely pervert the people; yet by a grave Diſcourſe he made, he perſwaded to Peace; but the Populacy incenſed, and inſolent railed no leſs at him than they had done at others, and continued their threatnings, till ſuch time as all the Nobility deſpairing of the affairs of the City, left it; one part returning to *Maſaniſſa*, and the other to the Roman Army. Now the remainder of the people having intelligence that *Hannibal* had ſtored up great quantities of Corn in a certain place ——

There wants here a leaf in the Original, ſo that this which follows ſeems part of an Oration made by a Roman Senator in open Senate, while Peace was debated.

"—— That is unjuſt, and looks like a malicious emulation, and it ſeems "in effect, *Scipio* himſelf doubted of it; when opening his thoughts to us, "he adds, That he would grant peace to the Carthaginians, even though "we ſhould refuſe it: And indeed, there is reaſon to believe, that being "upon the place he ſhould ſee clearer, and have a more exact knowledge "of affairs than we poſſibly can. In ſhort, if we ſlight his advice, we affront that great Captain, who out of his paſſionate love to his Country, "always counſelled the carrying of the War into *Africa*; and when he "could not obtain an Army from us, raiſed one at his own expence, and "has ſucceeded more happily than we could hope: So that it ſtrangely amazes me, to ſee you now ſo obſtinate, and with ſuch violence to preſs "forward this War to extremity, which in the beginning you undertook "with ſo much coldneſs and negligence. If any of the oppoſers of Peace "grant all this, and ſhall only found their advice upon a fear, leſt the Carthaginians ſhould now again, as they have done formerly, violate the "Treaty in queſtion. I anſwer, that there is more reaſon to believe, that "having had experience of the miſeries their infidelity has involved them "in, and being perſwaded, as they are, that all theſe misfortunes have "fallen upon them, only for having violated the Religion of their Oaths, "they will for the future keep ſacred that Faith they ſhall ſwear to. And "to me it appears an evident contradiction to ſay, that the Carthaginians "are contemptible, becauſe they have no more power, and at the ſame "time to fear that they are in a capacity of revolting. Beſides, it is much "eaſier for us to hinder the growth of power, than totally to ruine them; "for if we preſs them to extremities, we ſhall have to deal with people, "whom deſpair will make capable of any thing: but if you grant them "Peace, the fear of falling into the like danger, will preſerve them within the bounds of Duty: but beſides all this, they will have perſecutors "enough, though we concern not our ſelves; for not any of their Neighbours, but remembring the Pride and Tyranny of their Empire, will maintain againſt them an irreconcileable War: after all this, we have *Maſaniſſa* "(who has been our moſt faithful friend in all adventures) ſtill upon the "place, who will continually caſt an eye on their actions, and be always "ready to oppoſe whatever they dare attempt. But if any one not conſidering

"all

"all theſe reaſons, has regard only to the glorious ſucceſs of *Scipio*'s "Arms, and promiſes himſelf the like in the continuance of this War: "let him remember the inconſtancy of Fortune, and that no man living can "aſſure himſelf to have it at all times favourable. But granting we take the "City of *Carthage*, what ſhall we do with it? ſhall we utterly ruine and "raze it, becauſe they took ſome of our Corn and Shipping, which they are "ready to pay for with intereſt? Certainly we ſhall not, leſt we incurr "the indignation of Gods and Men. Shall we give it to *Maſaniſſa?* No, "for though he be our friend, we muſt not raiſe him above meaſure: "Much better may we make uſe of thoſe contracts he ſhall have with the "Carthaginians, to the advantage of the Commonwealth. Perhaps we "might draw ſome Treaſure thence, but the Armies that muſt be main- "tained will waſte it: for who can doubt but there muſt be great Forces "kept up for the guard of a Country encompaſſed with ſo many barba- "rous Nations. We may likewiſe ſend thither a Colony of Italians; but "upon terms to hold eternal War with the people of *Numidia*, or if thoſe "we ſend ſhall in proceſs of time make themſelves Maſters of all theſe "Nations, it may happen that having conquered ſo great a Country, "without compariſon more excellent than ours, their power may render "them not only ſuſpected, but even terrible to our ſelves. And this in my "opinion, was *Scipio*'s judgement, when he adviſed us to grant the "Carthaginians the effect of their demands. Let us not therefore, Gentle- "men, refuſe them, as well becauſe we now behold them our humble ſup- "plyants, as becauſe our General deſires it.

To this *Cornelius Lentulus*, kinſman to *Cneus*, now Conſul, who hoped to ſuceed *Scipio* in this War, anſwered in this manner:

"Gentlemen, it is ordinary in War to conſider only advantage; where- "fore ſince we all agree, that this City may yet be able to do miſchief, "we ought to take heed of that Infidelity is accompanied with Power: "And we cannot aſſure our ſelves againſt its Perfidy. I am of opinion "we ought, before all other things, to deprive it utterly of the means to "do hurt: We can never have a more favourable opportunity, and ſince "they are weak and poor, we ſhould commit a great errour to ſtay till "they have recovered Force and Riches; not that I would argue we ought "not likewiſe have regard to that which is juſt. But who can accuſe the "Roman people of injuſtice, or think they uſe with too much ſeverity the "Victory they have gained over the Carthaginians, a people who in pro- "ſperity are unjuſt and violent to all the World, who in adverſity ſubmit and "humble themſelves; and as ſoon as they have obtained Peace and Pardon, "violate that Peace they have ſworn to? They have no reſpect for Oaths, "they believe not that there are Gods; yet he that ſpoke before me ſays, "we ought to ſpare them to avoid the indignation of Men and Gods: For "my part I believe thoſe very Gods have reduced *Carthage* to this very ſtate, "to puniſh the impieties of people, who beſides the violation of ſo many "Treaties of Peace made in *Sicily*, *Spain*, *Italy* and *Africa*, have by a "thouſand wrongs provoked the whole World. I will give ſome forreign "Examples before I ſpeak of thoſe concern us. *Saguntum*, one of the "faireſt Cities of all *Spain*, was entred into Alliance with us, nay more- "over, was a friend to the people of *Rome*, and yet without any occaſion "of complaint given they took it, ſack'd it, and put all to the Sword, with- "out ſparing Sex or Age. The City of *Nucera*, which depended upon us, "ſurrendred to them upon compoſition, after they had ſworn that the Inha- "bitants ſhould be permitted to paſs freely, with two Suits of Apparel each;

"yet, to the prejudice of their Oath, they ſhut up the Senators of that un-
"happy City in Stoves, where they ſmothered them to death, and ſlew
"all the people with Darts, as they paſſed out. After having engaged their
"Faith to the Senators of *Acerra*, they threw them into Wells, and buried
"them alive under the Earth they caſt down upon them. They deceived
"*M. Cornelius* our Conſul, whom by force of Oaths they prevailed with to
"go ſee their General, who feigned himſelf ſick; and from *Sicily*, where
"they were, carried him priſoner into *Africa*, with two and twenty of our
"Ships. They likewiſe cruelly put to death our General *Regulus*, who that
"he might not violate his Oath, returned to *Carthage*. In ſhort, *Hannibal*
"has committed ſo many cruelties, during the War, by Surpriſe and by
"Treachery, both againſt us and againſt his own Allies, plundring their
"Cities, and putting to death thoſe engaged in his Service, that it is not
"poſſibe to expreſs it; let me only ſay in a few words, that he has ſack'd
"four hundred of our Cities; that he hath made Bridges over Rivers of
"the Bodies of Roman Priſoners, and filled Ditches with them as with
"Fagots, whereon to paſs his men over: Sometimes he has trampled them
"under the feet of his Elephants; otherwhiles expoſed them as a ſpecta-
"cle, making them like Gladiators fight Brother againſt Brother, and Son
"againſt Father. They ſent us but very lately, Deputies of theirs to
"conclude a Peace, which they ſwore to; and yet before they were gone
"from our City, rob'd our Ships, and put our Mariners in Irons. Theſe
"are the works of their cruelty; now what commiſeration or kindneſs
"is there due to thoſe, who have never uſed moderation or clemency
"to any perſon, and who would (as *Scipio* told them) have aboliſhed the
"very Roman Name, had they overcome us. Perhaps this time they will
"keep their Faith, but what Faith, what Treaties, what Oaths have they not
"violated? What Peace or what Favour have they not repaid with Inju-
"ry? Some may ſay we are not to imitate them. Pray, wherein do we
"imitate them? We break not the Peace, ſince it is not yet agreed on:
"but you ſay, we ought not to imitate their cruelty. Would you then
"have theſe famous Inhumans for your Friends and Allies? It would be
"ſomewhat to the purpoſe, if, as they are vanquiſhed, they would ſubmit
"to diſcretion, as many others have done before them; then we would
"conſult of it. And whatever we ſhould leave them, the obligation would
"be on their part, nor could the favours they received, paſs for an accom-
"modation. And ſurely there is great difference 'twixt theſe two: For as
"long as we make Treaties with them, they will violate them as before,
"making it an occaſion of Rupture, that the Conditions ſeem to them un-
"juſt. For pretences will not be wanting, when they have a mind to break:
"But when they are ſubmitted to diſcretion, that we have diſarmed them,
"and reduced their bodies under our obedience, they will learn that they
"have nothing properly their own, and humbling themſelves, will be con-
"tent with thoſe things we ſhall leave them, as if they had never apper-
"tained to them. If *Scipio* be of another judgement, you may examine
"theſe two different opinions, and chuſe the beſt; but if he be reſolved
"to make Peace with the Carthaginians without you, there is no neceſſi-
"ty of writing to him. For my part knowing well you are the Judges of
"our Council, I have given mine as I believed it moſt advantagious for the
"Commonwealth.

After *Lentulus* had argued in this manner, the Senate put it to Voices, where *Scipio* carried it by ſeveral Votes. Thus was a third Peace concluded between *Rome* and *Carthage*, of which *Scipio* was the principal cauſe,

whether

whether for the reaſons aforementioned, or becauſe he thought it ſufficient that the people of *Rome* had weakned *Carthage* to ſuch a degree. For there have been who affirmed, that to preſerve the ancient diſcipline among the Romans, he would have that City left yet in ſome condition, leaſt having nothing to fear, too great proſperity ſhould make them inſolent. If this were *Scipio*'s thought he did not declare it, but *Cato* ſometime after ſaid the ſame thing in open Senate in a grave diſcourſe he made to the Fathers then incenſed againſt the Rhodians.

XXX. Peace being concluded, *Scipio* cauſed all the African Army to repaſs into *Italy*, and entred the City in Triumph, but with greater Pomp then ever any Captain had done. The manner of which I ſhall deſcribe, being the ſame uſed now adays. All the whole people were crowned, the Trumpets marched before with the Chariots loaden with the Spoils of the enemy, after which were born the figures of the Cities taken, and Pictures wherein were delineated, all the glorious acts done in that War, then followed all the Silver as well coyned as in Ingots, and other precious things, and then followed thoſe Crowns had been given to the General by the Cities, by the Allies, or by his own Army; After all this followed white Oxen, then Elephants, and after them the Captive Carthaginian and Numidian Captains. Before the General marched the Uſhers in Purple Robes with a Chore of Muſick, and Satyrs girt after the Tuſcan manner, having on their heads crowns of Gold, who advanced in order ſinging and dancing. Theſe Satyrs they called Ludions, by reaſon as I imagine that the Tuſcans wore formerly the Lydian habit; In the midſt of all theſe people was a certain man clad in a long purple Robe, adorned with Bracelets and Chains of Gold, who with ridiculous poſtures derided the enemies. After followed in train certain men with perfumes, and next appeared the General mounted on a Chariot richly carved, he had on his head a Crown of Gold ſet about with Precious Stones, his veſture was a purple robe, and in one hand he bore an Ivory Scepter, and in the other a branch of Laurel, which at *Rome* is the mark of victory. There were in the ſame Chariot with him divers Children and Maidens, and on Horſes that drew it were mounted young men of his relations. All about it marched the guards, the Secretaries and Eſquires, who were followed by the Soldiery, marching in order with abundance of Laurels, and thoſe who had done any eminent Service, wearing the military Recompenſes they had received. They have all free liberty in theſe occaſions either to praiſe their Captains; paſs their jeſts upon them, or if they pleaſe to condemn their actions, for a Triumph is a thing of abſolute freedom, and men are priviledged to ſay any thing. In this manner *Scipio* aſcended the Capitol, and the Pomp over, magnificently treated his Friends in the Temple according to cuſtom.

Such was the end of the ſecond Punick War, which began in *Spain*, and was finiſhed in *Africa* by a Treaty concluded about that time, when the Greeks account the hundred forty fourth Olympiad.

XXXI. Sometime after *Maſaniſſa* (ſworn Enemy to the Carthaginians) having ſieſed a part of their Territory, preſuming as much on the Friendſhip of the Romans, as any right he pretended to it, they ſent deputies to *Rome* to ſupplicate the Senate to put a ſtop to the Enterprizes of that Prince: Commiſſioners were ſent to determine the difference, but with Orders to advance that Kings intereſts as high as they could poſſibly.

Thus *Maſaniſſa* was maintained in the poſſeſſion of what he had taken, and made likewiſe a peace with the Carthaginians which laſted about fifty years. During which, *Carthage* enjoying a ſolid peace, and being much improved in men and riches by reaſon of the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and commodiouſneſs of the Harbors: The minds of men, as is uſual, were tranſported with proſperity, and the City was divided into three Factions the Roman, the Popular, and the Royal. Each of which had for head the moſt conſiderable men of the Nobility both for dignity and virtue. *Hanno* the Great ſtood for the intereſt of the Romans: *Hannibal Opſar* ſided with *Maſaniſſa*: And *Amilcar* called the Samnite, and with him *Carthalon* were heads of the Popular Faction. Theſe laſt ſeeing the Romans engaged in a War in *Celtiberia*, and *Maſaniſſa* hard put to it to defend himſelf againſt other Spaniards, obliged *Carthalon*, who then in quality of Lieutenant General was going his Circuit, to fall at unawares upon *Maſaniſſa*'s Camp, then pitched in that Country, about which they had been at difference; which he did, and having taken and ſlain ſome of the Kings Troops raiſed the Country of *Lybia* againſt the Numidians. There followed ſome other skirmiſhes between the two parties, till ſuch time as the Romans once more ſent Commiſſioners to make Peace, with Orders like the former to do ſecretly all they could in favor of the King. Who made uſe of this cunning to confirm *Maſaniſſa* in the poſſeſſion of what he had before ſieſed upon. They gave no ſentence, nor took ſo much as any cognizance of the difference, for fear left *Maſaniſſa* ſhould ſeem to have loſt his cauſe, they only placed themſelves between the two Camps, parted them, and gave order to both ſides to lay down Arms. Some time after *Maſaniſſa* renewed the War upon a pretence he had to a Country called *Lyſca*, where there were large Champians, and fifty good Towns. The Carthaginians had again recourſe to the Senate, and people of *Rome*; they promiſed to ſend Deputies upon the place to determine this affair, but the Deputation was delay'd till ſuch time as probable conjectures might be made that *Maſaniſſa* had the advantage. Then Commiſſioners were diſpatched, and among others *Cato*, who being arrived upon the places contended for, required the parties to give them full power to judge the difference as Arbitrators. To which *Maſaniſſa* who found himſelf the ſtronger, and confided in the Romans, eaſily agreed, but the Carthaginians made a difficulty of it, and not without reaſon, for they remembred well that in former ſentences they had not done them juſtice, and alleged that the accommodations made by the authority of *Scipio* needed no correctors, provided they were obſerved by one Party and the other. Whereupon the Commiſſioners who would not be Judges but by conſent of parties, returned without doing any thing. But obſerving in their journy how excellently the Land was cultivated, and that the Country abounded in all things, they were aſtoniſhed, eſpecially to ſee *Carthage* it ſelf ſo ſoon recovered of thoſe loſſes ſo lately ſuſtained by *Scipio*'s Victory; Inſomuch that being returned to the City they declared it a fault in the people of *Rome*, not to have a more watchful eye upon *Carthage*, they had ſo anciently been jealous of, and which upon a ſudden was ſo eaſily reſtored to ſuch power. *Cato* himſelf ſaid the Liberty of the people of *Rome* could never be ſecured whilſt *Carthage* ſubſiſted. Which being propoſed in the Senate, it was reſolved to make War upon the Carthaginians, but that the deſign ſhould be kept ſecret till opportunity preſented. 'Tis ſaid that *Cato* hereafter ceaſed not in open Senate to declare the Neceſſity of demoliſhing *Carthage*, but *Scipio Naſica* quite contrary argued

argued that it was to be left in a condition, that the ancient Diſcipline, which began to decay, might be maintained in vigor by the fear they would ſtill ſtand in of that City.

XXXII. Mean while in *Carthage* the Popular Faction ſuppreſſed the Royal, condemning to baniſhment about fifty of the Principal, and making the people ſwear never to admit their return, nor ſo much as ſuffer it to be ſpoke of. The Exiles made their retreat to *Maſaniſſa* to oblige him to a War; He was before ſufficiently inclined to it; wherefore he ſent *Guluſſa* and *Micipſa* two of his ſons to *Carthage*, to ſolicite the return of thoſe who had for his ſake been baniſhed. But when they preſented themſelves at the Gates. *Carthalon* forbid their entrance, for fear left the tears of the Exiles kindred ſhould work upon the people, and beſides *Amilcar* the Samnite laid an ambuſh for *Guluſſa* upon his return which ſlew ſome of his attendants and put him to flight. This gave occaſion to *Maſaniſſa* to beſiege the City of *Horoſcopa*, with the taking of which he had a mighty deſire to begin the rupture. To it's relief went the Carthaginians with twenty five thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe of the City, under the command of *Aſdrubal* then General of their forces, to whom joyned *Aſſaſis* and *Suba*, two of *Maſaniſſa*'s Major Generals who deſerting the two young Princes, went over to the Carthaginian party with ſix thouſand horſe. *Aſdrubal* with this additional force goes and encamps near the King, and had often and ſucceſsful skirmiſhes. But *Maſaniſſa* acting with the cunning of a Great Captain retired by little and little, as if he had given ground, till ſuch time as he had drawn him into a great barren plain encompaſſed on all ſides with Mountains, and deficient in all neceſſaries to ſubſiſt on; Here facing the enemy he encamped in the midſt of the Plain, while *Aſdrubal* ſieſed on the Eminencies, whereby he thought he had the greater advantage. On the morrow the battel was deſigned, when young *Scipio* who afterwards took *Carthage*, and who at preſent was only Lieutenant to *Lucullus*, who made War in *Celtiberia*, came to ſeek out *Maſaniſſa* to demand ſome Elephants. The King who was deſirous that day to take ſome repoſe that he might go the freſher to the battel ſent ſome horſe to meet him, and gave orders to ſome of his ſons to receive him. Day being come he drew up his Army in battel being now fourſcore and eight years old, yet a ſtrong and vigorous Souldier, who according to the cuſtom of the Country mounted on horſe back, without ſaddle or other covering equally acting in the duty of General and Soldier, for the Numidians are luſtieſt of all the people of *Africa*, and live longer then any others, which is perhaps occaſioned becauſe the Winter is not ſo ſharp in this Country, nor the heats ſo violent as in *India* and *Ethiopia*, and for the ſame reaſons are their Cattel ſtronger and greater. The men lie all abroad and harden themſelves by continual labor, they drink little Wine, feed very ſparingly and with much ſobriety. *Maſaniſſa* having drawn up his Army in Order, *Aſdrubal* did the like, for to him there were joyned many people of the Country. *Scipio* being on the top of a Hill, as on a Theatre, ſaw all this Battel, and was after heard to ſay, that though he had been in an infinite number of fights, there was never any in which he took ſo much delight, for he had never ſeen any other, wherein either his perſon was in ſecurity, or that there were a hundred and ten thouſand Combatants: Or to expreſs it more glorioufly, he ſaid that before him were never found but two Spectators in

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a like occaſion, which were in the time of the Trojan Wars, *Jupiter* on the top of Mount *Ida*, and *Neptune* on *Samothracia*. They fought from Morning till Night with great ſlaughter of men on both ſides; however the advantage ſeem'd *Maſaniſſa's*: Whom *Scipio* came to meet, as he returned to his Camp, congratulating the happy ſucceſs of his Arms; and for his part, he received *Scipio* as the Son of his Friend, with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs. The Carthaginians having notice of his coming, requeſted him to make peace between *Maſaniſſa* and them, which he having yielded to, brought them to a Conference; the Articles of the Treaty were, that the Carthaginians ſhould releaſe to the King all the Country that lies about the Empories, and ſhould promiſe him two hundred Talents ready money, and eight hundred more payable at a certain term: But when *Maſaniſſa*, beſides all this, demanded the Fugitives, they would not hear him ſpeak of it; ſo they parted without doing any thing, and *Scipio* returned into *Spain* with the Elephants. *Maſaniſſa* ſeeing his Enemies Camp ſeated on an Eminence, or round Hill, beſieged them in ſuch a manner, that no Proviſions could be brought to them, nor was the bringing all, there was none to be had, and he himſelf procured them with much difficulty, and what he had was fetch'd from afar off, and in very ſmall quantities. *Aſdrubal* at firſt thought that with the Forces he had, he could diſingage himſelf when he pleaſed, and open himſelf a paſſage through the midſt of his Enemies. But becauſe his Stores were better furniſh'd than theirs, he hoped *Maſaniſſa* might be reduced to a neceſſity of demanding Peace; and beſides, he was the leſs concerned, becauſe he had heard that Deputies were coming from *Rome* to end their differences. This was true, but theſe Deputies had Orders to determine the Affairs, if *Maſaniſſa* was overcharged, but to highten his courage, if they found him the ſtronger, which Orders they punctually executed. Mean while the Famine entred *Aſdrubal's* Camp in ſuch manner, that the Soldiers weaken'd with Hunger, were not able to repulſe the Enemy; firſt they kill'd the Beaſts of carriage, after that their Horſes for ſervice; and at laſt were reduced to ſuch extreme neceſſity, that they boiled the very Reins of the Bridles for a ſuſtenance. There ſuppriſed them likewiſe an infinite number of Diſeaſes, increaſed by their bad Food, by the idleneſs of the Soldiers, and the ſeaſon of the year, for there was a great number of men incloſed within a ſmall compaſs of ground, during the greateſt heats of Summer, which were exceſſive in *Africa*: And becauſe through the want of Wood, even to dreſs their Food, they had been forced to burn their very Bucklers: Now not having the means to carry their dead Bodies out of the Camp, becauſe of the ſtrict Guard *Maſaniſſa* kept, and deſtitute of Fuel to burn them, the Plague daily increaſed with the ſtink of the dead Carcaſes, in the midſt of which they were forced to abide. Hunger had already conſumed the greateſt part, when the reſt hopeleſs of ſafety were forced to deliver up the Fugitives to *Maſaniſſa*, to oblige themſelves to pay him yearly five thouſand Talents of Silver for fifty years, and to cauſe thoſe they had baniſhed to return, notwithſtanding their Oath to the contrary. It was likewiſe agreed, that the Soldiers which remained ſhould march out only with one Coat, and paſs under the Yoke: Which being executed, *Guluſſa* remembring how a little before he had been affronted, ſent the Numidian Horſe after the Carthaginians, who not able to make reſiſtance, diſarmed, as they were, and not having ſtrength enough to fly; of fifty eight thouſand men very few recovered *Carthage*, of which number was *Aſdrubal*, with ſome of the Nobility. This is what paſſed in the

the War, between *Maſaniſſa* and the Carthagians, which was ſoon after followed by the third and laſt Punick War.

The people of *Carthage* weakned by the loſſes they had ſuſtained in this War, ſtood yet in fear of *Maſaniſſa*, who was nigh with a great Army; and beſides doubted not but the Romans, who had teſtified their diſaffection to them upon all occaſions, would lay hold of this, under pretence that the Carthaginians had made War upon *Maſaniſſa*, the Friend and Ally of the Roman people. And indeed their conjecture was not falſe; for as ſoon as it was known at *Rome* what had paſſed, the Senate commanded all the people of *Italy* to levy great numbers of Soldiers; not declaring for what ſervice they deſigned them; but only giving Orders they ſhould be in a readineſs upon the firſt Command. Wherefore the Carthaginians to repair their fault, did by publick Edict declare *Aſdrubal* their General againſt *Maſaniſſa*, criminal, together with *Carthalon* his Lieutenant, and all thoſe of their Faction, laying to their charge the cauſe of this War. They likewiſe ſent them Deputies to *Rome* to complain of *Maſaniſſa*, but more of their own Citizens already condemned, for that they had raſhly, and with too much paſſion taken Arms againſt that King, and by that means put the City into hazard of falling afreſh into evil terms with the people of *Rome*. Upon which a certain Senator asked them, why they had not, in the beginning of the War, condemned all thoſe were the cauſe of it, without attending the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize; adding that the Carthaginians had a long time deſigned a War againſt the people of *Rome*, and went only ſeeking an opportunity, wherefore the Senate could not receive this excuſe. The Deputies ſurprized with this anſwer, demanded in return what then they ſhould do to expiate their crime, ſince they had adjudged them guilty: to which was replyed in a word, *Content the people of* Rome. It was brought into debate in the Senate of *Carthage*, what this Contentment could be, they deſired of them, ſome thinking that the Romans would have ſome ſums added to thoſe ordained by *Scipio*, others that they muſt abſolutely quit to *Maſaniſſa* the poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands in difference. In this uncertainty they ſent once more to beſeech the Senate to preſcribe them more expreſly the means of contenting them; to which anſwer was given, *the Carthaginians knew them well enough*; and with this they were ſent back: which begat a ſtrange trouble, and general terrour throughout all *Carthage*. And to add to it, at the ſame time, the City of *Utica*, then the moſt conſiderable of all *Africa*, next to *Carthage*, having large and commodious Havens to receive a forreign Fleet, and not above ſixty furlongs diſtant from that City, and ſo by conſequence very proper to make the ſeat of the War againſt the Carthaginians; there having ever been a ſecret animoſity between the two Cities: *Utica* taking this opportunity of the deplorable Eſtate, to which *Carthage* was now reduced, ſends Deputies to *Rome* to yield up themſelves and their City to the Roman people. The Senate, who had long before had an inclination to this War, and were now prepared for it, having at their devotion ſo ſtrong and ſo commodious a City, diſcovered their intentions, and aſſembling in the Capitol, where it is uſual to debate Affairs of conſequence, decreed a War with *Carthage*; and at the ſame time gave it in Order to the Conſuls, with private Orders, never to give it over till *Carthage* were deſtroy'd. XXXIII.

M. Manlius had the command of the Army by Land, and *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* XXXIV.

Cenſorinus of the Fleet by Sea. After offering up the uſual Sacrifices, they paſt into *Sicily*, that from thence they might let forward to *Utica*, carryed by fifty * Quinqueremes, and a hundred Foiſts followed by many others, as well flat bottom'd Veſſels, as great Barques and Ships of Burthen: Their Army conſiſted of fourſcore thouſand Foot, and about four thouſand choſen Horſe. For both the Citizens and Allies manifeſted an equal alacrity to go upon this glorious expedition, the ſucceſs of which was no way doubtful; nay, ſome were found that would engage in it, whether the Conſuls would or no. Thus was War made and declared againſt *Carthage* at the ſame time, and he that carried them the Decree of the Senate, declared likewiſe that there was an Army at Sea ready to invade them. This news caſt the whole City, not only into fear, but deſpair. They had lately loſt all their Youth, they had neither Fleet, nor Allies, nor Soldiers in readineſs, no proviſion in the City to ſuſtain a Siege; in ſhort, no manner of preparations, as ordinarily happen to people ſurprized, with an unexpected War, and which has not been declared. Beſides, it was not poſſible for them to oppoſe the Romans and *Maſaniſſa* together; wherefore they ſent other Deputies to *Rome*, with full authority to accommodate the Affair at any rate whatſoever. The Senate made them anſwer, That, provided the Army were yet in *Sicily*, if within a month the Carthaginians would deliver up in Hoſtage three hundred Children of their beſt Families, and perform what they ſhould ordain, the City of *Carthage* ſhould remain free in the enjoyment of their Rights, and of the Territory they poſſeſſed in *Africa*. This Decree of the Senate they publickly gave to the Deputies to carry to the Conſuls, whom privately they advertiſed not to recede from thoſe orders they had received in the City. The Carthaginians were doubtful, that though they did deliver up their Hoſtages, they ſhould not obtain aſſured Peace. However, in the extremity wherein they beheld themſelves, they placed all their hopes in obedience; and that they might work upon the Conſuls, by a ready execution of their commands, they carried their Children into *Sicily*, before the time had been preſcribed them. It's true, that their Parents and Friends parted not from them without abundance of tears; eſpecially the Mothers, who ecchoing fearful ſhrieks and crys, could hardly be pulled from the embraces of their Children, and when they were, hung upon the Ships, claſped hold upon the Anchors, and cut the Tackle to hinder the Seamen from putting forth; many tore their hair, and beat their breaſts, as if they had been at a Funeral, for they perceived that in appearance indeed they gave Hoſtages, but in reality and effect, they yielded up their City, ſince their Children were taken away, and no aſſured promiſe made them. And indeed many of theſe Women ſhedding tears made this dire prediction, that the giving Hoſtages was but in vain. Thus were theſe Youth taken away from *Carthage*, to be delivered up in *Sicily*, where they were received by the Conſuls, who ſent them to *Rome*, and told the Carthaginians, they ſhould know at *Utica*, what more was to be done, to deliver themſelves from this VVar.

* *Galleys of five ranks to a bank.*

XXXIV. VVhen the Romans were paſſed over, the Army encamped in the ſame place, *Scipio* had before encamped in, and the Fleet rode in the Ports depending on *Utica*. The Carthaginian Deputies came to attend the Conſuls, who ſeated in the Tribunal, encompaſſed by all the Officers of the Army, had cauſed to be drawn off on both ſides the way that the Carthaginians were to paſs, all their Forces magnificently armed, with Colours flying,

flying, that the Carthaginians might judge of their vaſt numbers by what they ſaw. Then a Trumpet having commanded ſilence, by the Conſuls order a Herauld went to give notice to the Deputies, that they were ready to give them audience. They were led through the midſt of all the Army, and when they drew near, ſtopt at the Rails, placed like a Bar before the Tribunal, from whence the Conſuls commanded them to make their Propoſals. *They began then in a deplorable manner to recount the ancient Treaties had been between the two people, the antiquity of* Carthage, *the multitudes of people in it, the power they had had, and the former great extent of their Dominions; adding that they ſpoke not this out of vanity (for it was no time to be vain, when they were miſerable) but to the end, that the Example of a change ſo great and ſo ſudden, might oblige the Romans to treat them with humanity and moderation, of which they could not give any more illuſtrious evidence, than by having commiſeration of the afflicted, beſides thoſe who exerciſe their power well in other mens misfortunes, may hope the like from their Conquerours, if they ſhould fall into the ſame diſgrace. It would be piety in you* (ſaid the Chief of the Deputies) *to conſider the miſerable condition of our affairs, and unleſs we have indeed met with Enemies pitileſs and inexorable, you ſhould in all reaſon reſt ſatisfied with our calamities; we have loſt all the Dominion we had both by Sea and Land, we have delivered up our Ships to you, and have not ſought to build others; we have forborn hunting of Elephants; we have both formerly, and at preſent, delivered you good Hoſtages. We have paid you the Tribute we ought you at the time limited, we that uſe to receive from others. Certainly, Sirs, your Predeceſſors, after having vanquiſhed us, contented themſelves with thus much, they received us into their alliance and friendſhip, on theſe conditions, which we have ſolemnly ſworn to maintain on one part and the other. They faithfully kept the Peace they granted, after long Wars; and you, againſt whom we never took up Arms, what is it you complain of? what part of the Treaty has not been obſerved, that you ſo ſuddenly decreed this War, and bring it to our doors before you declare it? Have we not paid you your Tribute? have we any Ships? have we any Elephants? Do we not ſeem worthy of your compaſſion, after the ſo late loſs of fifty thouſand men by famine? You will ſay we made War upon* Maſaniſſa: *'Tis true, but 'twas not till he had uſurped our Lands, which we for a long time ſuffered with patience, till he ſetting no bounds to his avarice, committed a thouſand cruelties in the Country about the Empories, where he was brought up and educated; and not content with that, he has attempted to ſnatch from us what we had remaining, and at laſt has gone ſo far, as to trouble the peace we had with you: But becauſe we feared to diſpleaſe you, that we might remove all pretence of making this War, we have by publick Edict declared even our own Defenders Criminal; we have ſent Deputies to* Rome *to make our excuſes, and now again afreſh ſent other Deputies with full Authority to renew the Peace, on what conditions ſoever you ſhould think fit: What need was there then of this Fleet, or this Army againſt people, who though innocent, ſubmit themſelves to whatſoever you ſhall ordain? You may eaſily judge we make not theſe offers to deceive you, and that you cannot impoſe upon us any penalty, we will not undergo, whilſt we have ſurrendred up as Hoſtages to you, the moſt conſiderable of our Children, as you deſired, without ſtaying out the months time you gave us for the ſending them: Beſides, the Decree of the Senate declares, that provided we delivered thoſe Hoſtages,* Carthage *ſhould remain free in the enjoyment of what we poſſeſs.*

After the Deputy had thus ſpoken, *Cenſorinus* broke ſilence, and anſwered him in theſe terms. *'Tis needleſs to repeat to you the occaſion of this War,*

your Deputies have already heard it from the Senate themſelves. But as to what you falſely object to us 'twill be eaſie to reply; for it is decreed by the Ordinance you ſpeak of, and we told it you before in Sicily, *when we received your Hoſtages, that at* Utica *ſhould be propoſed to you the farther intentions of the Senate. We cannot but praiſe you that you have ſent your Hoſtages ſo readily and ſuch choſen ones. But if you ſo paſſionately deſire Peace, what need have you of Arms. Wherefore bring all you have as well belonging to the publick, as private perſons, all your Darts, Croſsbows and other Arms, and deliver them into our hands.* The Deputies anſwered that they were willing to obey in this too, but then they could not tell how to hinder *Aſdrubal*'s entry into the City, whom they had condemned to death, and who was now at the head of twenty thouſand men which he had new raiſed. However when the Conſuls had replied that the Senate and people of *Rome* would take that into their care, they promiſed to ſurrender their Arms, and *Scipio Naſica*, and *Cn. Cornelius Hiſpalus* were ſent to receive them. They had Arms for two hundred thouſand men, an infinite Number of piles and darts, two thouſand as well croſsbows as other engins, for the lancing of javelins and caſting of great ſtones. And it was a wonderful thing to ſee the carriages loaden with them conducted by the enemies themſelves, who were followed by the Deputies, Senators, Officers, Prieſts and Nobility, hoping to move the Conſuls either out of reſpect to their dignity or out of compaſſion to their misfortune.

When they were come before the Tribunal, each man habited according to their degree, they all ſtood attentive, and *Cenſorinus* who was more eloquent then his colleague once more breaking ſilence ſpoke to them in this manner. *Certainly we have good reaſon to applaud that ready obedience you have manifeſted in delivering your Hoſtages, and ſurrendring up your Arms; but it is fruitleſs to make long diſcourſes where neceſſity preſſes. Hearken with patience to the remaining Orders of the Senate; withdraw your ſelves from the City of* Carthage *and transfer your habitation into whatever place you pleaſe of your Dominion, provided it be fourſcore furlongs from the Sea, for we are reſolved to raſe it.* The Conſuls words were interrupted by the outcrys of the Carthaginians, who began to lift up their hands to heaven, calling the gods to witneſs of the treaties violated, railing, reviling and reproaching the Romans. Some deſired death, others became furious, ſome provoked the Romans againſt the Deputies, others caſt themſelves on the ground, beating the pavement with their hands and face, and others in a rage tore not only their cloaths but their very fleſh, but after this firſt agitation was paſt over, you might behold them overwhelmed with ſorrow, ſtanding ſtill without ſpeaking a word, as if they had been dead. The Romans were aſtoniſhed at the ſpectacle, and the Conſuls could not take it ill that this conſternation, cauſed by an unexpected command, had raiſed ſuch ſtorms in the breſts of the Carthaginians, till their heat of anger was over, for they conſidered that mighty calamities do on the ſudden create a boldneſs in the heart of men, who cannot upon ſurpriſe digeſt the troubleſome neceſſity of obeying, and becoming hereafter ſervants: but when after a long ſilence they grew more lively ſenſible of their miſery, they forbore any farther revilings, and only ſet themſelves to lament their unfortunate condition, calling by name, their Children, their Wives and their Country, as if they had heard their lamentations. The Prieſts likewiſe invoked the Gods as if they had been preſent, reproaching them with being the cauſe of their death. In ſhort the mourning was ſo great, and the groans ſo confuſed, of thoſe who deplored the publick and private

private misfortune, and ſo worthy of compaſſion, that they drew tears from the eyes of their enemies. The Conſuls themſelves moved with pity, out of a conſideration of the inſtability of humane things, expected with ſad countenances the end of their deplorings, when after abundance of tears and groans, the Calm in ſome ſort returning into their ſouls, they fell again into a profound ſilence, and conſidering that their City was diſarmed and defenceleſs, that they had not one Ship, one Warlike Engine, one Dart, or one Sword left, that they had not within their walls men of war ſufficient, having lately loſt fifty thouſand men, and that it was not poſſible for them to raiſe Soldiers elſewhere, having neither friends nor allies, beſides that the ſhortneſs of the time would not permit it. That their Children, their Friends, and their Country were in the enemies power, their City beſieged by Sea and Land, and that from the other ſide *Maſaniſſa* their ancient enemy was ready to fall upon them, they put a ſtop to the Tumult, and extravagance, as of all things moſt uſeleſs in this occaſion, and had a freſh recourſe to prayers. Then *Hanno* ſurnamed *Gilla* the moſt conſiderable of all the Carthaginians there preſent, having firſt obatined permiſſion to ſpeak, began in this manner.

XXXVI. "Sirs, If I may be admitted to add any thing to the Remonſtrances "we have made you, I muſt tell you, that we pretend not to act in this "occaſion, as if we pleaded our cauſe before you in quality of Judges; "ſuch proceeding is utterly unſeaſonable in our preſent condition; but I "hope to make it appear by pertinent reaſons, that we are not unworthy "your mercy. We who have formerly been Lords of *Africa*, both by "Sea and Land, and for a long time diſputed Extent of Empire with you, "at laſt yielded all to *Scipio*, when we delivered up all our Ships and our "Elephants, we have likewiſe payd you the tributes impoſed on us at "the terms preſcribed. We beg you therefore, by thoſe gods, witneſſes "to the treaty, to pardon us, and not to violate the Oath of *Scipio*, who "ſwore that from thence forward the people of *Carthage* ſhould be friend "and allie to the people of *Rome*. We have not ſwerved from any thing "of that accommodation. We have neither ſhips, nor Elephants, you "can demand no tribute of us, nay we have ſerved you againſt three "Kings, and be not offended if we put you in mind of it, when you de- "manded our Arms, ſince ordinarily miſeries make men ſpeak more then "they ought; but now though the Religion of the Treaty ſhould be ſuf- "ficient argument to perſwade you, we have only recourſe to our Pray- "ers, and indeed we have nothing elſe left, having already yielded up to "you all that was in our power. This is all I can ſay to you touching the "firſt Treaty of Peace which was ratified by the Oath of *Scipio* your Con- "ſul, but for what concerns our preſent Eſtate, you Sirs, are your ſelves "witneſſes of what we have done. You demanded Hoſtages, we have "given you all the choiceſt of our youth. You deſired our Arms, we "have ſurrendred them all, which the inhabitants of a City taken never "willingly did. We aſſured our ſelves upon the honeſty of the Romans "and upon their word, for the Senate gave us their letters, which we "delivered unto you, and when you demanded Hoſtages from us, you pro- "miſed that *Carthage* ſhould (giving them) be at liberty to live accord- "ing to its Laws. And if having done what the letters of the Senate "have ordered us, nay more than what they commanded, it would cer- "tainly appear very evil if after having promiſed liberty to our City,

" upon delivery of Hoſtages, you ſhould ordain it's deſtruction, after having
" received them, for if you demoliſh it, how can you leave it free as you pro-
" miſed. This is all we have to ſay touching the Treaties, as well old as new,
" and if this move you not, we will only have recourſe to prayers and tears,
" the ſole refuge of the miſerable, and for which we have ample occaſion in
" the innumerable calamities that overwhelm us. We beſeech you therefore
" for an antient City, built by the command of the Gods. For the ſupport of
" that immenſe glory it had acquired. For the preſervation of that name
" it has born throughout the whole world, for its Temples, for its Gods,
" which are not capable of any crime. Chaſtiſe not them by a privation
" of thoſe ſolemn ſacrifices and continual adorations paid them by this
" City. Rob not the dead, who never offended you, of their Sepulchres,
" and thoſe funeral Honors daily celebrated on their tombs. And if you
" have any pity for us, ſince you ſay 'tis out of compaſſion you permit us
" to chuſe another habitation, ſpare our Altars, ſpare our houſhold gods,
" ſpare our high places, ſpare the goddeſs guardian of *Carthage*. In ſhort
" ſpare ſo many things that are both pleaſant and precious in the eyes of
" the whole earth; for what can you fear from us? You have our ſhips,
" you have our arms, and all thoſe great beaſts which attracted on us
" the envy of ſuch a world of people. You may ſay perhaps that it is
" comfort enough for us, that you ſuffer us to build another City. But it
" is impoſſible for men accuſtomed to get their livelyhood from the Sea, of
" whom we have an infinite number, to live or ſubſiſt in the Inland, yet how-
" ever you will have this to be a favor, but pray be pleaſed that inſtead
" of it we offer you another condition which will fully ſatisfie us and (in
" our opinion) bring you more glory. Let the City that has not ſinn'd
" ſtand, and put to death all the Carthaginians rather then command them
" to change habitation. Thus all the world will believe you animated
" againſt men, and not againſt Temples, Gods, Sepulchres and innocent
" walls. You have been accuſtomed to prefer glory and pitty before all
" things, and to make your moderation ſhine in the midſt of your proſpe-
" rity, which hitherto you have practiſed towards all you have ſubdued,
" ſuffer your ſelves then to be moved by the prayers of *Jupiter*, and thoſe
" gods which yet preſide ore *Carthage*, and for their ſake ceaſe to hate us
" and our children, out of a remembrance of our paſt offences. Take
" heed leſt we prove the firſt for whom you looſe that high eſteem in
" which you live, and ſully not your reputation by the cruelty of this
" action, ſo horrible to ſpeak of, much more to act, and of which never
" yet was heard an Example. The Greeks made many Wars upon the
" Barbarians, and you your ſelves have bore Arms againſt many other
" Nations; yet neither of you ever raz'd a City that yielded without fight,
" that had delivered up all they held moſt dear, their Children and their
" Arms, and are moreover ready to ſubmit to whatever other puniſhment
" ſhould be impoſed, We therefore implore you by thoſe gods, witneſſes
" to our treaties, by the fortune of mankind, by thoſe inward ſtings, they
" who are in proſperity ought to feel and fear, not to brand your ſucceſs
" with ſo ſhameful a tyranny, nor extend our miſeries to the utmoſt ex-
" tremities. Or if for your parts you are reſolved, yet give us leave to
" ſend once more to *Rome*, to preſent our requeſt to the Senate. 'Tis
" but a ſhort time we ask you, yet during which our torment and trou-
" ble will increaſe through the incertainty of the event. You are in ample
" power to do with us what you pleaſe either at preſent or afterwards but
" pray remember to act nothing contrary to Piety and Mercy.

To

To all this *Censorinus* replyed; "There needs no farther repetition of the XXXVIII.
"Orders of the Senate, they have ordained, and it must be done, did we
"treat you like Enemies, we should only command, and then force you
"to it; but because the interest of our Commonwealth, and possible the
"advantage of your own requires it; I am content to make you apprehend
"the reasons, and to perswade rather than constrain you. As often as
"the sight of the Sea puts you in remembrance of your ancient Dominion,
"and past Greatness, it provokes your Arms, and begets you a thousand
"calamities. 'Twas this Sea gave the first occasion of your Assaults on
"*Sicily*, which since you have lost. 'Twas this Sea which made you in-
"vade *Spain*, out of which you were soon after chased. 'Twas this Sea
"gave you the opportunity of robbing our Merchants, contrary to your
"faith given in our Leagues, and then to throw them over-board, the bet-
"ter to conceal your crimes, till being surprised in it, you quitted *Sardinia*
"for reparation of that injury. Thus you lost *Sardinia* by means of that
"Sea which by its nature inclines all the world to covetousness, by reason
"of the vast profit it brings in, in a little time. By it formerly the Athe-
"nians, skilful in Maritime Affairs, grew suddenly and mightily great;
"and by it were not long after as suddenly ruined; for the Sea is a kind of
"Merchandise by which riches flow in full springs, and suddenly ebbs as
"fast. You know well that those people I am speaking of, having extend-
"ed their Dominion over all the Ionian Sea, and even unto *Sicily*, set no
"bounds to their avarice till they had lost all, till they were forced to sur-
"render their Havens and their Ships into their Enemies hands, to receive
"a Garrison into their City, and demolish with their own hands their lofty
"Walls, so that they became almost a Plain, which for a long time proved
"the means of their preservation. And surely, Gentlemen of *Carthage*,
"there is more stability in a Country Life, and more assurance in Labour
"and Tillage; and though the profits are not so great as those reaped by
"the Sea, yet are they much more certain: and to tell you my thoughts,
"I am clearly of opinion, that a Maritime City is rather a Ship, than firm
"Land, so much is it tossed with variety of affairs, and subject to infinite
"Revolutions, whilst the Inland yields Fruits, may be gathered without
"danger; for this reason was it, that anciently Kings chose their Seats
"within Land, and that was it raised the Medes, Persians, Assyrians and
"many others to such a height of power; but to what purpose give I you
"the examples of Kings, let us speak of what concerns you. Cast your eyes
"throughout all *Lybia*, and chuse your selves a place where you may have
"Neighbours that you like, but whence you may no more see this object
"that at present tempts you. Thus you will raise out of your minds
"the memory of past miseries; and indeed how can you look upon the
"Sea, where now you have no Shipping without being tormented with
"the remembrance of those mighty Fleets which daily returned to your
"Ports loaden with booty or with the thoughts of the former
"Magnificence of your Ports, your Arsenals and your Havens. And
"when within your City you behold the Lodgings of the Soldiers unfur-
"nished, your Stables without Horses, and your Stalls without Elephants:
"what can all this move you to, but grief, and desire to recover, if it
"were possible, the same power. 'Tis ordinary among men, that the me-
"mory of past felicity creates a hope of its return; and on the contrary,
"there is no better remedy against calamity than oblivion, which can ne-
"ver be attained to, but by distancing our selves from objects may keep it

"fresh

"freſh in our minds. An evident proof of this you may have in your "ſelves, who after having ſundry times obtained pardon for your faults, "could never keep to conſtant Peace, nor continue long without violation "of your Treaties. Wherefore if you have ſtill thoughts of Dominion, "and that preſerving your animoſities againſt us, you wait only a favou- "rable opportunity to ſhake off the yoke, you do well in endeavouring "ſtill to maintain your City, your Ports, your Honours, and thoſe lofty "Walls which ſeem only built for War: and we on our ſide ſhould com- "mit a great crime to pardon people that will not pardon us, even "then when fortune has ſubmitted them to our power. But if in truth, "and not in word only you yield the Dominion to us, and that content- "ing your ſelves with what you poſſeſs in *Lybia*, you will make a ſincere "peace with us, deal faithfully, and prove it by the effects, retire your "ſelves into *Africa*, and willingly yield up to us that Empire of the Sea, "which by right of War belongs to us. In vain, to move us to compaſſion, "do you deplore your Temples, your Gods, your publick Places, and "your Sepulchres; for we will not touch your Sepulchres, and you ſhall "have liberty when you pleaſe to come and ſacrifice, but all the reſt muſt "be demoliſhed; for you ſacrifice not to Havens, nor pay Funeral Ho- "nours to Walls; for your Hearths, your Altars, and publick Places, you "may build them elſewhere, and ſoon eſtabliſh your ſelves a Reſidence "in the ſame manner as when you left *Tyre* you came into *Africa*, and "gained this Seat which now you call the Seat of your Anceſtors. To tell "you all in a word, you may eaſily conceive what we now do is not out "of malice, but for our own ſecurity, and to maintain publick concord: "if you remember that *Alba* which was no Enemy City, inhabited not "by Foes, but Friends that loved us, was transferred into our City for "the publick good, which ſucceded to both peoples ſatisfaction. But we "have, ſay you, multitudes of miſerable people who gain their living by "the Sea; this hath likewiſe been thought on, ſo far, that it will be eaſie "for you ſtill to trade by Sea, and to import and export your Commodi- "ties without very great trouble; for we have not ordained your retreat "from the Sea above fourſcore Furlongs; and we our ſelves are di- "ſtant at leaſt a hundred. We permit you to chuſe ſuch a place as ſhall "beſt like you, and live with all freedom in your new Habitations: and "this is what we meant when we told you that the City of *Carthage* ſhould "remain free, if they obeyed us in this occaſion; for ſpeaking of the "City, we believed not to be underſtood to have ſpoken of its Foundations, "or its Walls, but its Citizens. Here *Cenſorinus* ſtopped, but ſeeing the Carthaginians were likewiſe ſilent, he added, that *What he had ſaid, was only to perſwade and comfort them: And now,* ſaid he, *the Orders of the Senate muſt be put in execution, and that out of hand, wherefore withdraw your ſelves; for as yet we conſider you as Deputies.* Upon hearing theſe words, the Uſhers made them go forth; but they foreſeeing the diſorder this news would bring to *Carthage*, deſired once more audience, and being again admitted, ſpake again in this manner. *We ſee well, that we muſt obey, ſince you will not permit us to ſend to* Rome; *nor have we any hopes of ever returning again to you; for our Citizens, before we ſhall have done ſpeaking, will tear us in pieces; wherefore we beg you not for our concern (we have already ſet up our Reſt) but for the intereſt of* Carthage, *to oblige them by terror to ſupport the Calamity they groan under, that to that end you would cauſe your Fleet to approach the City, whilſt we are on the way thither, to the intent, that they at once underſtanding your deſign, and ſeeing the danger whereupon they are threatened,*

threatened, falling upon them, may ſuffer, if poſſible, the execution of your Command. Judge you to what the injuſtice of our fortune has reduced us, when we are conſtrained to demand your Forces againſt our ſelves.

Having uttered theſe words, they departed, and *Cenſorinus* went to plant himſelf within view of *Carthage* with twenty Galleys, whilſt one part of the Deputies took a quite different way from the City, and the reſt went thitherward quite overwhelmed with ſorrow and grief.

XXXIX. The Carthaginians ſtood upon their Walls to diſcover their return at a diſtance; and ſome tore their hairs out of impatience to ſee them coming, others ran out to meet them to hear the news; but when they beheld them quite caſt down with ſadneſs, they ſmote their Breſts, demanding how things had paſſed; ſome in the general; others when they met a Friend or any one they knew, ſtopped them and enquired: but when they received no anſwer, they gave themſelves over to tears, judging all was loſt, thoſe who from the Walls perceived it, wept likewiſe for company, without knowing wherefore, but out of an inward preſage of ſome great misfortune. The Deputies being come to the Gate, the people thronged ſo thick, that they were ready to ſtifle one another, and ready they were to have torn in pieces the Deputies, had they not told them that before they could anſwer them they muſt have conference with the Senate. Hereupon ſome gave place, and others made way for them, that they might the ſooner know the truth. After they were entred the Palace, and the multitude were retired, the Senate took their Seats, and the people ſtood all about the Senate-Houſe. And now the Deputies having told them the command they had received from the Conſuls, there was raiſed a confuſed cry in the Aſſembly, which the people that were without anſwered by a dreadful noiſe. But when the Deputies continued their diſcourſe, and declared the reaſons they had uſed to move the Romans, they again kept a profound ſilence, out of the deſire every man had to know the event, which made the people quiet too; but when they underſtood that they were not ſuffered ſo much as to ſend to *Rome*, they burſt forth into hideous groans and outcries; and the people forcing their Guards, entred confuſedly into the Palace where now there was nothing but rage and fury. All the Rabble, like ſo many *Bacchantes*, poſſeſſed with different ſorts of madneſs, fell ſome upon the Senators who had adviſed the giving of Hoſtages, tearing them in pieces, as if they had been the firſt cauſe of their ſurpriſe; others treated in the ſame manner thoſe who had counſelled the delivery of their Arms: ſome threw Stones at the Deputies, as the bringers of ill news; others ran like Furies up and down the Streets, and finding ſome *Italians*, who by chance had ſtaid in the City, not dreaming of this unexpected misfortune, treated them with a thouſand ſorts of Indignities, telling them they would have revenge for the Hoſtages ſent to *Rome*, and for the Arms taken from them. All the City was filled with tears and rage, with fear and threatenings; ſome running through the Streets called out to their Friends, others ran to the Temples, blaſpheming the Gods that had not power to defend their own Altars, ſome running to the Arſenals, wept for grief, to ſee them empty, others running to the Havens with tears, bemoaned their Ships delivered to faithleſs men, others again called their Elephants by name, as if they had ſtill been with them, accuſing and blaming both themſelves and their Predeceſſors, and arguing that they ought never to have yielded up neither Elephants, nor Ships, nor Arms, nor conſented to pay Tribute; for that it had been much more honourable to have died for

their

their Country with their Arms in their hands. But nothing more enflamed the anger of the people, than the Mothers of the Hoſtages, whom they might behold like Furies in a Tragedy, flie upon all they met with, reproaching them that they had robbed them of their Children, and demanding ſatisfaction. In concluſion, ſome more reſerved than the reſt, after having barricadoed up the Gates, gathered Stones, and carried them upon the Walls, to ſerve againſt the Enemy, inſtead of other Arms.

XL. The ſame day it was concluded in the Senate, that they ſhould ſtand upon their Defence, and Proclamation was made for the general freedom of Slaves. They likewiſe nominated Generals, of which one was *Aſdrubal*, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already twenty thouſand Men in Arms, and to him they preſently diſpatched a Deputy to entreat him, that now in his Countries extremity he would not remember the offence he had received, which was only occaſioned by the fear they had of the Romans. Him they appointed to keep the Field; and for the City they choſe another *Aſdrubal*, Grand-child to *Maſaniſſa*, by one of his Daughters. This done, they diſpatched once more to the Conſuls, to demand only thirty days time, during which, their Deputies ſhould go to *Rome*, which being refuſed, they took a reſolution to ſuffer all extremities, rather than abandon their City. And now might be ſeen an univerſal change in mens minds; the Temples likewiſe, and the Palace, and other ſpacious places were changed into publick Shops, wherein men and women laboured night and day without reſpit, unleſs ſo much time as neceſſity and nature required for food and ſleep; ſo that every day they made one hundred Bucklers, three hundred Swords, a thouſand Arrows for the Croſs-bow; five hundred Darts and Javelins, and as many Croſs-bows as they could; and when they wanted ſtrings to bend them with, the Women cut off their Hair to make Cords of. Whilſt the Carthaginians prepared for War with ſo much care and diligence, the Conſuls were not ſo preſſing, whether it troubled them to reſolve upon doing a thing ſo extraordinary, or that they thought they could, when ever they pleaſed, with eaſe take by force a diſarmed City. Beſides they imagined that neceſſity would ſoon take them off their courage, it being ordinary, that thoſe who in the extremity of Affairs are at firſt furiouſly oppoſite, after having more cloſely conſidered the matter, grow fearful of diſpleaſing thoſe who have the power of deſtroying them, which happened in effect in *Carthage*, where a certain man perceiving his Fellow-Citizens already growing ſenſible of fear, came into the Aſſembly under another pretence, and told them, that of many evils the leaſt was to be choſen, when they had not wherewithal to defend themſelves. Mean while *Maſaniſſa* was not well ſatisfied, that he having brought down the Power and Glory of the Carthaginians, the Romans ſhould come and ſnatch the Victory out of his hands, and had croſſed the Sea without firſt communicating their deſign to him, which they had uſed to do in former Wars. However, when the Conſuls, to ſound his intentions, demanded his aſſiſtance, he replyed, he would not be wanting, as ſoon as he knew they ſtood in need of it, and indeed ſometime after he ſent one to the Conſuls, to know if they had any thing for him to do, but they not enduring his Pride, and miſtruſting him as a perſon grown angry, made anſwer, that when they ſtood in need of him, they would ſend him word, and yet were they at preſent in ſome ſtraits for Proviſions, which were only brought them from *Adrumetum*, *Leptis*, *Saxa*, *Utica* and *Chella*; for *Aſdrubal* held all the reſt of *Lybia*, from whence he ſent what he could to *Carthage*.

Some days being paſſed, the two Conſuls drew their Army near the City, reſolved

reſolved to beſiege it. It was ſituate in the great Golf of *Africa*, encompaſſed by the Sea, in form of a Peninſula, the Neck of which dividing it from the Continent, was about five and twenty Furlongs broad. Towards the Weſt there ſtretched out a long Point of Land, about half a Furlong wide, which advancing into the Sea, divided it from the Mariſh, and was incloſed on all ſides with Rocks, and with a ſingle Wall. Towards the South and the Continent, where ſtood the Cittadal called *Byrſa*, it was incloſed with a triple Wall of thirty Cubits high, not accounting the height of the Parapets and Towers, which flanked it round in equal diſtances, of about two * Acres one from another. Their Foundations were about thirty Foot deep, and they were four Stories high, the Walls reaching only to the ſecond, but they were vaulted, and that ſo vaſtly, that underground there were Stalls for three hundred Elephants, with all things neceſſary for their ſuſtenance, and above Stables for four thouſand Horſe, and Lofts for their Provender: beſides there were Lodgings for twenty thouſand Footmen, and four thouſand Horſemen; in ſhort, all their ordinary preparations for War were lodged in their Walls only. There was but one place of the City, where the Walls were low and weak. This was a neglected Angle, which began at the Point of Land, we ſpoke of before, and reached to the Ports, for they had two Ports diſpoſed in ſuch manner, that a Ship might eaſily go from one to the other; and yet there was but one entrance through a paſſage of about ſixty ſix Foot wide, ſecured with Chains; the firſt was for Merchants, where were many, and divers ſorts of Quarters for the Mariners; the other, which was the inner Port, was for the Men of War, in the midſt of which ſtood an Iſland encompaſſed about, as well as the Port, with vaſt Keys, in which there were Places or Docks to put under covert two hundred and twenty Ships, and above Store-houſes, where they wrought and made all things neceſſary for the Shipping; the Fronts of each place were upheld by two Pillars of Marble of Ionick workmanſhip, ſo that the whole round, as well of the Port as the Iſland, repreſented on both ſides two magnificent Gallies. Within this Iſland ſtood the Admirals Palace, from whence the Trumpet gave the Signal of his Orders; from whence he publiſhed his Ordinances, and from whence he overlooked all things. The Iſland ſtood directly oppoſite to the mouth of the Port, extending it ſelf a good way forward, ſo that from thence the Admiral could diſcern what paſſed at Sea a great diſtance off, but thoſe at Sea could not perceive what paſſed within; nay, when the Merchants were entred into their Port, they could not ſee the Men of War, for their Port was ſeparate from the inward Port by a double Wall; and for them there was an entrance from their Port by a Gate into the City, without paſſing into the other. Such was at this time the face of *Carthage*.

* *Or about 80 fathoms according to the Greek Acre.*

The Conſuls having each taken their quarter, began their aſſaults, *Manlius* to the Landſide, with deſign to fill up the Ditch, and poſſeſs himſelf of the Rampire within it, that ſo he might afterwards attempt the high Walls; and *Cenſorinus* from the Sea cauſing Ladders to be planted both on the Shore, and in his Ships againſt that ill fortified Angle, which had been always neglected; they both deſpiſed their Enemy, believing him diſarmed: but when they found new made Arms, and Men fully reſolved to defend themſelves, they were ſurpriſed as at a Prodigy, and retreated, acknowledging that from the very firſt they committed an errour, in believing they ſhould carry the City without fighting. They made a ſecond aſſault, which ſucceeding no better than the firſt, increaſed the courage of

the Carthaginians; and now the Consuls fearing *Asdrubal*, who lay encamped on the edge of the Marish, lodged their Forces apart; *Censorinus*, with his Naval Army in the Marish, against the Walls of the City, and *Manlius* on the neck of the *Peninsula*, towards the Continent. Being thus posted, *Censorinus* passed the Marish, to go in search of Materials for the building of Engines, where he lost five hundred Workmen; and great quantity of Arms having been encountred by *Amilcar*, sirnamed *Phameas*, Colonel of the Carthaginian Horse: yet forbore he not the bringing of Materials, with which having caused to be made Ladders, and other Engines, he with them returned to the assault, but in vain. *Manlius* after some slight attempts, and beating down part of the first Wall, desparing of success, gave over the Enterprise: but *Censorinus* having filled up a part of the Marish near to the point of the Land to gain more room, raised two Rams of an extraordinary size, of which one was driven forward by six thousand * Foot, encouraged by the Orders and Presence of their Captains; and the other by the Gally-slaves, whose labour was over-seen by those who had the command of the Gallies. This begat subject of Emulation, so that the Commanders, as well as the others striving, who should out-do each other, a great part of the Wall was soon overthrown, and the City might plainly be seen into. The Carthaginians on their side did not sleep, but apply'd themselves to repair by night, what breaches the Rams had made by day; but because the night was not sufficient for so great a labour, fearful lest the Romans should easily beat down again what they had repaired, whilst it was yet moist and unsettled; they resolved upon a Sally, and some with Swords, and others with Torches in their Hands, so vigorously assaulted the Engines, that though they burnt them not quite, yet they rendred them useless, and retreated into the City in order. Day appearing, the Romans entertained a conceit of entring *Carthage*, by the breach which the Inhabitants could not quite repair, and they saw within a spacious place very proper to fight in. The Carthaginians expected them, having placed in the Front all their Armed men, others with Stones and Clubs in the Rear, and all about in the neighbouring Houses, those who were any way capable of defending them. The Romans enraged that disarmed men thus despised them, entred in throngs into *Carthage*: but *Scipio*, to whom the taking of this City gave afterwards the sirname of *Africanus*, being yet but * Tribune, took special care not to enter, contenting himself with drawing up his Regiment by Companies in Battel, near the Walls of the City; from whence, as much as in him lay, he hindred others from passing in, and sustained those whom the Carthaginians beat back, by favouring their retreat; and this was it, gave him his first reputation, and made him gain the Character, in all Letters that were wrote to *Rome*, of being wiser than the Consuls: At length *Censorinus* his Army becoming sorely afflicted with sickness, by reason of being posted among dead and stinking waters, and that the height of the Buildings hindred them from breathing the Sea Air, he resolved to put to Sea; but the Carthaginians having observed, that the wind blew directly to the Roman Fleet, filled with Tow and dried Vine-twigs, a quantity of small Barques within their Port, that the Enemy might know nothing of it; and having plaistred them over with Pitch and Brimstone, brought them out in sight of the Romans, and there hoisting sail, set fire to them; so that the wind, and the violence of the flames drove them into the midst of the Fleet, which were almost all burn'd.

* *It is to be imagined, he means, but a part laboured at a time, and when weary, were relieved by others.*

* *Colonel of* 1000 *men.*

After

After this, *Censorinus* being gone to *Rome* to be present at the Assembly; then to meet for Election of Magistrates; his departure gave such boldness to the Carthaginians, as to make an attempt upon *Manlius* his Camp. To this end they sallyed by night, some armed, and others who had no Arms carrying Bridges, and stormed the Ditch in that place next the Town, and were already pulling out the Palisades, when the Alarm being run through the whole Camp, by reason of the obscurity of the night, *Scipio* with his Horse marched out of the farther Gate, and going the round of the Camp without the Line, terrified the Carthaginians, and made them retreat again into their City; all the World gave *Scipio* the glory of having saved the Army in this nocturnal terrour by his Conduct; and *Manlius* determined to keep better Guards, and to fortifie himself, to which effect he caused a Wall to be built in the place, where there was but a Palisade, and built a Fort on the Sea, to receive those Ships that brought him Provisions. That done, he took the Field with ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, besides Hewers of Wood and Forragers, to gather in Harvest throughout all the level Country. Those who were employed in this Service, were commanded by Tribunes, who relieved one another according to their turns, which gave occasion to *Phameas*, who commanded the African Horse to signalize himself; this young man diligent and handy, and who had with him small but swift Horses, which lived on Herbs when they had nothing else; and could endure hunger and thirst, if there were occasion, concealed himself among the Woods, or in the Valleys; and when he perceived the Enemy stood not upon their Guard, sallyed from his Covert, and came thundring upon them like an Eagle; and after having charged the Romans, retreated into a place of security. But when *Scipio* commanded, he never appeared; for *Scipio* continually kept his Foot in order, and his Horse in a fighting posture; and when any Corn was to be cut, he never suffered the Reapers to go to work, till he had first gone the round of the Field they were to cut down, both with Horse and Foot in their Arms, himself guarding the out-skirts with some Squadrons; and if any of the labourers straggled from the others, or went out of the Circle, he punished them severely, wherefore *Phameas* never durst attempt him; and *Scipio* still continuing his vigilance, his glory increased from day to day; insomuch, that the other Tribunes, who envyed him, raised a report that there was an old Alliance between *Scipio*, and the Family of *Phameas*. It happened also that some Africans retiring themselves to some Towers or Castles, of which there are great number in that Country: the other Tribunes, after having granted them Pass-ports, forbore not to lay Ambushes for them in the way, and rob them: But *Scipio* on the contrary, convey'd them to the very House; insomuch, that hereupon none afterwards would enter into a Treaty, but in his presence; so much the good opinion of his Virtue and Honesty was increased, not only in the thoughts of the Romans, but of the Enemies themselves. *Manlius* being returned to the Camp, after having gathered in Harvest, the Carthaginians by night assaulted the Fort on the Sea with great violence, and besides to strike terrour into the Romans, the whole Multitude coming out of the City made a horrible noise. The Consul ignorant of the cause of this Tumult, kept within his Trenches: but *Scipio* having caused two Squadrons of Horse to mount, each with his Torch in his hand posted in, forbidding his people to engage, because of the night, and only giving them order to run to and fro, so that they might make the Enemy believe they were a greater force than XLII.

they were, and likewiſe ſtrike an apprehenſion into them, that they were advancing to charge them, this ſucceeded; for the Carthaginians afraid of being charged on both ſides, retreated into their City; and this was a farther addition to the brave exploits already performed by *Scipio*, it being now in every Mouth, he alone was worthy to have *Paulus* for his Father, and to be enrolled in the Family of the *Scipio*'s, into which he had been adopted. Some time after *Manlius* going to *Nucera* with deſign to aſſault *Aſdrubal*, the enterpriſe diſpleaſed *Scipio*, the more becauſe he ſaw that in his March he was to paſs through narrow ways among the Rocks, the tops of which were poſſeſſed by the Enemy. However he would go, but being come within three furlongs of that General, on the Banks of a River, which he muſt paſs to fall on: *Scipio* did what he could to oblige the Conſul to a retreat, telling him another time, and other means, were requiſite to reach *Aſdrubal*. Thoſe who envyed him were not wanting to oppoſe his propoſition, and to ſay, that it ſavoured more of cowardiſe than prudence to turn tail, after having ſeen the Enemy, and that it was to give them an opportunity to come and charge them in the Rear. He then propoſed another advice; to wit, that at leaſt they ſhould throw up Trenches on that ſide the River, that if they were repulſed, they might have a retreat; but they laughed at this, and one of them ſaid, he would lay down his Sword, if he muſt obey the orders of *Scipio*, and not thoſe of *Manlius*. Hereupon the Conſul, who was not very expert in War, paſt the River; and was no ſooner on the other ſide, but he engaged *Aſdrubal*, where there happened a great ſlaughter on both ſides; but becauſe *Aſdrubal* had his Camp near, he retreated thither, from whence as from a place of ſecurity, he obſerved in what manner he might defeat the Romans, who already repenting themſelves of their enterprize, regained the River in good order, yet could they not very commodiouſly repaſs it, becauſe there were but few Fords, and thoſe very dangerous, ſo that they were forced to file off. Now *Aſdrubal* taking his time, charged them with great fury, ſlaying an infinite of thoſe who ſought rather to fly than defend themſelves, of which number were three of the Tribunes, the principal of thoſe, who had adviſed the General to give battel. *Scipio* preſently rallyed all the Cavalry he could with three hundred Horſe which he had, and dividing them into two Squadrons, cauſed them to march againſt the Enemy each of his ſide, with order not to charge at the ſame time, but make their diſcharge of their Darts, and then immediately retreat; then charging again, retreat in like manner. He was of opinion, that thus, having always one half of them fronting the Enemy, and ſtopping them with force of Darts, he ſhould conſtrain him to cloſe his Battalia's, which indeed happened; for after often renewing this kind of fight, and that the Africans ſaw they continually charged them with Darts which extremely vexed them, they turned all their Power againſt *Scipio*, giving by this means leiſure to the reſt of the Army to repaſs the River; and *Scipio* ſeeing the Romans on the other ſide, paſſed himſelf through all the ſhowers of Darts, thrown at him by the Africans. Now at the beginning of this fight, four Roman Cohorts, which the unexpected aſſault of the Enemy had hindred from gaining the River, were retired to an Eminence, where *Aſdrubal* beſieged them. The Romans perceived nothing of it, till ſuch time as they were about to encamp; and now they did know it, knew not what to reſolve on; ſome were of advice to continue their march, and not to expoſe a great Army for a ſmall Number. Whereupon *Scipio* remonſtrated to them, that when the debate was about a matter of importance, mature deliberation,

'tis

'tis true, was requiſite; but that now ſeeing ſo many brave men in an extreme danger, nothing was to be left unattempted to releive them. In ſhort, having taken with him Proviſion for two days, he ſet forward, leaving the Army in a great fear, leſt he ſhould not return himſelf. As ſoon as he came to the place, where the Enemy beſieged the Romans, he immediately ſeiſed of an Eminence nigh to that, to which the Cohorts were retired to, and which was only divided from it by a very narrow Valley. His coming hindred not the Africans from continuing the ſiege, for they could not think that his men tired with travel could give any aſſiſtance to the beſieged; but he ſeeing that the two Hills joyning themſelves together at the foot, made but a very ſmall Valley, advances that way, and poſts himſelf above the Enemy; who ſtartled at his courage and readineſs, betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. He would not purſue them, becauſe they were the greater number, but contented himſelf with the ſaving of theſe four Cohorts, which were given over for abſolutely loſt, The Soldiers ſeeing him return contrary to their hopes, and that not only he himſelf was ſafe, but that he had likewiſe ſaved others; gave aſſurance of their inward rejoycing, by their outward acclamations and ſhouts of joy, conceiving an opinion of him, that he acted nothing but by the aſſiſtance of the ſame Divinity, which was believed to foretel things to his Anceſtor *Scipio*. *Manlius* returned to his Camp near the City, after having ſuffered ſufficiently, for not giving credit to *Scipio*, who would have diſarmed him from the Expedition; and whereas many thought it ſtrange, that they had left their Dead unburyed, eſpecially three Tribunes; *Scipio* gave liberty to a Priſoner, and ſent him to *Aſdrubal*, to entreat him to give Funerals to the Tribunes. He cauſed them to be ſought for among the Dead; and knowing them by the Rings of Gold they wore (for by them are the Chiefs among the Romans diſtinguiſhed from the private Soldiers, who wear only Iron ones) he gave them honourable Funerals, whether moved to it out of humanity, or that in juſtice he ought it to the rule of War; or elſe already reverencing the Glory of *Scipio*, he was willing by this Office, to oblige that great man: To proceed, as the Romans who had had this bickering with *Aſdrubal*, were on their return to *Carthage*, ſtill frighted with their defeat, *Phameas* cruelly perplexed them, and on the other ſide the Carthaginians came forth to meet them, ſo that they could not recover the Camp without the loſs of ſome ſervants which thoſe from the City cut off.

XLIII. Mean while the Senate ſent Commiſſioners to the Army to enquire into the ſtate of affairs, to whom both *Manlius*, and the Chief Officers, and likewiſe even thoſe Tribunes, who had eſcaped from the Rout, gave an account very advantagious in favor of *Scipio*. For at laſt ſo many glorious ſucceſſes had ſtopt the mouth of Envy; All the Army did the like, but above all his brave Actions ſpoke enough for themſelves. Wherefore the Commiſſioners upon their return to *Rome*, publiſhed with one voice the admirable qualities of *Scipio*, and the great love the Souldiers bore him, which extreamly pleaſed the Senate. But now the Army being weakned by a great many diſgraces, Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Maſaniſſa*, to demand forces againſt the Carthaginians, who found him no longer among the living. That King finding himſelf oppreſſed with age and ſickneſs, and having many illegitimate Children on whom he had beſtowed great gifts, and three legitimate Sons, all of different minds and manners, he ſent to entreat *Scipio* as his friend, by ſucceſſion from his Anceſtors, to come and ſee him, and to conſult with him about dividing his Kingdom among

among his Children; he immediately poſted away, but ere he could arrive, *Maſaniſſa* had given up the ghoſt, having laid his Commands on his children to obey *Scipio*, in what manner ſoever he ſhould divide the ſucceſſion amongſt them. Thoſe were the laſt words of this great man happy in all things, for by divine favor he reconquered his own Kingdom, which *Syphax* and the Carthaginians had ſeized on, and enlarged it in ſuch manner, that from *Mauritania* which lies upon the Ocean he extended the bounds of his Dominion into the Continent, as far as *Cyrene*, giving Laws to an infinite number of people, and teaching them a ſweeter manner of living (for before the Numidians lived only on herbs, and deſpiſed tillage.) He left great ſtore of Silver in his Coffers, and many warlike Troops, whom himſelf had exerciſed in revenging himſelf of his enemies. He took *Syphax* with his own hand, and brought the Carthaginians ſo low that the Romans had not afterwards ſo much difficulty to deſtroy them. He was tall of Stature, and very ſtrong, ſo that though far advanced in years he would be preſent at all occaſions ſo long as he lived, and ever mounted on horſeback without a ſaddle, but the greateſt ſign of his vigorous conſtitution was that though he had many Children died before him, yet he never had leſs then then ten living at a time after once he had arrived that number, and being now fourſcore and ten years old, he left his youngeſt only four years old. That great age had he advanced to, and bore it out well, but at length of force he muſt die. *Scipio* did with honor cauſe the liberality of their father to be given to the baſtard Children; divided the mony among the legitimate Children, together with the Revenues, and willed that they ſhould all bear the title of King: As for the charges of State he diſtributed them, to every one according to their capacity and inclination. He gave as by priviledge of birth-right to *Micipſa* the Eldeſt who loved Peace the City of *Cirtha* the ancient reſidence of the Kings, to *Guluſſa* the ſecond, who was a Soldier, the Command of the Armies, and to *Maſtabal* the third who was a Scholar, the charge of Juſtice. Having made this diviſion of the Goods and Kingdom of *Maſaniſſa*. *Scipio* forthwith brought *Guluſſa* along with him to aſſiſtance of the Romans, who having preſently diſcovered the place where *Phameas* concealed himſelf, and from whence he iſſued out to ſurpriſe them, ſoon rid them of that inconvenience.

XLIV. One day *Scipio* and *Phameas* met in a place where there was only a watercourſe between, that was impaſſible. *Scipio* who was doubtful of ſome ambuſcades, advanced only with three of his people, to make diſcovery, and *Phameas* came forward on the other ſide accompanied only with one, which made *Scipio*, judging he had a deſire to ſpeak with him, advance likewiſe only with one to attend him, when they were nigh enough to hear each other, he ſpake thus to the African, *Why do not you labour for your particular ſafety, ſince you can do nothing for your Country?* to which the other anſwered, *and what ſafety can I expect, in the Eſtate to which* Carthage *is reduced, after having done you ſo much miſchief.* Aſſuredly replyed *Scipio, if you believe I have any power, and that I am a man of Faith and Honor, I dare promiſe you in the name of the Romans not only grace and pardon but acknowledgements.* The African thanked him that had more confidence in him than in all others, and told him, *I will think of it, and if I believe it may be done I will give you notice, and with that they parted.* Now *Manlius* to wipe away the ſtain of his firſt expedition to *Nucera*, returned thither, and having taken proviſions for fifteen days, encamped,

and

and fortified himself, as *Scipio* had counselled him to do the first time, but he was a long time without doing any thing, which blasted his fame the more, besides the hazard he ran the Army into of being beaten by *Asdrubal* upon their return to *Carthage*. Whilst he lay thus in an incertainty what to do, one of *Gulussa*'s people brought a packet to *Scipio*, who keeping it sealed till he came to the full Council of War, there broke it open and found writ in it, to this effect, *Such a day I will come to such a place, meet me there with what force you please, and give Order to those who are upon the Guard, to receive me if I come by night.* To this purpose were the contents of the Letters which had no name subscribed, but *Scipio* perceived well that it was an invention of *Phameas*. Though *Manlius* was fearful lest *Scipio* might be deceived by that politick man, yet seeing he had a good opinion of him, he permitted him to go to the place assigned, with Orders to receive an Oath of Fidelity from *Phameas*, without assuring him any set reward, but only promising that the Senate would recompence him, according to his deservings. But there was no need of these promises, for as soon as *Phameas* was come to the place appointed, he said that he put his own safety into the hands of *Scipio*, and for recompence he referred himself to the judgment of the Senate and people of *Rome*, and the morrow after having given his parol, he drew up all his Troops in battalia, and being advanced to the head of them with the Officers, as if he were about to consult of something of importance, he spoke to them in this manner.

If there remained any hopes to relieve our Country, I should be ready to die with you: but seeing it in the Condition in which you all know it, I am resolved to take Order for my own affairs: I have assurance given me for my self and those that will follow me: Now you are to think what you have to do.

Having thus spoken, the Captains and those who were under their command, to the Number of two thousand two hundred Horse, declared for the Romans, the rest stood firm by vertue of the authority and perswasion of *Hanno* surnamed the White. As *Scipio* returned to the Camp, accompanied with *Phameas*, all the Army came forth to meet him, receiving him with a general acclamation as in a Triumph. But *Manlius* above all expressed extraordinary joy, and no longer fearing his retreat might be shameful, because he believed *Asdrubal*, startled at the Revolt of *Phameas*, durst not follow him, he discamped for want of Provisions, not the fifteenth day after his departure, but the seventeenth. And because he had yet three days march through troublesome ways, *Scipio* took *Phameas* and *Gulussa* with their Horse, and made an inroad into the Country which the inhabitants of the place call the *Great Abyss* from whence they returned at night to their quarters, with a great booty, and good store of Provisions. *Manlius* having advice that *Calphurnius Piso* came to succeed him, sent *Scipio* before to *Rome*, together with *Phameas*, whom all the Army conducted to the very Ships, beseeching the Gods to grant them the favor, that they might see *Scipio* return into *Africa* in the quality of Consul, as if it had been decreed by the destinies, that *Scipio* only could take *Carthage*, and in truth many of the Army wrote as much to *Rome*. The Senate gave publick praises to *Scipio*, honored *Phameas* with the Purple-robe, and chain of Gold, presented him with a Horse barded with Gold, and a Suit of Arms of the same gave him, besides six thousand Sesterces, and one hundred and fifty * Marks of wrought Silver, together with a Tent furnished with all necessary

* *Each Mark containing eight Ounces.*

neceſſary moveables, and gave him hopes of much more if he applyed himſelf heartily to the ſervice of the Republick: he promiſed it, and afterwards returned into *Africa*, to joyn with the Roman Camp.

XLV. In the beginning of the Spring *Calphurnius Piſo* Conſul, and his Collegue *L. Mancinus* Admiral embarked for *Africa*, whither being come, they made no attempt at all neither againſt *Carthage* nor againſt *Aſdrubal*, but contented themſelves to make War upon the little Cities round about, they beſieged *Aſpida* by Sea and Land, but were forced to raiſe their Siege. 'Tis true *Piſo* took another Town which he ſack't, though the inhabitants complained they had ſurrendred upon compoſition: From thence he paſſed to *Hippone* which is a great City, conſiderable for it's Walls, it's Caſtle, it's Gates, and it's Haven, and which had been thus fortified by *Agathocles* Tyrant of *Sicily*. It being Situate near to *Utica* and *Carthage*, the inhabitants plundered the Convoys of Victuals that were carrying to the Romans, with which they were in ſome meaſure accommodated; wherefore *Calphurnius* deſigned not only to chaſtiſe them, but likewiſe to make them reſtore the Prizes they had taken. He therefore laid ſiege to it, which continued all the Summer, but in vain, for the inhabitants made two ſallies, wherein being aſſiſted by thoſe of *Carthage*, they burnt all the beſiegers Engines. Thus Summer being ſpent without doing any thing, the Conſul went to take up his Winter quarters at *Utica*.

XLVI. But the Carthaginians, who had yet all *Aſdrubal*'s Army entire, proud of the ſucceſs of *Hippone*, where they had beaten *Piſo*, and ſtrengthned beſides with eight hundred Numidian Horſe, which had revolted from *Guluſſa* to them under the conduct of *Bythias*, enlarged their hopes, beſides they perceived that though *Micypſa* and *Mavaſtabal*, the other ſons of *Maſaniſſa*, promiſed Arms and Mony to the Romans, yet they only temporized in expectation to ſee what courſe theſe affairs would take. They began therefore to ſpread themſelves throughout all *Africa*, and without fear to fortifie places in the Country, declaiming every where againſt the cowardiſe of the Romans, and to perſwade the people, they loudly proclaimed the two expeditions of *Nucera*, which had redounded to their ſhame, the laſt occaſion of *Hippone*, where they had been ſo ill handled, and at laſt having beſieged *Carthage* it ſelf though diſarmed, though unprovided of all things, yet they had been forced to raiſe the ſiege. They ſent likewiſe to *Micypſa*, to *Mavaſtabal*, and to the free Moors, to adviſe them to take care leſt if the Romans took *Carthage*, they ſhould afterwards invade and ſubdue them. They deputed ſome likewiſe into *Macedonia*, where one who called himſelf the Son of *Perſeus* made War againſt the Romans, to exhort him to continue it, with promiſes that *Carthage* would not let him want either Mony or Shipping. In ſhort, now they ſaw themſelves armed, they entertained no other but exalted thoughts, and their courage and their reſolution daily increaſed, as they beheld themſelves in a better condition of defence. *Aſdrubal* their General abroad was no leſs reſolute, after having twice ſucceſsfully dealt with *Manlius*, which had raiſed his thoughts to that degree that he grew ambitious of having likewiſe the command of the Forces within the City, which to compaſs he cauſed *Aſdrubal* the Nephew of *Guluſſa*, who at that time commanded, to be falſely accuſed in full Senate, of holding intelligence with his Uncle. At which he being ſo ſurpriſed that he could anſwer nothing for himſelf, was knockt on the head with ſtools.

But

But when the cowardiſe of *Piſo*, and the preparations made by the Carthaginians came to be known at *Rome*, the people were extreamly moved, out of an apprehenſion they had, leſt this War, undertaken againſt a neighboring Nation, and from all time enemy to the Roman name, ſhould grow upon them. For they having been firſt deficient in their word, as to what they ordained the Carthaginians, there was no more hopes left of an accommodation. The memory of thoſe Noble Actions done by *Scipio*, in *Africa*, whilſt he was yet but Tribune, was yet very freſh, and the compariſon of preſent affairs, with what he had done, raiſed ſo much the more the glory of his reputation, and as in all meetings every one told what was writ from the Army, all the world wiſh't his return in quality of Conſul; the day of the Aſſembly for the Election of Magiſtrates drew nigh, but his not being of the age admitted by Law to poſſeſs that dignity forbid his pretending to it, for he demanded only the charge of *Edile*, when the people offered him the Conſulate. The Conſuls ſtood againſt it, and oppoſed the Law contrary to this Election, but the multitude perſiſted the more, alleaging that by the Laws of *Tullus* and *Romulus*, the people were Judges of the Aſſembly, and ſo it belonged to them to approve or cancel all Laws that concerned the Aſſembly. At laſt one of the Tribunes threatned the Conſuls to take away their power of preſiding if they agreed not to the will of the people, whereupon they permitted the Tribunes to abrogate that Law for a year, provided it were then re-eſtabliſhed. The Lacedemonians it ſeems did the ſame, when being forced to make the Laws yield to neceſſity, to ſecure from infamy thoſe taken Priſoners at *Piles*, they cryed out, *Let us this day give the Laws leave to ſleep.* Thus *Scipio* demanding the Edility, obtained the Conſulate, and when *Druſus* that was likewiſe named Conſul, required that the Government of the Provinces ſhould be drawn by Lot, one of the Tribunes aſſembled the people and ſpeaking of the War with *Carthage*, demanded to which of the Conſuls they would give their Commiſſion. So the people gave to *Scipio* the Government of that Province, permitting him to raiſe recruits to compleat the old Troops and to form new ones, to receive from the Allies all thoſe volunteers would follow him, and to write in the name of the people of *Rome*, to what Kings and Cities he thought convenient, and indeed ſome Kings, and ſome Eſtates did aſſiſt him with forces. XLVII.

Things thus diſpoſed, he paſſed into *Sicily*, and from thence forthwith to *Utica*, mean while *Piſo* beſieged ſome Inland Towns, and *Mancinus* lay conſtantly before *Carthage*, where having obſerved a certain place in the wall neglected, becauſe it was almoſt inacceſſible by reaſon of the rocks that ſurrounded it, he thought he might ſecretly gain it, and having made proviſion of ladders prepared for the ſtorm; ſome Soldiers mounted bravely, but the Carthaginians deſpiſing their ſlender Number opened a gate by the ſide of the rocks, and made a Sally upon the Romans, who ſo briskly repulſed them, that many Soldiers entred Pelmel with them into the City, and ſhouted amain, as if they had already been Maſters of it. *Mancinus* raviſhed with joy (raſh and heady as he was) with all thoſe that remained in the Ships came forth half Armed, and ran to the walls to ſecond their companions, but night coming on forced the Admiral to lodge in a certain Poſt near the the Walls where he kept without doing any thing, and becauſe he had neither Arms nor Victuals, he ſent meſſengers to *Piſo* to give him notice to come to his relief, and to the Magiſtrates of *Utica*, that

they ſhould forthwith diſpatch away Proviſions; for he ran the hazard of being aſſaulted as ſoon as it was day, by the Carthaginians, and thrown headlong from the top of the Rocks. *Scipio,* who landed the ſame Evening at *Utica*, having ſeen *Mancinus* his Letter, preſently cauſed the Trumpets to ſound, to give warning to thoſe were already landed to get forthwith aboard, giving orders to all the Youth of *Utica* to be in a readineſs to follow him, and to the old men to bring Proviſions on board the Galleys, and releaſing ſome Carthaginian Priſoners, he ſent them unto the City to let them underſtand that *Scipio* was arrived with a mighty Fleet. He diſpatched likewiſe ſeveral Meſſengers one after another to *Piſo,* to command him to come to him with all ſpeed. About the laſt Watch he went to Sea, giving order to the Soldiers, that as ſoon as they approached the Town, they ſhould all ſtand upright on the Hatches, that the Enemy might believe them the greater number. Towards the Break of Day, *Mancinus* being charged on all ſides by the Carthaginians, had formed a round Battalia, encompaſſed by all the armed men he had, in the midſt of which were incloſed above three thouſand without Armour, but at laſt the Showers of Darts, and multitudes of Wounds had reduced them to the point of ſeeking their ſafety down the Precipices, when they ſaw *Scipio*'s Ships appear full of Soldiers, which ſurprized not the Carthaginians, who had already received advice of it by their Priſoners, but ſaved the lives of the Romans, who were almoſt hopeleſs; for at the approach of this Fleet, the Carthaginians gave ground, and the Romans withdrawn from the danger wherein they were, got aboard their Ships.

XLVIII. *Scipio* ſent back *Mancinus* to *Rome* (for *Serranus* his Succeſſor was already come to command the Fleet) and went himſelf and encamped near *Carthage*. The Carthaginians on their part went and encamped directly oppoſite unto him, whither came to them *Aſdrubal* that commanded the Field-Army, and *Bythias* Colonel of the Horſe, with ſix thouſand old Foot, and a thouſand choſen Horſe. But *Scipio* finding the Military Diſcipline much corrupted; that under *Piſo* the Soldiers had been accuſtomed to Idleneſs, Rapine and Avarice; that in the Camp there was an infinite number of thoſe Sutlers and Pedlars, whom only the hopes of prey made follow the Army, who debauched the beſt Soldiers to ſtraggle with them, only to pillage and plunder, though by the Rules of War, he that went ſo far from the Camp, that he could not hear the Sound of the Trumpet, was to be proceeded againſt as a Run-away, and that all the miſchief theſe people did was imputed to the Army, and all the plunder taken begot only matter of quarrel and diſſention; for it often happened, that for a trifle Comrades fell together by the ears, and killed one another. *Scipio,* I ſay, having obſerved this, and knowing well he ſhould never compaſs his ends on the Enemy, unleſs he firſt made himſelf Maſter of his own Troops, aſſembled his Army, and taking his Seat on the Tribunal, ſpoke in this manner:

The Oration of *Scipio.*

YOu are Witneſſes, Fellow Soldiers, that whilſt I bore Arms here under Manlius, *I gave you an example of that Obedience which I deſire you ſhould pay me now, that I have a right to command: I could as well at this inſtant have puniſhed your diſobedience, but I thought it convenient firſt to adviſe you of your*

your duty. You know what actions you do, I am ashamed to tell you of them in full assembly. You live rather like Robbers than Soldiers, and are more used to Traffick, than to Assaults: you leave the Camp to scour the Country; and in the midst of War you are greedy after Delights, without labouring at all for Victory. This is the reason, why in that little time I have been absent, the Carthaginian Affairs are so well recovered: so that being now come to command you, I find that the reforming your evil orders will be the greatest part of trouble. If I certainly knew it were your own fault, I would not fail to punish you; but because I attribute it to another, I forget what's past. For my part I came not hither to plunder, but to conquer. I ask no Money from the Enemy before the Victory, and will patiently wait till they be fully defeated. 'Tis therefore my pleasure, that all those people in the Camp, who bear not Arms, depart, from this very day, except only some few whom I shall give leave to stay; and I forbid any, whoever he be, to return, unless it be to bring Provisions, and such Provisions too as are proper for Soldiers. I will give the Victuallers a limited time to expose their Commodities in, on which my * Quæstor *and I will take care to set a reasonable price. So much for what concerns those who are not inlisted. For you my Fellow Soldiers, whatever we attempt, I have but one order to give you, that is, that you take example by me, whether it be for manners or diligence; and if you do it indeed, be assured, that your Endeavours will never want Success, nor your Actions Recompence: we must act now that the occasion requires it; let us adjourn profit and pleasure to their Season. This is what I demand from you, what I desire, Discipline: and then be assured, that as obedience shall be amply rewarded, so disobedience shall be severely punished.*

* *Treasurer.*

XLIX. After having spoken thus, he forthwith caused all useless persons to be driven out of the Camp, and with them sent away all that was rather delicious than necessary. Having thus purged his Army, and disposed his Soldiers to obedience, he designed one night secretly to make an Assault by two several ways upon a certain great place against the Walls of the City, called *Megara*, and having sent those about, who were to make the Attaque on the one side, he took his march towards the other, causing to be brought along Axes, Croes and Ladders, he had already advanced a pretty way in the dark, without making any noise, when those that were upon the Wall perceived him, which they signified by their Cries, to which he answered first, and after him all the Assailants in like manner. There was likewise a great Cry raised on the other side, which gave the first terrour to the Carthaginians, astonished to be two several ways assaulted by so many Enemies, and by night. *Scipio* however, notwithstanding all the endeavours he used, could not gain the Wall; but having observed, that on the outside, and near the Walls there was a void Tower of the same heighth, which belonged to a private person, he caused some resolute young men to mount up into it, who having with force of Darts made those who defended the Wall, dislodge, laid Planks and Joysts over, and so passed to the Parapet, and thence leaped down into the place, and having broken open the Gate, gave entrance to *Scipio* with four thousand Men, forcing the Inhabitants to retreat into the Fortress, as if all the rest of the City had been taken. In this Alarm and confused Tumult they took some Prisoners; and those who were encamped without, forsaking their Camp, fled hastily to shelter themselves with the rest in the Cittadel: but *Scipio* perceiving this place of *Megara* was full of Gardens planted with Fruit-trees, and consisted of many little Inclosures of Mud-walls, Quick-set Hedges, Bushes, and some little Streams, fearing lest the Soldiers among so many Turnings and Windings

ings which they were unacquainted with, might purſue the Enemy, and ſo give them the opportunity of laying an ambuſh for them, cauſed the Retreat to be ſounded. Day appearing, *Aſdrubal* enraged at *Scipio*'s boldneſs, cauſed all the Roman Priſoners he had to be brought upon the Wall, and before their Countrymen, with Pinchers or Hooks of Iron cauſed their Eyes or Tongues to be pulled out, or their Nerves or Privy Members torn off, ſome had the Soles of their Feet cut off, and others their Fingers; ſome he cauſed to be flead alive; and then tumbled down thoſe high Rocks. This he did to the end, that taking away from the Carthaginians all hopes of Peace with the Romans, and ſharpening their courages to the utmoſt, they ſhould expect no ſafety but from their Arms: yet his deſign ſucceeded quite otherwiſe; for the Carthaginians, who found themſelves made Complices of ſuch horrible Crimes, became rather more timerous than hardy, and began to hate *Aſdrubal*, who had cut off from them all hopes of pardon, eſpecially the Senators, who loudly declared, that ſuch cruelty and inſolence were unſeaſonable in the publick Calamities, by which diſcourſe they incenſed him to that degree, that he took ſome of them, and ſlew them with his own hands. Thus he made himſelf terrible, living henceforth more like a Tyrant than a Governour, and making his ſecurity conſiſt in his being feared, believing that ſufficient to warrant him againſt all attempts might be made againſt his perſon.

L. *Scipio* ſet on fire that Camp the Carthaginians had deſerted the night before, when they ran to ſave themſelves in the Cittadel, and being become abſolute Maſter of the *Peninſula*, he cauſed a Trench to be dug from one Sea to the other, not above a Darts caſt from the Enemies, who uſed their utmoſt endeavours to hinder the work, which made it extreme painful to the Soldiers: however, what by working, and what by fighting, they perfected it at length, though it were five and twenty Furlongs long. This being finiſhed, he cauſed ſuch another to be made towards the Inland, not far diſtant from the other, and after that two Traverſes; ſo that it was a kind of a ſquare Fortification, which he cauſed to be paliſadoed with ſharp Stakes, behind which he likewiſe cauſed a Ditch to be made; but that he might fortifie himſelf the better towards *Carthage*, he incloſed it with a Wall five and twenty Furlongs long, twelve Foot high, and ſix Foot broad, in which he placed Redoubts and Towers at equal diſtances. In the midſt of the Fort he cauſed to be erected a very high Tower, on which he placed a ſquare Platform, from whence he might diſcover all that was done in the City. Theſe works having been finiſhed in four and twenty days, and as many nights (by the continual labour of all the Soldiers, who by turns ſtood to their Arms, or wrought with their working Tools) *Scipio* lodged his Army. Yet he had not built this Fortification only for that uſe, but likewiſe to ſerve as a Circumvallation to hinder the bringing Proviſions to the Beſieged, which before came to them by land; for beſides this Neck of the *Peninſula* which he now poſſeſſed, all the reſt was encompaſſed by the Sea. This therefore was the firſt and principal cauſe of the Beſieged's miſery, which ſoon brought a Famine into the City; for an infinite number of people being fled out of the Country into *Carthage*, durſt not go out again for fear of the Beſiegers; the Merchants came no more becauſe of the War; there was no Corn brought by Sea from *Lybia*, but rarely, and then when it was calm; ſo that the greateſt part of their Proviſions came ordinarily by land, and that paſſage being ſtopped, the City preſently became afflicted with Famine. *Bythias*, who commanded the Carthaginian

Carthaginian Horſe, was now abroad, whither he had been ſent to make Proviſions of Corn, but he durſt not come near *Scipio*'s Entrenchments, much leſs attempt to force them: ſo that now no Corn could come into *Carthage*, but by Ships which were laden afar off, and which hardly got in, becauſe of the Roman Fleet which lay at Anchor not far from the Port. However, they being forced to keep at a good diſtance, becauſe of the danger of the Shore, which lay open to all Storms; and likewiſe could not come nearer into the Port without being ſubject to inconveniencies from the Carthaginians Engines upon the Walls, or of being by the violence of the Waves daſhed againſt the Rocks, which lie there very thick: ſome Ships of Burthen ſent from *Bythias*, and ſome Merchant-Ships that deſpiſed the danger, out of hopes of the gain, took their time when it blew a freſh gale into the Port, and with all Sails ſpread, made ſuch way, that the Roman Galleys could not reach them; but theſe opportunities offered but ſeldom; and beſides, that little Proviſion that came by Sea was at *Aſdrubal*'s diſpoſe, who diſtributed it only to thoſe thirty thouſand Men he had choſen for the War, and gave no part thereof to the reſt of the people, though periſhing for hunger.

Scipio having obſerved this, contrived how to block up the Entrance of the Port which opened to the Weſt, very near to the Sea Shore; and to this purpoſe he cauſed to be raiſed a long Dam, which advanced from that point of Land that ſeparated the Mariſh from the Sea very far into the Water, towards the Mouth of the Port, which he did by caſting in, and cementing together mighty Stones, that the Waves might not remove them; it's Breadth was in the Superficies four and twenty Foot, and four times as deep. The Carthaginians laughed at firſt, and mocked at the Undertaking, as if in a long time, or perhaps never *Scipio* could have brought it to perfection; but the whole Army laboured in it with an emulation of each other, without reſting day or night; inſomuch, that at laſt the Beſieged affrighted, reſolved to make another entrance on the farther ſide of the Port, where the *Peninſula* extends it ſelf more into the Sea, where a Dam could not be made, both by reaſon of the depth of the Water, and violence of the Winds. All the people therefore ſet themſelves to digging, ſo much as the very Women and Children, and beginning from within, and continuing their work without telling their deſign; and at the ſame time muſtering up all the old Materials they had, they fell to make Galleys of divers ſorts, following their buſineſs with much courage and diligence, but ſo ſecretly, that the Priſoners themſelves could give no other account to *Scipio*, ſave that they continually heard a great noiſe in the Port, but knew not what it meant. Having at laſt completed every thing, they ſuddenly opened the Mouth of the Port, and about break of day came forth with fifty Galleys, and great quantity of Barques, Brigantines, and other ſmaller Veſſels, in ſo good order, that they were very capable to ſtrike. This new Mouth ſo unexpectedly opened, and the unthought of coming out of ſuch a Fleet, ſo ſtartled the Romans, that had the Carthaginians immediately fell upon their Fleet, unfurniſhed both of Mariners and Slaves, all hands being employed in the Works to advance the Siege, they might eaſily have made themſelves Maſters of it. But becauſe it was decreed by the Deſtinies, that *Carthage* ſhould be razed, they contented themſelves with this vain Shew, and proud Bravado, retreating into their Port without doing any thing elſe. LI.

Three

LII. Three days afterwards they came forth again to Sea, with design to engage the Romans in good earneſt, whoſe Fleet being now in a readineſs ſet forward to meet them, they began the fight with great ſhouts on both ſides, the Seamen, Souldiers and Commanders equally ſhewing their Courage, the one party fighting for their ſafety, the other to compleat their Victory, ſo that there was a furious fight on both parts, nothing being to be ſeen but wounds and death. In the fight the Carthaginian Brigantines gliding along under the banks of the great Roman Galleys broke them, ſometimes in the Poop, ſometime ſtruck of their Rudders, and ſometime burſt a ſunder their Oars, ſo that they damaged them extreamly, and when they found themſelves overcharged, they rowed off with a wonderful Nimbleneſs, and as nimbly returned to the Charge. At laſt the two Fleets having fought till Sun ſetting with equal advantage, the Carthaginians thought it convenient to retire, not that they confeſſed themſelves overcome, but that they might next morning return to the fight in better order. In this retreat their ſmaller Veſſels, being lighter and ſwifter, got the Van, and entring in a huddle into the Port, ſo ſtopt the entrance of the great Veſſels, that they were forced to retire to a very ſpacious key built againſt the City-wall for the unlading of which they had during this War, raiſed a little rampart, for fear leſt the enemies ſhould poſſeſs it. There they ſtood firm with their Prows twined towards their enemies, all the Soldiers ſtanding in a fighting poſture, ſome upon the Ships, others on the Key, and others on the Rampart. The Romans who followed them had no great difficulty to aſſail them, for tis not hard to fight with Ships that lie ſtill; but when they were again to draw of, becauſe of their length, not being able to turn nimbly, they received as much damage in the retreat as they had given in the Charge, for as they turned about, they were forced to receive all the blows of the ſhot from the Carthaginian Engines on their broad ſides. At laſt five Ships which the City of *Sidon*, allies of the people of *Rome*, had ſent to *Scipio*, went and dropt their Anchors out at Sea, at a good diſtance from the Carthaginian, and giving ſcope of Cable enough advanced by force of Oars, and after having given their charge, warped back again by their Cables, which they had brought in at their poop, and then again returned to the Charge, and in like manner retreated. All the Fleet followed the Example of thoſe of *Sidon*, whereby the Carthaginians were much damaged till ſuch time as the fight having continued a good part of the night, the remainder of their Ships ſheltred themſelves in the Haven.

LIII. Morning being come, *Scipio* attempted the Key, becauſe he thought the gaining of it would make the mouth of the Port uſeleſs, he therefore cauſed Rams, and other batteries to be planted againſt the Rampart, with which he beat down a part of it. But the Carthaginians though oppreſſed with hunger, and many other inconveniences, forbore not by night to aſſault the Roman Engines, not by Land, for there was no paſſage, nor upon Ships, for the Sea was too ſhallow, but naked and without light (for fear they ſhould be diſcovered far of) they entred the Sea, where none kept guard, and paſſing, ſome wading with the water up to their breſts, and others ſwimming till they came very near the batteries, where when they could no longer conceal themſelves, becauſe they had lighted their fires, naked as they were, they received an infinite of wounds, yet not without revenge, for their fury carried them to ſtrange reſolutions,

and

and all gored as they were with Arrows and Darts in their Breſts,& in their Faces, yet they abated nothing of their violence, but like fierce beaſts preſſed forward to meet the ſtrokes, till having ſet fire to the Engines, they ſo diſmayed thoſe that defended them, that they took their flight towards the Camp, where never before was ſeen ſuch an alarm, as this, cauſed by naked enraged people. *Scipio* aſtoniſhed at the diſorder came forth of the Camp, with ſome Horſemen, whom he commanded to kill thoſe that would not ſtand, and with his own hands he killed ſome, and by that means obliged the reſt, who elſe had been all loſt, to keep their poſt, where they ſtood all the night in Arms. As ſoon as it was day, the Carthaginians delivered from the trouble of the Engines, labored to repair that part of the Rampier that was broken down, adding towers at certain intervals. On the other ſide the Romans made other Engines, and planted them on platforms, which raiſed them as high as the towers of the enemies, and from thence caſt burning torches, brimſtone and pots full of flaming pitch, with which they burnt ſome of them, which put the Carthaginians to flight, and opened the Romans a way to the Key to purſue them, but becauſe the ground on which they ran was ſlippery by reaſon of the blood ſhed there, they could not overtake them. *Scipio* being become Maſter of the Key, lodged on it, fortified it, and cauſed a wall of brick to be built to the Cityward, very near the City walls, and of equal height. When it was finiſhed he cauſed four thouſand Men to get upon it with Orders to ply the enemy continually with Darts and Arrows, which extreamly afflicted them, for the two walls being of an equal height, there was ſcarce a Dart thrown in vain, thus ended the Summer.

LIV. In the beginning of the Winter, *Scipio* determined to clear the Country of thoſe Forces the Carthaginians had yet abroad, and to poſſeſs himſelf of all thoſe places from whence they might convey proviſions. He therefore ſent his Captains, ſome one way and ſome another, and himſelf embarking went towards *Nephera* along the Mariſh, after having given Order to *C. Lelius* to march by Land to the intent that he might force *Diogenes* one of *Aſdrubals* party from an advantagious poſt. As ſoon as he arrived, he encamped within two hundred and fifty paces of *Diogenes*, and having left *Guluſſa* in the Camp, to proſecute the War with him, returned to *Carthage*. He continued often to go and return from one place to the other, to ſee how things paſſed, till ſuch time as two towers of the Fort in which *Diogenes* was poſted being thrown down, *Scipio* ſends behind the Fort a thouſand choſen Soldiers, while himſelf aſſaulted the forepart with three thouſand others, choice men likewiſe, who marched upon the ruines, not in confuſion but in a body, the Soldiers having orders to fight ſo cloſe lockt together that they could not be repulſed, thoſe in the firſt rank being ſuſteined by the others that followed. At the noiſe made by the Aſſailants the Africans ran to defend themſelves, but whilſt they were all imployed there, the thouſand Soldiers behind, according to the Order given them, forced the Camp, and having pulled out or cut the Paliſadoes, violently ruſhed in with a wonderful boldneſs whilſt none were aware of it, or ſo much as doubted of ſuch an Aſſault. The enemies perceiving them, betook themſelves to flight, for they believed them a far greater Number then what they ſaw, and *Guluſſa* who purſued them with his Numidians, and Elephants, made a ſtrange and bloody

ſlaughter

ſlaughter, for there periſhed threeſcore and ten thouſand men, accounting the Country people, ten thouſand were taken Priſoners, and not above four thouſand in all ſaved themſelves. Afterwards *Scipio* took the City of *Nephera* with great labor, the ſiege laſting two and twenty days in a cold ſeaſon and incommodious place. This victory contributed much to the taking of *Carthage*, for the Army at *Nephera* furniſhed the beſieged with proviſions, and that Fort hardned the Africans in their obſtinacy, but after it was taken, all the other garriſons in the Country voluntarily ſurrendred to *Scipio*'s Captains. Thus all the Country about *Carthage* being under the Roman obedience, and it being impoſſible to have any thing by Sea by reaſon of the War and Winter, Victuals grew very ſcarce in the City.

LV. As ſoon as Spring came on, *Scipio* aſſaulted the Citadel called *Byrſa*, and and the gate called *Coton* at the ſame time, which cauſed *Aſdrubal* to ſet on fire that part of the gate which was ſquare, but whilſt he expected *Scipio* ſhould make a new attempt on that ſide, and ſtood firm with the inhabitants; *Lelius* mounted privately by the other ſide of the gate which was of a round figure, and making himſelf Maſter of it, the ſhouts of thoſe that were already got up, ſo diſmayd the enemies, that the other Soldiers now contemning the beſieged, and having filled all the places difficult to paſs with Beams, Engines and Planks, they leapt in on all ſides, in ſpite of all the reſiſtance of the guards oppreſſed with hunger, and loſt to all courage: *Scipio* thus poſſeſt of the wall that encompaſſed the gate called *Coton*, got thence into the great place of the City which was nigh unto it, where night coming on, and not ſuffering him to go farther; he kept there in Arms with thoſe Soldiers he had with him, and as ſoon as day broke, cauſed four thouſand freſh men to come thither, who being got into *Apollo*'s Temple, plundered his Statue, which was all of Gold, and all the inſide of the Temple, which was covered with Plates of Gold, of a thouſand Talents weight. They cut in pieces the Plates with their Swords, do what their Captains could to hinder them, till ſuch time as having got what they could, they purſued their enterprize. Mean while *Scipio*'s chief deſign was againſt the place called *Byrſa*, for that was the ſtrongeſt of all the City, and a world of people were retreated thither. The way from the great place thither, was up hill, through three Streets, on each ſide of which there was a continuance of very high houſes, whoſe upper ſtories jetting ſomewhat over into the Street, whole ſhowers of Darts flew from thence upon the Romans, who were conſtrained before they paſſed farther, to force the firſt houſes, and there poſt themſelves, that from thence they might drive out thoſe that fought in the neighboring houſes, and after they had driven them out, they laid Beams and Planks from one ſide of the Street to the other, on which, as on Bridges they paſſed croſs the Streets, thus they maintained War in the Chambers, whilſt as faſt as they met, they fought more cruelly below in the Streets. All places were filled with crys and groans, people dying a thouſand different ſorts of Deaths, ſome at Swords-point, ſome thrown headlong down from the tops of the houſes, upon the pavement, others falling upon Javelins, Pikes and Swords, preſented againſt them, however none durſt yet ſet fire, becauſe of thoſe who maintained the fight in the lofts; but when *Scipio* had gained the foot of the Fortreſs, all the three Streets were immediately on a flame, and the Soldiers had charge to hinder the ruines of the houſes cauſed by the fire, from falling into the Street, that the whole Army might

might have the more convenient paſſage; And now were new ſpectacles of calamity to be ſeen, the fire devouring, and overturning the houſes, and the Roman Soldiers all about, ſo far from hindring it, that they endeavored to involve the reſt in the ſame ruine. The miſerable Carthaginians in deſpair falling confuſedly with the Stones and Bricks on the Pavement, dead bodies, nay people yet living, and eſpecially old Men, Women and Children, who had hid themſelves in the moſt ſecret places of the houſes, ſome laden with wounds others half burnt, and all crying out in a deplorable manner, others tumbling headlong from the upper ſtories of the houſes, among the Maſs of Stones and Wood, were in their falls torn in pieces. Nor was this the end of their miſeries, for the Pioneers who to make way for the Soldiers removed the Rubbiſh out of the middle of the Streets, toſſed with their Hooks and Forks, the bodies, as well of the dead as living into the vaults, turning them with their Iron Inſtruments, as if they had been pieces of Wood or Stones, ſo that there might be ſeen holes full of heaps of men, of which ſome having been headlong thrown in, yet breathed a long time, and lay with their legs above ground, and others interred up to the neck, were expoſed to the cruelty of the Maſons and Pioneers, who took pleaſure to ſee their heads, and brains cruſhed under the horſes feet, for theſe ſort of people placed not thoſe wretches, ſo by chance, but of ſet purpoſe. As for the Men of War their being engaged in the fight, with the hopes of approaching victory, the eagerneſs of the Soldiers, heightned by the ſounds of the Trumpets, the noiſe made by the Majors and Captains in giving their Orders, made them even like furies and hindred them from amuſing themſelves at theſe Spectacles. In this bloody toil they continued ſix days and ſix nights without reſpit, ſave only that the Soldiers were from time to time relieved by other freſh ones, leſt the continual watchings, labor, ſlaughter and horror ſhould make their hearts fail them. *Scipio* only bore out all this time without ſleeping, he was continually in action, continually running from one place to another, and taking no food, but what offered it ſelf by chance as he was paſſing, till ſuch time as quite tyred out he ſat down in an eminent place, that he might ſee what paſſed. Mean while ſtrange havock was made on all ſides, and this calamity ſeemed likely to continue much longer, when on the ſeventh day they had recourſe to his clemency and came to him bringing in their hand the Vervein of *Æſculapius*, whoſe Temple is the moſt conſiderable in all the Fortreſs, deſiring no other compoſition, but that he would pleaſe to give their lives, to all that would come forth, which he granted to them, except only to the Runaways. There came forth fifty thouſand as well Men as Women, whom he cauſed to paſs out of the little Gate towards the Fields, with a good guard. The Runaways who were about nine hundred, ſeeing there was no mercy for them withdrew into the Temple with *Aſdrubal* his Wife and Children, where though they were but a ſmall Number they might defend themſelves, becauſe of the height of the place ſituated upon Rocks, and to which in times of peace they aſcended by ſixty ſteps; but at length oppreſſed with famine, watchings and fear, and ſeeing their deſtruction ſo nigh, Impatience ſeiſed them, and quitting the lower part of the Temple they fled to the higheſt ſtory. *Aſdrubal* mean while privately withdrew himſelf, and went to *Scipio* with a branch of Olive in his hand: *Scipio* having commanded him to come up, and proſtrate himſelf at his feet, ſhewed him to the Runaways, who ſeeing him, demanded ſilence, which being granted after having vomited forth an infinite number of revilings and reproaches againſt *Aſdrubal*, they ſet

fire to the Temple, and buried themſelves in the flame. It is ſaid that whilſt the fire was kindling, *Aſdrubals* Wife decking her ſelf in the beſt manner ſhe could, and placing her ſelf in the ſight of *Scipio*, ſpake to him with a loud voice in this manner.

The Oration of *Aſdrubals* Wife.

I Wiſh nothing to thee, O Roman, but all proſperity, for thou doſt act only according to the rights of War. But I beſeech the Gods of Carthage, *and thou thy ſelf to puniſh, as he deſerves, that* Aſdrubal, *who has betray'd his Country, his Gods, his Wife and his Children*, and then addreſſing her Speech to *Aſdrubal*. *Perfidious Wretch* (ſaid ſhe) *thou moſt wicked of all mankind! This fire is about to devour me and my Children: but thou, Great Captain of* Carthage, *for what Triumph art not thou reſerved, or what Puniſhment will not he make thee ſuffer, at whoſe feet I now ſee thee.*

After theſe reproaches ſhe cut her Childrens throats and caſt them into the fire, and then threw her ſelf headlong in; ſuch, as is reported, was the end of this Woman, but this death had certainly better become her Husband.

LVI. As for *Scipio*, ſeeing that City which had flouriſhed for ſeven hundred years ſince it was firſt built, comparable to any Empire whatſoever for Extent of Dominion by Sea and Land, for its Arms, for its Fleets, for its Elephants, for its Riches, and preferable even to all Nations on the Earth for Generoſity and Reſolution, ſince after their Arms and Ships were taken away, they had ſupported themſelves againſt Famine and War for three years together. Seeing it, I ſay, now abſolutely ruined, tis ſaid that he ſhed tears and publickly deplored the hard fortune of his enemies. He conſidered that Cities, People and Empires are ſubject to Revolutions, as well as the conditions of private Men, that the ſame diſgrace had happened to *Troy* that powerful City, and afterwards to the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes* and *Perſians*, whoſe Dominion extended ſo far, and lately to the Macedonians, whoſe Empire was ſo great and flouriſhing, which was the reaſon that unawares, and as it were without thinking of it, that Diſtich of *Homers* eſcaped him.

Priam's *and* Troy's *time come, they Fates obey,*
And muſt to Fire and Sword be made a prey.

And *Polybius* who had been his Tutor, demanding of him in familiar diſcourſe, what he meant by thoſe words, he ingeniouſly anſwered, That the conſideration of the Viciſſitude of Humane Affairs, had put him in mind of his Country, whoſe Fate he likewiſe feared; as the ſame *Polybius* reports in his Hiſtories.

Carthage thus taken, *Scipio* gave the Plunder to the Soldiers for ſome days, except only the Gold and Silver, and Offerings, which were found in the Temples. After which he diſtributed ſeveral Military recompenſes to all his Soldiers, except only to thoſe who had pillaged *Apollo's* Temple. And having cauſed a very light Ship to be loaden with the ſpoil of the Enemy, he

ſent

ſent it to *Rome* to carry news of the Victory, and cauſed it be ſignified throughout all *Sicily*, that thoſe who would come, and claim the offerings made to their Temples, which had been carried away by the Carthaginians when they had made War in that Iſland, ſhould have them reſtored. Thus giving teſtimonies of his goodneſs in all that he could, he gained the good will of all people. And at laſt having ſold what remained of the ſpoil, he cauſed all the Bucklers, Engins and uſeleſs Ships, to be piled together, and being girt after the manner of the Romans, ſet fire to them as a ſacrifice to *Mars* and *Minerva*.

The Ship that went from *Carthage*, happened to arrive at *Rome* in an Evening, where as ſoon as the news was known of the taking of that City, all the people flock'd to the publick places, and the Night was ſpent in rejoycings and imbracing each other; as if this Victory (the greateſt that ever the Romans had gained) had confirmed the Publick Repoſe, which they before thought unſecure. They knew well, that they and their Predeceſſors had done great things againſt the Macedonians, the Spaniards, and lately againſt the Great *Antiochus*, as likewiſe in *Italy*; but they confeſſed they never had a War ſo much to be feared as this, by reaſon of the generoſity, prudence and hardineſs of their Enemies; nor ſo perillous, by reaſon of their infidelity: They likewiſe remembred the miſeries they had ſuffered by the Carthaginians in *Sicily*, in *Spain*, and likewiſe in *Italy*, for ſixteen whole years together, during which *Hannibal* had ſackt four hundred Cities, and deſtroyed in divers encounters three hundred thouſand men, and being ſeveral times come to the very Gates of their City, had reduced them to the laſt extremities. Theſe things conſidered, made them with difficulty believe, what was told of the victory, and they often demanded of one another if it were certain that *Carthage* was deſtroyed. Thus they paſt the night in recounting one to another, how after having diſarmed the Carthaginians, they had preſently made themſelves new Arms, beyond the judgment of all the World. How having taken away their Ships, they had built others of old ſtuff; and how having ſtopt the entrance of their Port, they had in a few days dug a new one, on the other ſide. They ſpoke likewiſe of the unmeaſurable height of their Walls, the vaſt ſtones they were built with, the fire which they had ſeveral times put to the Engines. In ſhort they repreſented to the eyes of the Auditors the whole figure of this War; inſomuch that giving life to their diſcourſe by their geſture they ſeemed to ſee *Scipio* on the Ladders, on the Ships, in the Gates, and in the Streets, running from one ſide to the other.

The people having thus ſpent the night, on the morrow ſolemn ſacrifices were made to the Gods, and Publick Prayers, wherein every Tribe aſſiſted ſeparately: after which Plays and Spectacles were exhibited to publick view, and then the Senate ſent ten Commiſſioners, of the Number of the Fathers, to ſettle joyntly with *Scipio*, ſuch Orders as were moſt neceſſary for that Province and for the Romans beſt advantage. As ſoon as they were arrived they Ordered *Scipio* to demoliſh what remained of *Carthage*; henceforth forbidding any to inhabit there, with horrible imprecations againſt thoſe, who in prejudice of this Interdict, ſhould attempt to Rebuild any thing, eſpecially the Fort called *Byrſa*, and the place called *Megara*; to the reſt they defended no mans entrance. They decreed likewiſe, that all the Cities which in that War had held on the Enemies party ſhould be razed, and gave their Territories Conquered by the Roman Arms, to the Roman Allies, particularly gratifying thoſe of *Utica*, with all the Country extending from *Carthage* to *Hippone*, they made all the reſt of the Province Tributary,

butary, from which neither Men nor Women were exempt, resolving that every year there should a *Prætor* sent from the City, and having given these Orders they returned to *Rome*. *Scipio* having Executed them, and beholding himself at the height of his wishes, made sacrifices, and set forth Plays in Honour of the Gods, and after setling all things in a good condition returned to *Rome*, whither he entred in Triumph. Never was any thing beheld more glorious, for there was nothing to be seen but Statues and Rarities, and curious pieces of an inestimable price, which the Carthaginians had for so long a time been bringing into *Africa*, from all parts of the World, where they had gained an infinite of Victories. This hapned near the same time that *Mummius* Triumphed the third time over the Macedonians, and the first time over the Greeks, after having overcome *Andriscus*, who gave himself out to be *Philip*, about the hundred and sixteenth Olympiad. Some time after there arising several seditions in the City because of the poverty of the people, under the Tribuneship of *Gracchus*, it was advised to send six thousand people to inhabit in *Africa*; but when setting forth the foundations of this Colony, in the place where formerly stood *Carthage*, it was found the Wolves had removed the marks, the Senate forbad their further proceeding. Long time after, when *Cæsar* who was created *Dictator*, after his Victory over *Pompey*, pursued him into *Egypt*, and from thence came into *Africa* to prosecute the War, against the friends of his dead Enemy, 'tis said that he saw in a dream a great Army, which shedding of tears called to him, and that moved with this dream, he set down in his Table Book, the design he had to Rebuild *Carthage* and *Corinth*; but being soon after kill'd by his Enemies in the Senate, *Cæsar Augustus* his Son finding by chance that Memorial, caused *Carthage* to be Rebuilt, which we may now behold near the place where the Ancient *Carthage* stood, for he took care not to fall under the Execrations fulminated when it was demolished. I find it on Record that they sent near three thousand inhabitants from *Rome*, and that the neighboring Cities compleated the peopling of it. Thus was *Africa* reduced into the form of a Province, and *Carthage* ruined by the Romans was Rebuilt by themselves, and Repeopled one hundred and one years after it was demolished.

The End of the Roman Wars in *Lybia*.

APPIAN

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Wars
IN
SYRIA.

Book II.

The Argument of this Book.

I. ANtiochus *undertakes to make War againſt the Romans, without any juſt cauſe.* II. *His preparations*; Hannibal *comes to him, adviſeth him to carry the War into* Italy, *and ſends* Ariſton *the Tyrian to* Carthage, *to ſtir up the people.* III. *A Conference between* Scipio *the African and* Hannibal. IV. Antiochus, *on the promiſes of the Ætolians, begins the War.* V. Hannibal's *Speech to divert the King from proſecuting the*

the War, till his Forces were come out of Asia. VI. *The Romans prepare for War, mean while* Antiochus *besieges* Lariſſa, *but raiſes his Siege, and goes to winter at* Chalcedon, *where he Marries, though above fifty years old.* VII. Manius, *General of the Romans, purſues* Antiochus, *who ſtays for him at the ſtraits of* Thermopylæ, *where they engage, and* Antiochus *is defeated.* VIII. *Publick Prayers for* Manius *Victory, which is followed by the ſurrendry of many places;* Antiochus *cauſes his Forces to come from* Asia. IX. L. Scipio *Conſul prepares to come and command the Army after* Manius; *mean while* Livius, *Admiral of the Romans, and* Polexenidas, *Commander of* Antiochus's *Fleet, engage, where* Livius *gets the better.* X. L. Scipio, *and his Brother the African paſs into* Etolia, *and thence into* Thrace; *whilſt* Livius, *Succeſſor of* Attilius, *takes many Towns; and* Polexenidas *deceives* Pauſimachus, *General of the Rhodian Fleet.* XI. Seleucus, *the Son of* Antiochus, *invades* Eumenes *his Kingdom, and beſieges* Pergamus, *whence he raiſes his Siege, mean while the Roman Fleet defeats that of* Antiochus. XII. *He quits all he held in* Europe, *which the* Scipio's *poſſeß themſelves of; then follow that King, and overtake him at* Sardis, *where conditions of Peace are propoſed, which he will not accept.* XIII. *He is forced to come to a Battel, wherein he is utterly defeated.* XIV. *The* Scipio's *grant him Peace, on conditions which the Senate confirm; for which the African is accuſed of corruption, and defends himſelf in an extraordinary manner.* XV. Manius, *Succeſſor of* Scipio, *gives Order to the reſt of the Affairs of* Asia, *and brings back the Army into* Italy, *where he diſmiſſes them, and the Senate rewards the Rhodians and* Eumenes. XVI. *An account of the Succeſſors of* Antiochus *their actions; and how the Romans reduced* Syria, *to the form of a Province.* XVII. *The State of the Affairs of* Syria *from* Alexander *the Great, till* Seleucus Nicanor *came to be King.* XVIII. *His Life and Actions.* XIX. *The Hiſtory of the Marriage of* Antiochus *with* Stratonice, *and the death of* Seleucus. XX. *Continuation of the Deſcendants of* Seleucus *to* Antiochus *the Great, and a ſhort recapitulation of his Succeſſors.*

ANtiochus, King of *Syria, Babylon,* and of many other Countries, was the Son of *Seleucus*, Grand-child of *Antiochus*, and the ſixteenth Succeſſor from that *Seleucus*, who after the Death of *Alexander*, reigned in that part of *Aſia*, confining on the *Euphrates*. This Prince made the firſt proof of his Arms againſt the Medes, the Parthians and other people revolted from his Predeceſſors, where he ſignaliz'd himſelf by ſo many Heroick Actions, that he gained the ſirname of Great. Afterwards the ſucceſs of his firſt Enterprizes, and that glorious Title raiſing his courage, he deſpoiled *Ptolemy Philopator*, King of *Egypt*, yet but an Infant, of the lower *Syria*, and part of *Cilicia*; and after that, ſetting no bound to his deſigns, he tranſported the War towards the *Helleſpont* into *Etolia* and *Ionia*, where he claimed a right, by virtue of his being King of *Aſia*, becauſe formerly thoſe Countries had been under the Dominion of the Kings of *Aſia*. From thence paſſing into *Europe*, he became Maſter of *Thrace*, conſtraining thoſe who offered to reſiſt to pay him obedience. He likewiſe fortified the *Cherſoneſus*, and rebuilt *Lyſimachia*, which *Lyſimachus*, King of *Thrace*, after *Alexander* had built as a Cittadel to keep the people in ſubjection; and which after his death, the Thracians had demoliſhed. *Antiochus* undertook to repeople it, making thoſe Inhabi-

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tants, which went out of it return, redeeming thoſe that were in ſlavery, and drawing thither many new ones, giving them Sheep and Oxen, and Iron to Till the Ground. He was very deſirous with all poſſible expedition to put this City in a condition, and to make it the ſeat of that War he had reſolved on, becauſe he believed that in all *Thrace* there was no place more proper to be made a Magazine of Corn, and other Proviſions. A great number of people had already ſurrendred unto him, aud received the Garriſons for fear of his Arms, when thoſe of *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, and many others, who would not ſubmit to his Yoke, ſent their Deputies to *Flaminius* the Roman General, who a little before had in a great Battel defeated *Philip* of *Macedon* in *Theſſaly*; for in thoſe times and before, the Affairs of *Greece* and *Macedon* were exremely embroiled, as we have related in the Greek Hiſtories. There were many deputations on one part and the other, between *Antiochus* and *Flaminius*, but without any effect; for the Romans and *Antiochus* had for a long time been diſtruſtful of one another. The Romans were of opinion, that this King grown now ſo powerful, would not, after ſo many happy ſucceſſes, conſent to Peace and Repoſe; and that Prince ſaw that the Romans only could oppoſe his deſigns, there being ſmall likelyhood they would ever ſuffer him to eſtabliſh a Dominion in *Europe*: Yet hitherto there was no occaſion given of a breach, when the Ambaſſadors of *Ptolemy Philopater* came to *Rome* to complain that *Antiochus* had diſpoiled him of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. The Senate and people of *Rome* were very glad that this occaſion preſented, and preſently ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Antiochus*, under pretence of reconciling the two Kings: but indeed to obſerve the deſigns of *Antiochus*, and oppoſe them as much as they could poſſible. *Cneus*, chief of this Embaſſie, required of the King, *That he would not hinder* Ptolemy, *who was a friend of the people of* Rome, *from enjoying what had been left by his Fathers: and that he ſhould leave in liberty thoſe Cities, which formerly belonged to* Philip *of* Macedon, *ſaying it was not reaſonable, that he ſhould take to himſelf what the people of* Rome *had conquered.* To this he added, *That they were aſtoniſhed he ſhould come from* Medea *to the Sea-coſts of* Aſia, *with ſo great a Fleet, and ſo powerful an Army, and already begin to trouble* Europe *by building of Cities, and making himſelf Maſter of* Thrace, *and that there was great appearance all theſe were but preparations to another War.* The King made anſwer, *That his Predeceſſors had formerly poſſeſſed* Thrace, *but being buſied elſewhere, it had been uſurped from them, and that now, that he had leiſure, he would recover the Poſſeſſion, and had rebuilt* Lyſimachia *for the Reſidence of his Son* Seleucus. *For the reſt, he would leave the Cities of* Aſia *in liberty, provided they would own the Obligation from him, and not from the people of* Rome. *But for what reſpects* Ptolemy, (ſaid he) *I am his Kinſman, and ſhall ſuddenly be his Father-in-law, and then ſhall take care to act in ſuch a manner, as he ſhall give you thanks for the good office you have done him: but let me in my turn be aſtoniſhed too, not being able to comprehend by what right the people of* Rome *meddle with the Affairs of* Aſia, *ſince I meddle not with thoſe of* Italy. Thus they parted, without doing any thing ſave threatning one another. Some time after a report was ſpread, that *Ptolemy Philopater* was dead, which made *Antiochus* to take his way towards *Egypt*, with deſign to ſeize that Kingdom, which the death of that King might make an eaſie Conqueſt. Being at *Epheſus*, *Hannibal* driven from *Carthage* by the calumnies of his Enemies, who had accuſed him to the Romans, as factious and likely to trouble the Peace now between them, came to ſalute him, and offer him his ſervice; and as he had the Repu-

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tation of a great Captain, the King received him with much kindneſs, and kept him near his perſon. Being gone as far as *Lycia*, he underſtood that *Ptolemy* was yet living, whereupon he quitted the deſign of *Egypt*, out of hopes that he might eaſily ſeize *Cyprus*, and to that intent, he embarqued for that Iſland; but was ſurprized with ſo furious a Tempeſt near the River *Sara*, that he loſt a great number of his Ships, and many of his Friends, Mariners and Soldiers; and the reſt of his Fleet being carried by the Storm to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, he there cauſed his Ships to be repaired, which were much out of order, and celebrated the Nuptials of his Children, *Antiochus* and *Laodice*, whom he had before made enter into contract of Marriage.

II. At length having abſolutely reſolved on a War with the Romans, he endeavoured to ally himſelf to the Kings his Neighbours by Marriage. He ſent *Cleopatra*, ſirnamed *Syra* to *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*, and gave her in Dower the lower * *Syria*, which he had formerly uſurped from him, hoping thus to appeaſe that young man, that he might attempt nothing on that ſide during the War. He ſent likewiſe *Antiochida* to *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, and the laſt to *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*: But that King knowing the deſign he had of making War upon the Romans, and that it was only for that end that he ſought his Alliance, excuſed himſelf; and when his Brother *Attalus* and *Phileter* wondred that he deſpiſed the Alliance of ſo great a King his Neigbour, who offered it of himſelf; he laid before them the importance of this War, in which poſſibly in the beginning they might fight with equal Forces, but that in the end the Romans would prove victorious, by reaſon of that courage and generoſity, which rendred them undefatigable. *In which caſe*, ſaid he, *I ſhall remain free and ſecure in my Kingdom; but if* Antiochus *overcome, 'tis poſſible ſo powerful a Neighbour may deprive me of my Eſtates; or if he let me keep them, 'twill be only on conditions of ſubmiſſion to his Empire.* Theſe were the Reaſons why he would not accept the Match.

* *Or* Cœloſyria.

Now *Antiochus* being returned to the *Helleſpont*, and paſſed over into *Cherſoneſus*, took many places in *Thrace*, either by force or ſurrender, ſet at liberty all the Greeks that were under the Dominion of the Thracians, and was extremely liberal to thoſe of * *Bizantium*, becauſe their City being ſeated at the mouth of the Sea, was very commodious for War; he likewiſe by his bounty, and the terror of his Arms, drew the Galatians to his party, judging thoſe great Bodies were very proper to oppoſe the Romans in a Battel. After this he came to *Epheſus*, whence he Deputed *Lyſias*, *Eginetes* and *Menippus* to *Rome*, in effect to pry into the intentions of the Senate, but in appearance to tell the Fathers: *That always hitherto he had been affectionate to the Roman Name, and likewiſe that he had been deſired to have been received into their Alliance, if they had thought him worthy. However, he could not but wonder that they ſhould order him to quit the Cities of* Ionia, *to releaſe to ſome of them the Tribute they ought him, not to meddle with the Affairs of* Aſia, *and to abandon the Poſſeſſion of* Thrace, *which he held of his Anceſtors; for that ſuch kind of commands were uſually given to the Conquered, and not to Friends.* The Senate knowing well that theſe Ambaſſadors were only come to ſound them, anſwered in few words, *If* Antiochus *leave the Aſiatique Greeks at liberty, and touches nothing in* Europe, *he may be, if he pleaſes, friend of the people of* Rome. This was all they ſaid, without giving any farther reaſon to the Ambaſſadors. *Antiochus* thereupon deſigning as ſoon as he could to ſeize upon *Greece*, that from

* Conſtantinople.

from thence he might begin the War againſt the Romans, thought good to communicate his intentions to *Hannibal*, who told him, *That* Greece *having for a long time been afflicted with War, he thought there would be no great difficulty in ſeizing upon it. But that it was hard for a Prince to make War in his own Country, becauſe of the ſcarcity of Proviſions that might happen, but much more eaſie to maintain it in his Enemies Country: That* Antiochus *would never attain his deſires upon the Romans in* Greece, *conſidering the conveniencies they had of ſupplying themſelves with Proviſions, and the faculty of raiſing Men: He therefore counſelled him to ſieſe on ſome part of* Italy, *and make that the ſeat of the War, whereby the Roman Affairs would, as well at home as abroad be weakned. I know,* ſaid he, Italy *perfectly well; and if you will give me but ten thouſand men, dare promiſe my ſelf to land and poſt my ſelf in ſome place convenient for your deſigns, from thence I will write to my Friends in* Carthage, *to engage them to ſtir up the people to revolt, who already of themſelves weary of the preſent Government, preſerve no great fidelity for the Romans, and who out of hopes of a better Fortune, will attempt any thing as ſoon as they hear of my return to* Italy. The King with pleaſure liſtned to this advice; and conſidering (as true it was) that the Engagement of the Carthaginians in this War, was of no ſmall importance, gave him charge to write forthwith to his Friends. However he writ not, for he could not do it with ſafety, the Romans having their Spies every where, and the War not being yet declared: Beſides there were many envious perſons in *Carthage*, and that Republick was troubled with thoſe Diviſions, which not long after were the cauſe of its ruine. Howbeit, he ſent to his Friends a certain Tyrian Merchant, called *Ariſton*, who came to *Carthage*, under pretence of Trade, and by him he deſired them, that as ſoon as they heard he was entred *Italy*, they ſhould move the people to revenge the outrages they had received; he acquitted himſelf very well of his Commiſſion: for *Hannibal*'s Enemies knowing of the coming of this *Ariſton*, began to make a great noiſe, as if he had the management of ſome contrivance to the prejudice of the Publick, ſo that ſearch was made for the Tyrian, and he, that he might not only engage the Friends of *Hannibal*, fixed up by Night in the Palace a certain Writing, by which that Captain exhorted all the Senate to joyn with *Antiochus* for the defence of the Country, and that done, gets him to Sea. Morning being come, and the Writing read, the Friends of *Hannibal* found themſelves by this invention diſcharged of any ſuſpicion could be had of them, becauſe it was believed the whole Senate had part in this advertiſement. However the people knew not what to reſolve on, they affected not the Roman Rule, but they had neither the power, nor the boldneſs to attempt any thing.

III. Mean while the Romans to cry quits with *Antiochus*, ſent him likewiſe Embaſſadors to ſound him, and ſpy into his Forces, of the number of which was *Scipio* the African. They came to *Epheſus*, where underſtanding that he was gone into *Piſidia*, they ſtaid for him, and during his abſence, had ſeveral conferences with *Hannibal*. They expoſtulated with him, that whilſt *Carthage* was in Peace, and *Antiochus* upon the point of being declared Enemy of the people of *Rome*, he had left his Country, though ſince the League, neither he nor any other Carthaginian had any cauſe of complaint. This was a policy in the Ambaſſadors, who believed by theſe familiarities with *Hannibal*, they might bring him under ſuſpicion with the King, of which, as great a Polititian as he was, he was not at all

aware: But the King being advertiſed of it, grew jealous of him, and confided not in him, as he had done before: but beſides his jealouſie, *Antiochus* grew envious of this great Commander, fearing leſt, if his Affairs had ſucceſs, all the Glory would be attributed to *Hannibal*. One day (as 'tis ſaid) theſe two excellent men, holding a conference before a numerous Auditory, fell upon a diſcourſe of great Captains; and *Scipio* having asked *Hannibal*, who of them all he eſteemed to be the greateſt? He replied, *Alexander* of *Macedon*: To which *Scipio* agreed, becauſe he yielded to *Alexander*: And thereupon asking again, to whom he gave the ſecond place, he named *Pyrrhus* King of *Epire*, becauſe in his Judgement, Boldneſs and Courage were the principal Virtues of a General of an Army, and of all Kings he had ever heard ſpeak of, he had known none more hardy. *Scipio* approved not this ſo well, yet he asked him again, To whom he gave the third place? *To my ſelf*, ſaid he, *for ſcarce crept out of my Infancy, I made my ſelf Maſter of* Spain; *I am the firſt, after* Hercules, *that hath paſſed the* Alps *with an Army; and being entred into* Italy, *have ſtruck a terrour through all places: I have taken and ſack'd four hundred Cities, and all this without any aſſiſtance, either of Men or Money from the Carthaginians.* Here *Scipio* interrupting theſe Bravadoes, told him ſmiling; *And in what degree would you have placed your ſelf, if I had not overcome you? I would have then ranked my ſelf*, ſaid he, *before* Alexander. Thus without diminiſhing any thing of his own Glory, he obliged *Scipio* with an ingenious praiſe, telling him he had vanquiſhed a Captain greater than *Alexander*. Their conference ended: *Hannibal* prayed *Scipio* to go and lye at his Apartment; which *Scipio* anſwered, he would freely have done, had he not been with *Antiochus*, whom the Romans had a preſent diſtruſt of. Thus did theſe great Captains, by a Generoſity worthy of themſelves, meaſure their enmities only by the Wars in which they were ingaged. *Flaminius* did not ſo, for finding, after the defeat of *Antiochus*, *Hannibal*, who fled to have ſaved himſelf in *Bithynia*, in the Court of King *Pruſias*, where that Roman was in Embaſſie upon other Affairs, though he had never received any particular offence, nor had any order from the Senate, there being now no reaſon to fear him, *Carthage* being ſubdued; yet he conſtrained him to end his days by Poyſon. 'Tis ſaid this death had been foretold him by the Oracle in theſe terms.

In the Libyſſan land ſhall Hannibal *dye.*

But he himſelf was deceived, for he hoped to dye in *Libya*, never thinking that in *Bithynia*, there was a River called *Libyſſa*, which gave name to the adjacent Country. I have related theſe Examples, as well of the Generoſity of *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, as of the contrary baſeneſs of *Flaminius*, becauſe I thought them not unworthy to find a place in this Hiſtory.

IV. To proceed, *Antiochus* upon his return from *Piſidia*, after having given Audience to the Deputies of the Rhodians, promiſed to leave in liberty both them, the Byzantines, and all the other Greeks, bordering upon *Aſia*, in caſe he came to an agreement with the Romans; but would not grant the ſame conditions to the Etolians and Ionians, becauſe they had already been accuſtomed to the Dominion of the Kings of *Aſia*, as barbarous

barous, as they were. As for the Roman Ambaſſadors, they returned without doing any thing; nor indeed came they for any other intent, but to gain knowledge of the Eſtate of *Antiochus* his Affairs. After their departure, came the Deputies of *Etolia*, of whom *Thoas* was the Chief, who offered the King all the Forces they had, adviſing him to paſs forthwith into *Greece*, as to an eaſie Conqueſt: Telling him, *There was no neceſſity he ſhould ſtay for thoſe Forces that were to come out of the midſt of* Aſia, *for the Etolian Powers were more than ſufficient, and beſides the Lacedemonians, and* Philip *of* Macedon, *ſworn Enemy of the Romans, would joyn with him as ſoon as he ſhould be entred into* Greece, *but that he could not uſe too much diligence*, *Antiochus* preſently took fire, nor could the news brought him of his Sons being dead in *Syria* hinder his embarquing, but with ten thouſand men only, he went and landed in the Iſland of *Eubœa*, which he ſo terrified, that they yielded to pay him Obedience. *Micithion*, one of his Captains, began likewiſe proſperouſly enough; for having found ſome Romans in the Iſland of *Delos*, which is conſecrated to *Apollo*, he cut part of them in pieces, and took the reſt Priſoners. *Amynander*, King of the Athamanians, joyned himſelf likewiſe to *Antiochus*, and that for the reaſon we are about to relate. A certain Macedonian, called *Alexander*, bred at *Megalopolis*, to whom the Inhabitants had granted the freedom of becoming a Burgeſs of their City, had perſwaded them by extravagant lyes, that he was of the Race of *Alexander*, the Son of *Philip*; and to gain the more credit to his knavery, he called his Children, the one *Philip*, and the other *Alexander*, and the laſt, which was a Daughter, *Apamia*, whom he gave in Marriage to *Amynander*, *Philip*, Brother to the Maid, and who had conducted her to her Husband, ſeeing his weakneſs and ignorance in Affairs, had ſtaid with this his Brother-in-law to Govern his Eſtates, in favour of the Alliance. *Antiochus* took hold of this occaſion, putting this *Philip* in hopes that he would re-eſtabliſh him in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, which belonged to him by Succeſſion from his Anceſtors; and by this means he drew the Athamanians to his party, as he did likewiſe the Thebans by going to *Thebes*, where he made an Oration to the people.

IV.

V. Thus having raſhly enough undertook a War of ſuch great importance, founded on the aſſiſtance of *Amynander*, the Thebans and the Etolians, he held a Council concerning *Theſſaly*, whether he ſhould preſently ſieſe it, or ſtay till Winter were paſt. *Hannibal* being at this Aſſembly, where he had kept ſilence till the King deſired his advice, then gave it in theſe terms.

The Oration of Hannibal.

"I Am of the opinion it is indifferent, whether you ſieſe upon *Theſ-*
"*ſaly* before Winter or after: but know, that people broken by a
"long train of misfortunes, though they may at preſent teſtifie an incli-
"nation to you, will not ſtick to range themſelves on the Roman party,
"if there happen to you the leaſt diſgrace: Beſides we are come hither
"without any Forces of our own, perſwaded by the Etolians, that the La-
"cedemonians and *Philip* will joyn with us; and yet I fear the Lacede-
"monians are no leſs our Enemies than the Achaians: For *Philip*, though
"he ſhould declare for you, I cannot perceive in the condition, wherein

"things ſtand, that it would be of much importance which party he "takes, but I am firm in this judgement, that you forthwith cauſe your "Troops to come out of *Aſia*, without placing your hopes, either upon "the Etolians or *Amynander*, and that as ſoon as they are come, you enter "*Italy*, that the Romans thereby ſufficiently peſtered to find remedies for "Domeſtick miſchiefs, may attempt nothing againſt your Dominions, nor, "fearing to leave home defenceleſs, permit their Forces to range abroad. "To this purpoſe you muſt divide your Fleet into two parts, one of which "may waſte the Coaſts of *Italy*, whilſt the other is kept in readineſs, ex- "pecting ſome favourable conjuncture. In the mean time you are to poſt "your ſelf with your Land Army on the Frontiers of *Greece*, near unto "*Italy*, both to hold them always in terrour, and to make an irruption as "ſoon as you can poſſibly. Then it will be to ſome purpoſe to uſe all "ſorts of means to engage *Philip* to your intereſts, for which part ſoe- "ver he takes, he will be of no ſmall conſequence. And if you cannot "gain him, you muſt ſend your Son *Seleucus* to enter his Country with "an Army on the Thracian ſide, that ſeeing himſelf embroiled in "a Domeſtick War, the Enemy may draw no aſſiſtance from "him.

This was *Hannibal*'s opinion, which certainly was not ill, nor indeed was there any better propoſed in the Aſſembly. But the envy born to this great Man, joyned with a fear, the King and Councellors had, leſt he ſhould appear more underſtanding in the myſtery of War than they, or that if things ſucceeded, all the Glory would be attributed to him, hindred its being followed, ſave only that *Polexenidas* was diſpatch'd into *Aſia*, to cauſe the Army advance.

VI. The Senate receiving advice of this irruption in *Greece*, and of the defeat of the Romans in *Delos*, declared *Antiochus* Enemy to the Roman people: And thus after the diſtruſt ſo long time had on one part and the other, they came to an open War. But becauſe the King was Poſſeſſor of vaſt Territories in the Continent, and of almoſt all the Sea-coaſts, that he was entred into *Europe*, where he had begot a fear of him, as well becauſe of his mighty preparations, as of the Glory of thoſe brave Actions had gained him the title of Great, the Romans believed that this War would be of a long continuance; and beſides, they were diſtruſtful of *Philip* of *Macedon*, whom they had lately vanquiſhed, and doubtful leſt the Carthaginians ſhould violate the League, becauſe of *Hannibal*, who was with *Antiochus*, they had moreover in ſuſpicion ſome Provinces newly conquered, and fearful leſt they ſhould make ſome inſurrection, when they ſaw *Antiochus* in Arms, wherefore they ſent Forces to bridle them with Garriſons, and with Propretors, who had each of them carried before them ſix Axes, and to whom they gave one half of the Authority attributed to the Conſuls, as they bore half their Enſigns: And becauſe in this great danger, they were likewiſe doubtful leſt *Italy* ſhould not prove altogether faithful, or ſtand ſtedfaſt with them againſt *Antiochus*, they ſent a powerful Army unto *Tarentum*, to hinder the Enemies entrance, whilſt their Fleet coaſted round the Country, ſo much did *Antiochus* at firſt terrifie them. After they thought they had ſufficiently ſecured Affairs within; they ſet themſelves to levy Soldiers, of whom they raiſed twenty thouſand in the City, and twice as many in the Cities of their Allies, with deſign in the Spring to paſs into *Ionia*. Thus they ſpent the Winter

Winter in making their preparations. In the mean time *Antiochus* took his march towards *Theſſaly*, and being come to the place called *Cynocephalos* or *Dogſhead*, he Magnificently buried the bodies of thoſe that had been ſlain, which had hitherto lain without Sepulchre, gaining by this means the good will of the Macedonians, and loading *Philip* with the hatred of his people, incenſed that he had not taken the care to bury the bodies of thoſe had been ſlain in his ſervice. *Philip* was yet uncertain what party he ſhould take, but hearing this news, he ſtreightway preferred the Romans, and ſending for *Bebius*, that commanded the Army, that lay hard by, took between his hands the Oath of Alliance againſt *Antiochus*. *Bebius* prayſed him, and henceforward truſted in him, ſo far that ſending *Appius Claudius* with two thouſand Men into *Theſſaly*, he made not any difficulty of cauſing him to march through the midſt of *Macedonia*. *Claudius* being come to *Tempe*, nigh *Antiochus* his Camp that beſieged *Lariſſa*, kindled great fires that he might make the Enemy believe he was come with a powerful Army. The King did believe it, and perſwading himſelf it was *Bebius* and *Philip* him; Fear made him raiſe the Siege of *Larniſſa*, and making the ſeaſon his pretence which began to grow cold, he went to take up his Winter-quarters at *Chalcis*. Here he fell in love with a beautiful Virgin, though he were above fifty years old, and Married her with Great Pomp and Magnificence, without conſidering he had upon his hands a War, wherein all his Glory lay at ſtake. He ſpent the whole Winter in pleaſure and divertiſement, and ſuffered his Army to do the like, but having in the firſt of the Spring made an inroad into *Acarnania*, he too well perceived that Soldiers accuſtomed to Idleneſs were difficultly retrived, and began to repent of his Marriage, and the delights to which he had abandoned himſelf. Not but that he did ſomewhat in this Country; Some places ſubmitted to him, and others he took by force, but having intelligence that the Romans paſſed the *Ionian* Sea, he returned to *Chalcis*.

VII. Their Army was compoſed of two thouſand Horſe, and twenty thouſand Foot, they had likewiſe ſome Elephants. It was commanded by *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, who being paſſed from * *Brunduſium* into *Apolonia* took his march towards *Theſſaly*, raiſing in his way, the ſieges from before ſuch Cities as the Enemy had inveſted, and driving out the Garriſons from thoſe who had received them, he reduced likewiſe, that *Philip* of *Megalopolis*, who had the forementioned pretenſions on the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and took Priſoners about three thouſand of *Antiochus* Souldiers. Mean while *Philip* of *Macedon* made an Irruption into *Athamania*, and drove thence *Amynander*, who fled, and ſheltred himſelf in *Ambracia*. *Antiochus* having intelligence hereof, and ſeeing ſo ſudden a change of affairs, began to be afraid of the diligence of his enemies, and perceived at laſt that *Hannibals* advice was the beſt, Wherefore he diſpatched many Meſſengers one after another to *Polexenidas*, to cauſe him to advance, and in the mean while with all expedition poſſible he drew together all the force he could make, which amounted to ten thouſand Foot and fifteen hundred Horſe, with ſome Auxiliary Troops of his Allies, and with theſe went to ſieſe upon the paſs of *Thermopylæ*, that he might ſtop the Enemies paſſage whilſt he expected his Army out of *Aſia*. Now the ſtrait of *Thermopylæ* is a long and narrow paſſage, bounded on one ſide with a troubleſome and inacceſſible Sea, and on the other with a deep and broad Mariſh. It hath on both ſides two mighty ſteep Rocks, of which

* *Or* Brindiſium.

which one is called *Tichiontes*, and the other *Callidromos*, where are found hot Springs whence the place had the Name of *Thermopylæ*. Here *Antiochus* cauſed to be raiſed, two walls, and erected Engins upon them, committing the guard of the tops of the mountains to the Etolians, leſt the Enemy ſhould ſurprize him by the ſame windings *Xerxes* had found out to aſſault the Lacedemonians and *Leonidas*, becauſe they had left them unguarded. Having therefore placed a thouſand Men, on each top, he went and encamped with the reſt of the Army near *Heraclea*. *Manius* having intelligence of the Enemies Poſture, cauſed publication of the battel to be made for the morrow, and at the ſame time ſent away two of his Tribunes *M. Cato* and *L. Valerius* to whom he gave as many choſen Men as they deſired, with Orders in the night to make a turn about the mountains and if it were poſſible to drive the Ætolians from their Poſts. *Valerius* having aſſaulted thoſe which had the Guard of *Tichiontes*, was repulſed, for they defended themſelves couragiouſly. But *Cato* having poſted himſelf near the *Callidromos*, about the laſt watch advanced, and ſurprized the Enemies, yet aſleep; however he had a ſharp ſcuffle, by reaſon of the incommodiouſneſs of the place, where the Soldiers were forced to Scramble up the Rocks, and Precipices to come at the Etolians. Mean while *Manius* marched directly towards *Antiochus*, having drawn off his Army into ſeveral bodies for he could not fight otherwiſe in theſe ſtraits where the King expected him, having placed his Targets, and light Armed Foot in the Front of his Phalanx, which he had embatteled before his Camp, on the right hand ſtood the Slingers and Archers, who guarded the Foot of the Mountain, On the left the Elephants, and on the Sea-ſide, thoſe Companies appointed for the Guard of his Perſon. When they were engaged, *Manius* found himſelf rudely intreated on all ſides, by the light Armed Soldiers: But bravely ſuſtaining the Shock, and ſometimes giving ground, ſometimes returning fiercely to the charge, he haraſſed them in ſuch manner, that he put them to the Rout. The Phalanx opened to give them paſſage, and cloſing again preſented the Romans with an infinite of ſharp long Pikes; (By this Invention it was that *Alexander* of *Macedon* and *Philip* did principally make themſelves terrible, for no Man was ſo hardy as to preſs upon this thick and affrightful forreſt of Pikes.) Hereupon on a ſudden, might be perceived the Etolians with great crys flying from the *Callidromos*, and ſheltring themſelves in *Antiochus* Camp; which at the inſtant ſtruck fear into both parties, who knew not what it meant; but when they knew *Cato* who with loud ſhouts purſued the Flyers, and ſaw him already nigh the Camp, the Kings Soldiers, who had heard the Roman Courage and Valor largely ſpoken of, and were ſenſible of their own defects and faintneſs, occaſioned by their having ſpent the Winter in Pleaſures and Idleneſs, began to be afraid, and their fear blinded them, ſo that they could not obſerve the numbers commanded by *Cato*, but imagining them far greater then they were, and apprehenſive leſt they ſhould Plunder their Camp, they ran thither in diſorder, followed ſo cloſe by the Romans, that they entred Pelmel with them, and forced them to a ſecond flight. *Manius* purſued them as far as *Scarphia*, and made a horrible ſlaughter, took a great number of Priſoners, and at his return from the chaſe of the Enemy gave their camp in ſpoil to his Soldiers. Mean while the Etolians had ſieſed the Roman camp, which they found abandoned, but as ſoon as they ſaw *Manius* return they quitted it. It is ſaid that of the Roman Army there were about two hundred Men ſlain, either in the fight or the purſuit, *Antiochus* loſt ten thouſand reckoning the Priſoners, and he

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as ſoon as he ſaw his Army give way, ſaved himſelf with five hundred Horſe, and at one carriere reached *Elatia*. From thence he got to *Chalcis*, where his Fleet lay, on which he Embarqued with his new Spouſe *Eubia* (for ſo ſhe was called) and fled to *Epheſus*. Yet he took not with him all his Ships, for ſome that were laden with Proviſion fell into the hands of the Roman Admiral who ſunk them.

VIII. News of this Victory being brought to *Rome*, publick Prayers were made, all the City rejoycing at the happy beginnings of this War, and in acknowledgment of *Philips* fidelity they ſent back to him his Son *Demetrius*, who was yet a Hoſtage in the City. Whilſt at *Rome* they were giving Demoſtrations of their joy for this happy ſucceſs, the Phocians, Chalcidians and many other people, who had been of the Kings party, came to ask pardon of *Manius*, who forgave them. After which he went with *Philip* to ſpoil *Etolia*, took all their Cities together with *Damocrites* General of that Nation (the ſame *Damocritus* who had threatned *Flaminius*, he would encamp on the banks of *Tiber*.) After this he took his March towards *Callipolis*, over Mount *Corax*, which is of a great height, and very difficult to paſs by reaſon of the Rocks eſpecially for an Army, laden with baggage, and the ſpoils of the Enemy as this was, for in paſſing this cragged way many Soldiers with their Arms and Equipage, were loſt among the Precipices, beſides they ſtood in fear of the Etolians, who might have troubled them, but they appeared not, being buſied in ſending Deputies to *Rome* to deſire peace. *Antiochus* in the mean while drew towards the Sea ſide with all Expedition poſſible, all the forces that had been levied in the Lands under his obedience. He cauſed likewiſe a Fleet to be fitted out, the command of which he gave to *Polexenidas*, who had been baniſhed from *Rhodes*, and not long after paſſed into *Cherſoneſus*, which he fortified a ſecond time, he placed Garriſons in *Seſtos* and *Abidos*, by which the Romans might paſs into *Aſia*. And having deſigned *Lyſimachia* for his Principal Magazine, he cauſed to be brought thither great ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſion, believing the Romans would ſoon draw towards him with great forces both by Sea and Land.

IX. The Senate and People of *Rome* ſent as Succeſſor to *Manius*, *L. Scipio* now Conſul, and becauſe he was not over expert in the Art of War, they gave him for Lieutenant *Publius* his brother, who having overcome the Carthaginians, had brought away the ſurname of *African* as a ſpoil. Whilſt theſe two brothers were laboring in their preparations, *Livius* who before had Commiſſion to hinder the Enemy, from making any deſcent in *Italy*, having been ſent Succeſſor to *Attilius*, who commanded the Romans Naval Forces, Embarqued on thoſe Ships he had for the Defence of the Coaſts, together with ſome ſent by the Carthaginians, and other Allies, and came to the Port of *Pyræum*, where *Attilius* having delivered up to him, the command of the Fleet, he took the Sea with fourſcore and one Ships, all Armed for War followed by *Eumenes*, with fifty more, the better half of which were likewiſe Armed. They firſt made a deſcent in *Phocida*, which yet held for the King, but now for fear receiving them, they the day following went forth to fight. For *Polexenidas* who commanded *Antiochus* his Fleet was coming to meet them with two hundred Ships much lighter then theirs, which was a great advantage, for the Romans were not yet perfectly skilled in Sea Affairs. This Captain ſeeing that two Carthaginian Ships, advanced in the head of the Fleet,

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ſent out three of his againſt them, which took them both, but empty, for the Africans had caſt themſelves into the Sea. *Livius* angry at this affront, makes a head, and goes to charge the Admiral, they ſtay for him, and grapple with him, ſo that the Ships being now faſt to one another, they fought as if on firm Land; but the Romans being moſt daring leaped into the Enemies Ships, and making themſelves Maſters of them, brought them into the body of their Fleet, together with the two Carthaginian Ships had been taken at firſt. After this Prologue to a Battel, when the two Fleets came to joyn, the Romans far ſurpaſſed their enemies in bravery and ſtrength, but becauſe their Ships were heavier, they could not reach thoſe of *Antiochus*, when they made their retreat; however they forced them to fly and ſave themſelves in *Epheſus*, and they themſelves went to *Chios*, where joyned with them ſeven and twenty Auxiliary Ships of *Rhodes*; The King having heard what paſſed in this Sea-fight, ſent *Hannibal* into *Syria*, to cauſe other Ships to come from *Phœnicia* and *Cilicia*, but at his return the Rhodians gave him chaſe, and forced him to retreat into *Pamphilia*, and having taken ſome of his Ships, kept the reſt for a while blocked up in the Port.

X. Mean while *Publius Scipio*, being come into *Etolia* with the Conſul *Manius*, who had delivered up to him the Army, he would not carry the War from City to City, judging it ſcarce worth the time, and therefore permitted the *Etolians* to ſend again their Deputies to *Rome*, whilſt he choſe rather to go directly to *Antiochus*, before his brothers Conſulate was expired. To which end he cauſed his Army to march by *Macedon* and *Thrace*, to gain the *Helleſpont*, but this way had been very difficult and troubleſome, had not *Philip* of *Macedon*, taken order that the Markets ſhould all the way be ſupplyed, and built Bridges, and brought in Proviſions as he did. This piece of Service was the occaſion that the *Scipio*'s releaſed him of the reſt of the Mony, that he ought, and indeed they had Orders to that purpoſe from the Senate in caſe he ſerved the Commonwealth faithfully in that War. They wrote likewiſe to *Pruſias* King of *Bythinia*, Letters by which they gave him to underſtand, that the people of *Rome* had enlarged the Dominions of a great many Kings, their Friends and Allies, and that though they had overcome *Philip* King of *Macedon*, yet they had left to him his Kingdom, ſent back his Son that was in Hoſtage, and releaſed him the Mony he was ſtill obliged to pay them; with which things *Pruſias* was ſo much wrought upon, that he preſently entred into Alliance with the Romans againſt *Antiochus*. Now the Admiral *Livius* underſtanding that the *Scipio*'s were upon their way, left *Pauſimachus* the Rhodian in *Etolia*, with the Rhodian Ships, and a part of the Roman, and himſelf with the reſt ſailed towards the *Helleſpont*, to receive them. In his way *Seſtos* and *Rhetia*, and two Ports of the Acheans, and ſome other little Towns yielded to him, and becauſe *Abydos* would not do the ſame, he layd Siege to it. After *Livius* departure, *Pauſimachus* lying at Anchor near *Samos*, exerciſed his people, in trying many inventions of his own, and framing new kinds of Engins, and among the reſt making Iron Pots, filled with combuſtible ſtuff, and faſtned to the end of long booms, thruſt from the Ships, ſo that if in time of Service the Enemies Ships came near them, they might burn them, by letting fall into them, thoſe flaming Pots. Whilſt he buſied himſelf in theſe ſorts of Employments, *Polexenidas* who was likewiſe of *Rhodes*, but had been baniſhed thence, was contriving how he might intrap him. He promiſed him to

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deliver up to him the Kings Fleet, on condition he would prevail that he might be recalled from Baniſhment: *Pauſimachus* was jealous of the cheat, and for a good while ſtood upon his Guard; but after he had received on the part of *Polexenidas*, Letters written with his own hand, and had advice that he was gone from *Epheſus*, having ſent moſt of his Mariners to ſeek for Proviſions, he thought there was no probability, that a man like him would run the hazard of giving teſtimony under his own hand againſt himſelf, and began too lightly to give faith to him, and grew negligent of his Guards; he likewiſe ſent his Seamen to Victual after the others Examples. *Polexenidas* ſeeing his plot took, ſuddenly cauſed his men to return, and privately ſent *Nicander*, a famous Pyrate, with ſome armed Soldiers into *Samos*, to charge the Enemy behind on the Land ſide; and he imbarquing about midnight, came before day break, and fell upon the Rhodian, and his Companians, who were yet aſleep. *Pauſimachus* frighted at this unexpected aſſault, commanded his Soldiers to diſmount from the Ships, and defend themſelves on the Beak: but when *Nicander* came to charge him behind (perſwaded by an errour ordinary in the night) he believed the greateſt Force had poſſeſt themſelves of the Shore, and regaining his Veſſels in great diſorder, he was the firſt that made head againſt the Enemies, and the firſt that valiantly fighting was ſlain; almoſt all the reſt were ſlain or cut in pieces: Only ſeven Ships which carried the Fire-pots, and which the Enemies durſt not approach were ſaved; the other twenty were towed, by ſo many Boats to *Epheſus*. The noiſe of the Victory made *Phocea*, *Samos* and *Cuma* declare for *Antiochus*, and obliged *Livius*, who feared leſt the Ships he had left in *Æolida*, might be involved in the ſame misfortunes, ſpeedily to return. *Eumenes* came thither alſo; and the Rhodians having ſent twenty other Ships, in a ſhort time all men regained courage. To revenge this affront, they preſented themſelves before *Epheſus* in order of Battel; but no perſon coming out to them, they left one half of their Fleet at anchor, in ſight of the City; and with the other part, went and made a deſcent into the Enemies Country, ſpoiling the Sea Coaſts: but *Nicander* coming ſuddenly upon them, made them quit their prize, and flee to their Ships, ſo that the time of *Livius* command being expired, they came and diſembarqued at *Samos*.

At the ſame time *Seleucus*, Son of *Antiochus*, forraged the Lands of *Eumenes*, and held *Pergamus* ſo cloſely beſieged, that no perſon could get out; ſo that *Eumenes* was conſtrained to make all haſte poſſible to *Elea*, which is the border of his Kingdom, together with *L. Emilius Regulus*, the Succeſſor of *Livius*. There came likewiſe from *Achaia* a thouſand Auxiliary Foot, and a hundred choſen Horſe, under the Command of *Diophanes*, who being entred into *Pergamus*, and perceiving from the Walls the people of *Seleucus* feaſting and making merry, and careleſs of their Guards, would have perſwaded the Inhabitants to make a Salley upon the Enemies; but they not having courage enough to adventure it, he drew out what Horſe and Foot they had, and placed them in battalia before the Walls, with directions not to move till they had Orders. The Enemy ſcoffed at the ſmalneſs of their number, and their fearfulneſs: but when he ſaw them buſie at Dinner, he fell on, and giving the Alarm to their *Corps de Guard*, forced them to turn their backs, and flee in diſorder; ſome were killed taking up their Arms, others bridling their Horſes, others in running after their Horſes that were got looſe, and others, as they ſtrove in vain, to mount them. Thus *Diophanes* gained a noble Victory in the ſight of the Inhabitants, who incouraged him from the Walls, but yet durſt not come

forth to ſecond him; and after having ſlain as many as he could overtake in ſo ſudden an eruption, he returned into the City with Men and Horſes taken from the Enemy. On the morrow he poſted himſelf in the ſame ſtation, without being followed by thoſe of *Pergamus* any more than the day before. *Seleucus* faced him with ſome Bodies of Horſe, offering him Battel; but he moved not thereat, kept firm his ground near the Walls, waiting an opportunity; and when he perceived about noon *Seleucus* Horſemen were returning to the Camp quite tyred, he furiouſly charged them in the Rear, and after having put them to the rout, and ſlain ſome of them, he retreated into the City, he made many ſuch like attempts, for they could neither go out to Forrage, nor to cut Wood, but he was ſtill at the backs of them; till at laſt he harraſſed them in ſuch manner, that *Seleucus* was forced to withdraw his Camp out of the Territories of *Pergamus*, and at laſt was quite driven out of *Eumenes*'s Kingdom. Sometimes after happened a Sea fight between *Polexenidas* and the Romans near *Myoneſa*. *Polexenidas* having fourſcore and ten Ships of War, and *Regulus* the Roman Admiral fourſcore and three, of which five and twenty were Rhodians commanded by *Eudorus*. He was appointed to fight on the left hand; but perceiving that *Polexenidas* was ſtronger on the right, and ready to encompaſs the Romans, he made head with all his Ships, which were very nimble, and forthwith oppoſed him, with thoſe which carried Firebals, ſo that he durſt advance no further for fear of burning; but as he tack'd, he expoſed the broadſides of his Ships to the Rhodians, who charging upon them, ſunk ſome of them, till ſuch time as one of the Rhodian Ships having run his Beakhead with ſuch violence againſt a Sidonian, that the Anchor fell into the Rhodian, they were grappled faſt together, and now they began a Fight as on firm Land, and a great number of Veſſels thronging in both of one ſide and the other to the aſſiſtance of theſe grappled Ships, the Fight was very bloody; but one half of the Kings Ships being divided from the reſt of their Companions, were oppreſſed by the Romans before the others perceived it, and as ſoon as they ſaw it, they betook themſelves to flight. The King loſt nine and twenty Ships, of which thirteen were taken with all their crew. The Romans loſt only two beſides one of *Rhodes*, which *Polexenidas* carried with him to *Epheſus*. Thus ended the Sea Fight which was fought near *Myoneſa*.

XII. Mean while the King ſtrengthened the *Cherſoneſus*, and fortified *Lyſimachia*, judging well, as true it was, that the Romans would find it difficult to paſs into *Thrace*, without having a firm alliance with *Philip*. But being of an inconſtant Spirit, and variable on matters of no moment, as ſoon as he heard of this loſs, near *Myoneſa*, he began to fear, and believed he had ſome God to his Enemy, ſince all things ſucceded ſo ill, that the Romans were become Maſters of the Sea, where he thought he had the greateſt advantage; that *Hannibal* was blocked up in *Pamphilia*; and that *Philip*, who he thought ſhould have remembred the injuries he had received, did himſelf conduct the Enemy through ways inacceſſible. Frighted with all theſe diſorders; and God blinding his judgement, as it happens in weighty calamities, he moſt imprudently abandons the *Cherſoneſus*, without ſtaying ſo much as for a ſight of the Romans, or without either tranſporting or burning all thoſe Proviſions and Munitions he had heaped together, whether of Corn, Arms, Engines or Money, but leaving them intire to the ſervice of his Enemies. Nay, ſo ſenceleſs he was, that when

thoſe

thoſe of *Lyſimachia* went to him weeping with their Wives and Children; he took no notice of it. He had now no other thoughts but how to hinder the Romans from entring into *Abidos*, on which he henceforward placed all his hopes; and yet, as if the Gods had more and more blinded him; he never took care to guard that paſſage, nor ſo much as placed a Garriſon in it, but made a ſwift retreat into the Inland, deſigning there to expect the Enemy. The *Scipio's* having intelligence of his departure, made haſte to poſſeſs themſelves of *Lyſimachia*; and having ſeiſed on all the Treaſure and Proviſions the King had left in *Cherſoneſus*, they forthwith paſſed the *Helleſpont*, which they found defenceleſs, and overtook *Antiochus* at *Sardis*, before he any thing doubted it. This diligence of theirs ſo much aſtoniſhed him, that beginning to torment himſelf, and making Fortune a party in the faults he had committed, he preſently diſpatched away *Heraclides* the *Bizantine* to the *Scipio's* to treat of Peace, offering them *Smyrna*, *Alexandria* upon the *Granick*, *Lampſacus*, which had been the cauſe of their difference, with half the charge of the War. He had likewiſe Orders to grant them all the Cities of *Ionia*, and *Æolia*, which had held of their party, and in ſhort, whatever they demanded. Theſe Conditions he was to propoſe publickly; but in private he had Commiſſion to offer to *Publius Scipio* a great ſum of Money, with promiſe to reſtore him his Son without Ranſom, for the King had taken him priſoner in *Greece*, as he paſſed from *Chalcis* to *Demetriade*. This is that *Scipio*, who afterwards took and demoliſhed *Carthage*, and was the ſecond that bore the ſirname of African. He was the Son of that *Paulus*, who took *Perſeus* of *Macedon*, Grand-child to *Scipio* by the Mother ſide, ſhe being his Daughter, and afterwards became his Son by Adoption. The *Scipio's* made anſwer to *Heraclides* in full aſſembly, *That if* Antiochus *deſired Peace, he muſt not only quit all Ionique and Eolique Cities, but likewiſe all* Aſia *on that ſide Mount* Taurus; *and beſides that, pay all the Expence of this War, which had been begun through his fault*; And in particular *Publius* told the *Byzantine*, *That if the King had offered theſe Conditions, whilſt he held* Lyſimachia *and the* Cherſoneſus; *nay, it's poſſible before he had paſſed the* Helleſpont, *the Romans might have accepted them; but ſeeing he had ſuffered them to paſs, and that now they beheld themſelves Maſters, not only of the Bridle, but of the Horſeman, they knew not what elſe to ſay to him. However, he was highly obliged to him for his kindneſs, and ſhould be more when he ſent him his Son, but as Affairs at preſent ſtood, he adviſed him, as his friend, to receive theſe Conditions e'er ſomething worſe befel him.* After this he was carried ſick to *Ælea*, leaving *Cn. Domitius*, Lieutenant to his Brother. As for *Antiochus*, he was of the ſame opinion *Philip* of *Macedon* had formerly in the like caſe been, that though he were abſolutely defeated, they could not demand more, and therefore applied himſelf to rally his Forces in the Country of *Thyatira*, very near the Enemy. However, he ſent *Scipio* his Son to *Ælea*, in acknowledgement of which *Scipio* ſent him word, by thoſe which brought him his Son, that he adviſed him not to give Battel till he was returned to the Army.

The King perſwaded by the Authority of that great Man, went and incamped near Mount *Sipyle*, where he fortified his Camp with a ſtrong Wall, and was beſides defended by the River *Phrygia*, which parted the two Armies. This Poſt he made choice of, that he might not be obliged to fight againſt his will. But *Domitius*, covetous of Glory, had a great deſire to fight, whilſt he had the Command. He therefore couragiouſly XIII.

passed the River, and came and encamped within * twenty furlongs of the Enemy, doing all he could for four days together to draw him to a Battel, he every day drew out his Army before his Trenches, and the other did the like; but neither the one nor the other would begin the engagement. The fifth day *Domitius* drew forth his Army, and took the Field, hoping *Antiochus* would come to meet him; but seeing he moved not, he came and encamped close by him, and having let pass one day more, he caused it to be published throughout his Army, so loud that the Enemy might hear it, that on the morrow he would fight, whether *Antiochus* would or no: This King committed another mighty fault upon this occasion, for he might have stood upon the Ditch of his Camp, or have kept himself within his Trenches, till *Publius* had been recovered: but he thought it a shame for him to refuse Battel, when he was the strongest; he therefore prepared himself, and about the last Watch, both Armies took the Field, and drew up in Array. They were Marshalled in this Order: *Domitius* placed his right wing, composed of about ten thousand Roman Foot on the Bank of the River; on the side of them were ten thousand other Italian Foot, both parties divided into *Vanguard, Battel and Rear. Next the Italians stood *Eumenes* his Army, and three thousand Acheans armed with Bucklers. The right Wing composed of the Latin, Roman and *Eumenes* his Cavalry, which amounted to about three thousand Horse; between whose Ranks there were placed some light armed Foot and Archers, and besides there were four Squadrons, which *Domitius* kept near his person, and all these made not above thirty thousand Men; the right Wing was commanded by *Domitius*, the Battel by the Consul, and the left Wing by *Eumenes*. They had likewise some Elephants, which were come to them from *Lybia*; but they believed they should not be able to make use of them, because they were too few; and besides being small, as all the Lybian Elephants are, they would be apt to be frightned, when they saw greater, wherefore they placed them behind in the Rearguard: Such was the order of the Roman Army.

* *About two miles and a half.*

* Hastati, Principes & Triarii *according to the Roman order.*

Antiochus had an Army of seventy thousand Men, whose main strength consisted in the Macedonian Phalanx, composed of sixteen thousand Footmen, which according to the institution of the Ancient Kings, *Philip* and *Alexander*, were divided into ten Battalia's, each of fifty Ranks, and in each Rank two and thirty Men: Their Front represented the Walls of a City, because between every Body stood an Elephant like a lofty Tower; it was covered on the Flanks with two bodies of Horse, the one of Galatians armed at all points, and the other of these chosen Macedonians, whom they call *Agenia*: In the right Wing were the light armed Soldiers, the * *Argyraspides*, and two hundred Archers on Horse-back. In the left Wing were the Gallogræcian Foot, the Tectosages, the Trocmes, the Tolostiboges, some Cappidocians, whom *Ariarathes* had send to the King, and a great multitude of Mercenaries, which were sustained by other Cavalry, armed Back and Brest, and by the Band called *Soccale* lightly armed. Thus had *Antiochus* ordered his Forces, placing his principal confidence, according to all appearance, in his Cavalry, which in part covered the Front of his Battel: but he had committed an irreparable fault by having too closely lock'd up his Phalanx, on which he should have placed his chief reliance, being all old Soldiers. He had besides all these another Body composed of Slingers, Archers, and Men with Darts and Targets of divers Nations, Phrygians, Lydians, Pamphylians, Cretans, Triballians, Cilicians, armed after the manner of *Crete*, together with Archers on Horse-back

* Or Horsemen with silver Shields.

back, Dacians, Myſians, Elymans and Arabes, who mounted on Dromedaries extremely ſwift, vexed the Enemy from above with the ſhot of their Arrows, and when they were to fight nigh at hand, made uſe of long and narrow Swords. There were ſome Chariots armed with Scythes, which were placed in the head of this multitude with Orders to retire, after having made the firſt charge. *Antiochus* Army appeared upon a view of it, to be, as it were, two, the one to aſſail the Enemy, and the other to ſtand their ground, as if they had been an Ambuſcade, and certainly both the one and the other were capable of ſtriking terrour, both for their number and their order. The King was upon the right hand, he gave the left to his Son, and *Mendis*, *Zeuxis* and *Philip*, Maſter of the Elephants, had the charge of the middle Battel. The day was very miſty, ſo that the obſcurity hindred the Enemies from diſcovering their Forces; and beſides the moiſtneſs ſlackned the Bow-ſtrings, and made limber and ſlippery the Thongs, with which they lanced their Darts; which *Eumenes* having obſerved, found nothing elſe to be concerned at, his only care was now for the Chariots, which he extremely feared. He therefore command the Slingers, Darters, and other light armed Soldiers to charge them, and on every ſide to throw their Darts and Javelins only at the Horſe; for they being once beaten down, the Chariot was uſeleſs, or would ſerve rather to break the Ranks of their own party, than hurt the Enemy. And indeed it happened ſo, for the Chariot-horſes being wounded, turned towards their own Cavalry, ſo that the Dromedaries that followed the Chariots were the firſt broken, then the armed Horſemen who could not ſhun the Encounters of the Scythes, by reaſon of the weight of their Armour: And thus was the whole Army put into a greater diſorder, then there was any reaſon for, or the occaſion merited; for it having begun in the middle of the Field of Battel, ſpread it ſelf to both ends, and the extent thereof being large amidſt the confuſion of different Voices, and a general fear, thoſe which were near the danger, ſooner felt the blow than foreſaw it; and all the reſt were terrified with the expectation of ſome great miſhap. *Eumenes* ſeeing his firſt onſet had ſucceeded ſo well, and that the place where the Chariots and Dromedaries had ſtood was void, he preſſed forward his Horſe, and thoſe of *Italy* againſt the Galatians, Cappadocians, and other Mercenaries, crying aloud to his people, that they ſhould go fall upon thoſe unskilful people, whom their Protectors had forſaken. They obeyed and charged with ſo much violence, that they put to flight both them and the Men of Arms that were behind them, whom the defeat of the Chariots had already put in diſorder, and becauſe the weight of their Arms hindred their ſaving themſelves, they were almoſt all cut in pieces. Whilſt *Eumenes* thus bore down the Horſe in this Wing, *Antiochus* having broke and put to rout the Legions, gave them chaſe. Mean while the Macedonian Phalanx, which ſtood lock'd up together upon four Fronts in the midſt of the Cavalry, finding themſelves opened on all ſides, by the flight of the Wings, opened to receive in the midſt of them, ſome Companies of light armed Men, who fought at the head of them, and preſently cloſed again. And now *Domitius* eaſily encompaſſed the Macedonians, thus cluſtred together, with his Horſe and light armed Foot, and ſhrewdly annoyed them, for they could neither come to the charge, nor enlarge themſelves, and their experience ſtood them in no ſtead at this cloſe order, but rather expoſed them to the Darts of their Enemies: All they could do was to preſent their Pike heads to the Romans, provoking them to come to the puſh, otherwiſe threatning they would come to them; but being on foot, and

heavily

heavily armed, they durſt not go to aſſault Horſemen, for fear of breaking the Order of their Phalanx, which they could very hardly recover. The Romans preſſed not too cloſe upon theſe old Soldiers, thus lock'd together, and exaſperated by deſpair; but wheeling about them, they charged them at diſtance with Arrows and Darts, of which not any fell without execution, becauſe they being ſo hudled together, could not ſhun them: ſeeing themſelves haraſſed in this manner, and not knowing what courſe to take, they gave ground, but ſtill retreating, and not breaking their Order, inſomuch that the Romans durſt not yet draw near, but were ſatisfied to charge them at diſtance, till ſuch time as the Elephants, which they had placed between the Battalia's, began to break their Ranks, and refuſing any more to obey their Rulers, cauſed the whole multitude to betake themſelves to flight in diſorder. *Domitius* having routed the Phalanx, attempted to force *Antiochus* his Camp, whilſt he continued driving the Legions that were oppoſed to him unto their very Camp, they not being ſupported by any Horſe, nor any Darters, nor Slings; for *Domitius* had placed none in this Wing, believing it ſufficiently defended by the River. But the King being repulſed by the Tribune, that had the charge of the Guard of the Camp, who ſallied out with ſome freſh Forces, and cauſed thoſe that fled to return to the charge, turned head, puffed up with an opinion of the Victory, becauſe he knew not what had paſſed elſewhere. *Attalus*, Brother to *Eumenes*, advanced to encounter him with a Body of Horſe, of which the King made ſo light off, that he charged through and through, without receiving any great damage. But when he came to have knowledge of the defeat, by the ſlaughter of his people, with whom all the Field of Battel was covered, ſeeing the vaſt heaps of Bodies, Men, Horſes and Elephants, confuſedly mixed together, and that even his Camp was in the Enemies power; he likewiſe betook himſelf to flight, and all upon the ſpur made for *Sardis*, whither he reached about midnight. From *Sardis* he preſently took the way towards *Celenes*, which men call *Apamia*, whither he had underſtood his Son was eſcaped. On the morrow he departed from *Celenes* towards *Syria*, leaving his Captains to rally the ruines of his Army; and in the mean time ſent Ambaſſadors into the Field of Battel, to demand peace of the Conſul, who was then burying the Bodies of his dead, ſpoiling thoſe of the Enemy, and gathering together the Priſoners. Among the Dead, there were found about four and twenty Roman Knights, and about three hundred Footmen, who had been ſlain by *Antiochus*, and of *Eumenes* Soldiers only fifteen Horſemen: As for the Enemy, they loſt fifty thouſand men, comprizing the Priſoners, for the number of the dead was ſo great, it could ſcarcely be counted. All the Elephants fell upon the place, ſave only fifteen, which were taken alive. After this Victory ſo great, that many could ſcarce believe it; for they could not imagine that a handful of men fighting in an Enemies Country could poſſibly defeat ſuch a prodigious Army of the Kings, and eſpeciall of the Macedonian Phalanx, compoſed all of old Soldiers, now ſtronger in men than ever, and believed invincible; after this Victory, I ſay, *Antiochus* his Friends blamed his raſhneſs for having undertaken this War againſt the Romans, and ſaid that from the beginning he had made it appear, that he was no great Captain, having ſo inconſiderately abandoned *Lyſimachia*, and the *Cherſoneſus*; and beſides that, withdrawn the Garriſons from the *Helleſpont*, by means of which he might have hindred the *Scipio's* from paſſing into *Aſia*: And at laſt they condemned his imprudence for impriſoning, as it were, the choice Forces of his Army, there-

by

by rendring them uſeleſs, and placing his hopes in a heap, and multitude of new leavied Soldiers, rather then in men accuſtomed by long exerciſe to the toils of War, and whoſe bodies and courages were both invincible. Whilſt all the world talked in this manner of *Antiochus*, the Romans grown more reſolute then before, now began to think nothing impoſſible, founding their thoughts, as well upon their native valor, as upon the aſſiſtance of the Gods, and not being able ſufficiently to admire their own good fortune, when they conſidered how being ſo infinitely unequal in number, and in a ſtrange Country, they had in one only battel, and in one day ſubdued ſo many Nations, made prize of ſo great Riches, overcome ſo many Mercenary Troops, quell'd the glory of the Macedonians, and in ſhort ruined *Antiochus*, King of ſo many Kingdoms, and reduced him that had gained the Surname of Great, to a by-word, and a Proverb of Antiochus *the Great has been.*

Whilſt the Romans entertained themſelves, with theſe pleaſant thoughts, *Publius* brother to the Conſul, finding himſelf in a condition to undertake a journey, came to the Camp, where the Kings Deputies had Audience. They now only deſired to know what *Antiochus* muſt do, that he might be received into the friendſhip of the Senate and People of *Rome*, to which *Publius* anſwered. *That this War was not begun, but through the fault and covetouſneſs of* Antiochus, *who poſſeſſing a great Empire, of which the Romans were not at all jealous, not therewith content, had deſpoiled* Ptolemy *his kinſman, and friend to the people of* Rome, *of the lower* Syria, *had invaded* Europe *without any right, ſubdued* Thrace, *fortified the* Cherſoneſus, *and built* Lyſimachia. *In concluſion having brought an Army into* Greece, *had endeavored to reduce under ſervitude the Greeks whom the Roman People had lately ſet at liberty and continued his enterprizes, till ſuch time as he was defeated at* Thermopylæ, *That though he had been forced to ſave himſelf by flight, he had abated nothing of his Ambition: but had renewed the War by Sea, where he had been beaten in ſeveral Engagements, and had never made any Overture of Peace till the Roman Army was come over into* Aſia. *That even then he had proudly refuſed their conditions, and ſetting on Foot a mightier Army to make yet greater attempts was fallen into an Extremity of Diſgrace. But* (ſaid he) *though with reaſon we may impoſe on him a greater penalty, after ſo much obſtinacy, we will not uſe our good fortune inſolently, nor inſult on others calamities. We offer you therefore the ſame conditions we did before, adding only ſome ſmall matter advantagious to both, and of importance to the common ſecurity. Renounce* Europe, *Quit to us all* Aſia *as far as* Mount Taurus, *Deliver into our hands all your Elephants, and as many Ships as we ſhall order you to furniſh. You ſhall henceforth keep no Elephants, and only ſuch a Number of Ships as we ſhall preſcribe. You ſhall give up twenty Hoſtages, ſuch as the Conſul ſhall chooſe, and towards the Expence of the War you ſhall pay fifty Talents ready Mony, and two thouſand five hundred after the Senate ſhall have ratified the Peace, with a thouſand Talents to be for twelve years to come, yearly ſent to* Rome. *You ſhall likewiſe deliver to us all Priſoners and Runaways, and pay unto* Eumenes *the Remainder of what was due to his Father. If* Antiochus *preſently perform theſe Articles, we will grant him Peace, and promiſe him the Friendſhip of the Roman People; Provided the Senate approve it.* The Deputies having accepted theſe conditions, part of the mony was ſoon brought, and the Hoſtages delivered, among which was the Kings youngeſt Son called *Antiochus*, which done the *Scipio's* and *Antiochus* ſent their Deputies to *Rome.* XIV.

Rome. The Senate ratified the Treaty, and the Articles were ſigned according to *Scipio*'s intentions, however ſomethings were added not before expreſſed. *That the bounds of* Antiochus *his Dominion ſhould be the two Promontories, called* Calecadnon *and* Sarpedonion, *beyond which he was not to bear Arms. That he ſhould have only twelve Ships of War to keep his Subjects in awe, but that if he happened to have any War, he might then have more, that he ſhould not leavy any Mercenary Soldiers in the Lands under the Roman obedience, nor receive any Runaways, and that from three years to three years he ſhould exchange the Hoſtages ſave only* Antiochus *his Son.* This League was Engraven on a Table of Copper, and ſet up in the Capitol as other Articles of Peace with any Nation were uſed to be: an extract of which was ſent to *Manius Volſon*, who being at *Apamia* a City of *Phrygia* took before *Antiochus* Deputies the Oath of Alliance, as *Antiochus* on his part ſwore to obſerve it in the preſence of the Tribune *Thermus*, ſent to him for that purpoſe. Thus ended the War between *Antiochus* the Great, and the People of *Rome.*

Some were of opinion it proceeded no farther, becauſe of the favour ſhewed by the King to *Scipio*'s Son, and indeed at his return to *Rome*, they endeavored to trouble him about it, and the two Tribunes of the People accuſed him of having been corrupted by preſents to betray the Commonwealth. But he made ſlight of his accuſers, and his Tryal happening to be aſſigned on the ſame day, that he had gained his Victory over the Carthaginians, he ſent before hand to the Capitol, all things neceſſary for a Pompous Sacrifice, and preſented himſelf before the Judgment Seat, magnificently habited, and not in Mourning like others accuſed of any crime, to move their Judges to compaſſion. This brave Man ſecured by the Teſtimony of his own Conſcience, amazed all the world by this manner of Conduct, for when he began his Diſcourſe, he made no mention of any crime, he ſpoke only of the Carriage of his Life paſt, the mighty things he had done for the Commonwealth, and the many Victories he had gained, and he uttered it with ſo good a grace as delighted the whole Auditory, but when he came to ſpeak of *Carthage*, which he had ſubdued, he amplified the matter with ſo much heat, that he not only moved, but warmed the People, by telling them, *This is the day, Gentlemen, whereon I defeated the Carthaginians whom once you ſo much feared: Wherefore I am going from this place to ſacrifice at the Capitol, whoever loves his Country, let him follow, and go with me to return thanks to the Gods.* Having ſaid theſe words he mounted to the Capitol, without concerning himſelf at the Judgment. All the People followed him, and the Judges themſelves applauded him, beſeeching the Gods that his Sacrifice might prove acceptable. This proceedure left his accuſers in a deep perplexity; for they durſt no more call to judgment or accuſe of ambition or corruption a Man whoſe whole behaviour was exempt from ſuſpicion and above calumny. Thus nobly did he ſcorn an accuſation, had no agreement with his paſt life; In which in my opinion he acted more prudently then *Ariſtides* accuſed of Theft, or *Socrates* when impriſoned for the matters objected againſt them, who ſuffered under the infamy without making defence for themſelves. It is true, *Plato* attributes a certain Plea to *Socrates*, which he had framed according to his own fanſie. In my Judgment likewiſe he repelled Calumny with more generoſity then *Epaminondas* the Sovereign Magiſtrate of the Bœotians with *Pelopidas* and another, his Colleagues. The Thebans having ſent theſe Captains with their Forces to aſſiſt the Arcadians and Meſſe-

nians

nians againſt thoſe of *Lacedemon*, and the War not being yet finiſhed as they would have had it, they recalled them becauſe of ſome Calumnies: but they kept for ſix Months more the Command of the Army, refuſing to ſurrender it into their hands were ſent to ſucceed them, till ſuch time as they had driven out the Lacedemonian Garriſons, from the Cities they held, and placed Arcadians in them. *Epaminondas* had been the ſole cauſe of this, having promiſed his Colleagues, that they ſhould fall into no danger. But as ſoon as they were returned to the City, their accuſers undertook them each apart to have them condemned to death; for by their Laws it was a Capital Crime to hold by force the Command of the Army, when another was ſent to be General. The other two were diſcharged not ſo much out of any compaſſion the Judges had for them, as becauſe they laid the whole fault upon *Epaminondas* who had adviſed them ſo to do, and did conſent to what they had ſaid. He therefore being laſt of all called in Judgement, *I confeſs* (ſaid he) *that I have kept the Command of the Army beyond the time preſcribed by the Law's, and have conſtrained my Colleagues, whom you have abſolved to do the ſame, I therefore beg no favor from you: I only deſire that for my paſt ſervices it may be writ upon my Tomb. Here lies he who having gained the Victory at* Leuctra, *led to the very Walls of* Sparta *his fellow Citizens, in whom before the only ſight of the Lacedemonian Hats ſtruck a terror: His Country condemned him to death, becauſe he had leſs conſideration for the Laws then for the Publick good.* After having ſaid theſe words, he deſcended from the Tribunal offering his body to any that would lead him to Execution, but the Judges touched with this reproach, and admiring this manner of defence, changed their deſign of condemning him as Criminal into Reſpect, and without putting it to Vote withdrew from the Aſſembly. Let every Man judge of theſe Examples as he pleaſes.

XV. To proceed; *Manius* Succeſſor to *Scipio*, viſiting thoſe Lands quitted by *Antiochus* to the Romans to ſettle them in good Order. The Toliſtobologes a people of *Galatia*, who had aſſiſted the King in this War, refuſed to ſubmit. They gathered together upon *Olympus* a Mountain of *Myſia*, whither he followed them with great labor, and having overtaken them, put them to the Rout, kill'd an infinite number, and drove others down the precipices inſomuch that the ſlaughter was ſo great it was impoſſible to reckon the dead, becauſe of their Numbers: he took forty thouſand Priſoners, whoſe Arms he cauſed to be burnt, and becauſe he could not carry along with them ſo great a Number of Captives, he ſold them to the Neighboring Nations. The Tectoſages, and the Trocmes to revenge their Nation, laid an Ambuſh for him, and charged him ſo furiouſly that with great difficulty he ſaved himſelf, but ſoon after finding them lying as it were heaped upon one another, by reaſon of their great Numbers, he cauſed them to be encompaſſed by his light Armed Soldiers, who at a diſtance diſcharging at them a ſhower of Arrows, not one fell without Execution, which made ſo horrible a Butchery, that after the death of eight thouſand Men they drove the reſt fighting paſt the River *Halys*; and becauſe *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, who had taken part with *Antiochus*, ſent to *Manius* two hundred Talents, demanding Pardon, for he was fearful of the War, the Roman entred not into his Territories, but turned head towards the *Helleſpont* with vaſt Riches, innumerable ſums of Mony, an infinite of Spoils and Plunder, and an Army loaden with great quantity of Baggage. But now he committed a great fault, that he would not, being

ing it was Summer time, take his paſſage by Sea, not conſidering the vaſt weight of their Equipage; For it was not now his buſineſs to harden the Soldiers by labor, ſince he was not going to War, but returning home loaden with ſpoils. And yet he choſe rather to lead his Army by the way of *Thrace* which is long, crooked and craggy, and that in the violent heat of Summer, and without giving any advice thereof to *Philip*, that he might have come out to meet and be his Conductor, nor did he divide his Forces into many Bodies, for the more commodiouſneſs of the March, and better ſupply of things neceſſary, nor diſtributed the baggage by the companies that it might have been the better guarded, but he made all his Army file off, in the midſt of which came the Carriages, which neither the Vanguard nor Rear could relieve, becauſe the way was long and narrow, by which means the Thracians falling in on all ſides, and charging them unexpectedly he loſt a great part of his Prey, Mony and Soldiers, and hardly ſaved the reſt in *Macedon*, which made appear of what importance *Philips* care in conducting them, was to the *Scipio*'s, and how great *Antiochus* his fault was in abandoning the *Cherſoneſus*. *Manius* having cauſed the remainder of his people to march through *Macedon* into *Theſſaly*, and from thence into *Epire*, imbarqued them, and landing at *Brunduſium* diſmiſſed there his Forces, and returned to *Rome*. Thoſe of *Rhodes* and *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* were well ſatisfied with having taken part with the people of *Rome* againſt *Antiochus*, and the Rhodians having ſent their Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and *Eumenes* being come in perſon thither, the Senate gave to the inhabitants of that Iſland *Lycia* and *Caria*, which they had taken from them ſome time before, for having favored the party of *Perſeus* King of *Macedon* Enemy to the Roman people. As for *Eumenes* they gave him all that they had taken from *Antiochus* ſave only the Greek Cities of *Aſia*, to ſo many of which as had been tributary to *Attalus* Father of *Eumenes* they ordered to pay tribute to *Eumenes*, and for thoſe which had before paid tribute to *Antiochus* they were declared free, and permitted to live according to their Laws.

XVI. *Antiochus* the Great being dead, his Son *Seleucus* ſucceeded, who redeemed his brother *Antiochus* from being Hoſtage at *Rome* by ſending in his place *Demetrius* his Son. *Antiochus* was already come as far as *Athens*, when *Seleucus* was trayterouſly murdered by one of the Officers of his houſhold called *Heliodorus*, who had deſigned to ſieſe on the Kingdom, but *Eumenes* and *Attalus* drove him out and re-eſtabliſhed *Antiochus* that they might gain his friendſhip: For there had already paſt ſome things between the Romans and them which obliged them to ſtand on their guard. Thus *Antiochus* the Son of *Antiochus* the Great entred into Poſſeſſion of the Realm of *Syria*. The Syrians called him *Epiphanes*, that is to ſay Illuſtrious, becauſe when ſtrangers would have uſurped his Kingdom he had defended it, and reſtored the Family of his Anceſtors. Having therefore entred into Friendſhip and Alliance with *Eumenes*, he remained peaceable poſſeſſor of the Kingdom of *Syria*, and of the Neighboring Nations, giving the Government of *Babylon* to *Timarchus*, and the Superintendancy of his Revenues to *Heraclides* two brothers, whom he had abuſed. He undertook likewiſe a War againſt *Artaxias* King of *Armenia*, and having taken him Priſoner, died, leaving for his Succeſſor his Son *Antiochus* but nine years old, to whom the Syrians gave the name of *Eupator*, becauſe of the Vertue of his Father, and appointed *Lyſias* for his Tutor or Governor. The Senate received with great ſatisfaction, the news, that *Antiochus*, who

who had reigned ſome years gloriouſly, was ſo ſoon dead; and when *Demetrius*, the Son of *Seleucus*, Brother to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, Grandchild to *Antiochus* the Great, and Couſin to the Infant, repreſented at *Rome*, (where he yet remained as Hoſtage, being about twenty three years of age) that he was next Heir to the Crown, they refuſed to let him go, becauſe they believed it more advantagious to the people of *Rome* to have *Syria* governed by a Child than a Man. And having underſtood likewiſe, that there were ſome Elephants in that Kingdom, and ſome Ships above the number agreed on with *Antiochus*; they ſent Commiſſioners to cauſe the Elephants to be killed, and the Ships to be burnt; the ſight of this Execution begot compaſſion in all the World, who thought it cruelty to kill Beaſts ſo tame and ſo rare, and to burn ſuch Ships, and ſo much ſpleen did it raiſe up in one *Leptines*, that meeting *Cn. Octavius* in a place of Exerciſes, as he was cauſing himſelf to be anointed, he killed that Commiſſioner, whom *Lyſias* cauſed to be interred. *Demetrius* having advice hereof, went to the Senate, and demanded that at leaſt they would diſcharge him from the conditions of a Hoſtage, ſince he had been exchanged for *Antiochus*, who was dead; but not being able to obtain any thing, he ſecretly eſcaped by a ſmall Veſſel into *Syria*, where he was received with a general approbation of all the World. He preſently put *Lyſias* to death, and ſoon after the Infant, forced *Heraclidos* to flee; and executed *Timarchus* as a Rebel, having accuſed him for ill management in the Government of *Babylon*. Wherefore he was called *Demetrius* * *Soter*, a name given him by the Babylonians. After this, ſeeing himſelf ſetled in the Kingdom, he ſent to *Rome* a Crown of Gold worth ten thouſand Crowns, as an acknowledgement of his having been civily treated in quality of a Hoſtage; and moreover, delivered to them *Leptines*, who had ſlain *Octavius*. The Senate accepted the Crown, but as if the crime had concerned all the Syrians, they would not content themſelves with the puniſhment of *Leptines*. After this, *Demetrius* drove *Ariarathes* out of the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, and received a thouſand Talents for ſetling in it *Holophernes*, ſaid to be his Brother, though it were the Romans intention, that both Brothers ſhould be Kings alike: but ſometime after they were both expelled, and *Ariobarzanes*, likewiſe by the Forces of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, upon which cauſe with ſome others began the War with *Mithridates*. Never was there a greater, nor in which there were ſo many ſtrange revolutions, or ſo many Nations concerned; beſides that it laſted forty years, during which time, the Palace of the Kings of *Syria* oft-times changed its Maſter, though they were ſtill of the ſame Race. There happened likewiſe during that time, many broils and mutations in divers Kingdoms. The Parthians, who for a long time had been revolted from the Family of the *Seleucides*, added to their Eſtates *Meſapotamia*, which they cut off from the Kingdom of *Syria*. *Tigranes*, Son of* *Tigranes*, having ſubdued the neighbouring Nations, which had every one their King, and cauſing himſelf to be called King of Kings, made War upon the *Seleucides*, who would not ſubmit. And *Antiochus*, ſirnamed the Pious, being not able to reſiſt him, he became Maſter of all the Provinces of *Syria* on this ſide *Euphrates*, as far as *Egypt*, and of *Cilicia* beſides, which was likewiſe under the Dominion of the *Seleucides*. *Magabates* commanded in the name of the King his Maſter in all their Eſtates newly conquered, with a powerful Army for fourteen years together; but after that *Mithridates* overcome by *Lucullus*, ſought refuge in the Court of *Tigranes*. *Magabates* went with his Army to the aſſiſtance of his King,

* Or Saviour.

* This Tigranes had a Son alſo called Tigranes.

and in the mean time *Antiochus*, Son of the Pious, retook Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, with applauſe of all *Syria*. *Lucullus*, who waged the firſt War with *Tigranes*, and drove him out of his new Conqueſts, diſturbed not the King of *Syria*, in the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of his Fathers; but *Pompey*, Succeſſor to *Lucullus*, after having defeated *Mithridates*, ſuffred *Tigranes* to remain King of *Armenia*; but for *Antiochus*, though he had never diſobliged the Romans, yet he deſpoiled him of his Kingdom, and indeed it was eaſie for a great Army to oppoſe a King unarmed: not but that he had another pretence, for 'twas alledged, that it was not juſt that *Syria*, whoſe Kings of the Seleucian Race were expelled by the Arms of *Tigranes*, ſhould rather return to them again, than to the Romans, who were Conquerers of the ſame *Tigranes* himſelf. Thus were *Cilicia*, *Syria* as well the higher as lower, *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtine* added to the Roman Empire without fighting, and with them all the Countries between *Euphrates* and *Egypt*. There remained only the Jews to be ſubdued by force, and *Pompey* performed it, ſent their King *Ariſtobulus* Priſoner to *Rome*, and raſed the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, a very great and a holy City in that Country. *Ptolemy* the firſt King of *Egypt* had before done the ſame: *Veſpaſian* likewiſe took and pillaged it; and the laſt time it was taken, was by *Adrian* in our days, wherefore the Jews pay more Tribute by the Pole, than for the Goods which they poſſeſs, and for the Syrians and Cilicians they pay the hundredth part. *Pompey* having conquered all the Nations that had been formerly under the *Seleucides*, gave to ſome particular Kings, as alſo to the Gallogreeks of *Aſia*; and for the others, he confirmed in their Tetrarchies the Ancient Kings that had faithfully ſerved the Romans in the War againſt *Mithridates*. Some years after all theſe Eſtates were reunited to the Roman Empire, every one in his time, but the principal part under the Empire of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. Now *Pompey* being departed from *Syria*, left his Government to his *Quæſtor Scaurus*, to whom the Senate ſent *Marcus Philippius* for Succeſſor, and after him *Marcellinus Lentulus*, both theſe Prætors, who during the two years that each had the government of this Province, were obliged ſeveral times to come to blows with the neighbouring Arabs, who made incurſions into the Province, wherefore afterwards there were Proconſuls ſent into *Syria*, who had the ſame power with the Conſuls in matters of War. *Gabinius* was the firſt that came with an Army, when *Mithridates* King of *Parthia*, driven from his Kingdom by *Orodes* his Brother, was re-eſtabliſhed by the aſſiſtance of the Arabs. At the ſame time *Ptolemy*, the Eleventh King of *Egypt*, being expelled likewiſe by his Subjects, by force of Money prevailed with *Gabinius* to reſettle him in *Alexandria*, and ſuſpend the War with *Parthia*. He did it, and by force conſtrained the Alexandrians to return to the obedience of their King. But *Gabinius* was by the Senate condemned to baniſhment; for having without expreſs Orders paſſed into *Egypt*, and having undertaken a War which was thought to be unfortunate, being forbid by the *Sybills* Verſes. To *Gabinius* ſucceeded (as I think) *Craſſus*, who going to make War with the Parthians was defeated by the loſs of his whole Army. After him *L. Bibulus* had this Government, during whoſe time the Parthians made an irruption into this Province, and in the time of *Saxa*, who was his Succeſſor, extended their Arms as far as *Ionia*, the Romans being then diverted by the Civil Wars. But we ſhall more amply treat of all theſe Matters in the Book of the Wars againſt the Parthians, this being only deſigned for the Wars in *Syria*. What therefore I have ſaid, is only to make known in what manner *Syria* came under the Roman Dominion, and how it

was

was reduced under the form of a Province. Nor will it be much from the purpose to insert something of what passed from the time of the Macedonians, till it was brought under the Roman Rule.

Alexander having overcome the Persians, was King of *Syria*, and not only of *Syria*, but also of all the Countries, whither he carried his Arms. After the death of *Alexander*, who left two Sons, the one yet a little Infant, and the other in the belly of his Mother. The Macedonians pressed forward, by the love they bore to the Blood of *Philip*, chose for their King *Aridæus* the Brother of *Alexander*, who yet was not esteemed over wise, changing the name of *Aridæus* into that of *Philip*; but that only for the that *Alexanders* Children were in their minority, for they gave Guards to the Mother, whilst she was great with Child. Mean while the Captains of the Macedonians, and principally *Perdiccas*, under the authority of this *Philip*, divided the conquered Nations into Satrapies or Governments, and the Brother and Children of *Alexander*, being sometime after dead, the Satrapes or Governours, became Kings. *Laomedon* was the first that was placed in the Government of *Syria*, by the favour of *Perdiccas*, and of *Antipater*, who after *Perdiccas* had the Government of the Kingdom. As soon as he had taken possession, *Ptolemy*, who was Governour of *Egypt* came into *Syria* with a Fleet, and offered this Governour a great sum of Money to put it into his hands, that it might serve as a Rampier to *Egypt*, and that from thence he might invade *Cyprus*. But not able to obtain any thing that way, he took *Laomedon* himself Prisoner, who afterwards corrupting his Guards, fled to *Alcetas* in *Caria*. Thus *Ptolemy* sieſed upon *Syria*, where having staid for some time, he left Garrisons, and returned into *Egypt*: As for *Antigonus*, he was Governour of *Phrygia*, *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*; and besides, when *Antipater* went into *Europe*, he left him superintendent General of all *Asia*: So that *Eumenes*, Governour of *Cappadocia*, being declared Enemy of the Macedonians, he went and besieged him, and understanding that he had made a private escape from the place, pursued him, and slew him in the way to *Media*, whither he had designed to flee for refuge: from whence returning to *Babylon*, he was magnificently received by *Seleucus*, then Governour there. But *Seleucus* having condemned to death one of his Captains, without acquainting him with it, he demanded of him an account of the Publick Moneys, which so much perplexed *Seleucus*, that not able to resist *Antigonus*, he retired to *Ptolemy* into *Egypt*. *Antigonus* hereupon deposed *Blitor*, Lieutenant Governour of *Mesopotamia*, from his charge, because he had assisted *Seleucus* in his retreat. Soon after he reduced under his obedience the Province of *Babylon*, *Mesapotamia*, and all the Nations from *Media* to the *Hellespont*; insomuch, that the other Governours not enduring he should sieſe on so many Countries to their prejudice, entred into a League against him. *Seleucus* was the principal Author of it; and *Ptolemy*, *Lysimachus*, Governour of *Thrace*, and *Cassander*, who commanded in *Macedon* after the death of his Father, signed to it. They forthwith sent Deputies to *Antigonus* to demand the restoration of those Lands he had sieſed on, and to produce the publick Moneys to be divided amongst them: He made a mock of the Deputation, whereupon the Confederates declared War against him. This nothing daunted him; but on the contrary, he beat out those Garrisons *Ptolemy* had placed in *Syria*, and made himself Master of *Phænicia*, and lower *Syria*, till then under the obedience of *Egypt*. Thence he went to the Cicilian Ports, leaving *Demetrius* his Son, only two and twenty years

XVII.

of

of age, in *Gaza*, with an Army to oppoſe the deſigns of *Ptolemy*: but *Ptolemy* defeated him in a great Battel, and forced him to flee to his Father. *Seleucus* was preſently ſent by the Confederates to *Babylon*, to repoſſeſs himſelf of his Government: *Ptolemy* having to this effect given him a thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe; this was a Body utterly uncapable of forcing ſo great a City, but the inclinations the Babylonians had for him, made him be received, and his Forces ſoon increaſed prodigiouſly. *Antigonus* incenſed againſt *Ptolemy*, overcame him in a Sea Fight, which was fought near the Iſland of *Cyprus*, where his Son *Demetrius* commanding, the Army were ſo puft up with this Victory, that they proclaimed both Father and Son Kings. It is true, there was no perſon left of the Blood Royal, *Aridæus*, the Son of *Philip* being dead, as were likewiſe *Olympia's*, and the Children of *Alexander*. *Ptolemy's* Army hereupon gave him likewiſe the Title of King, leſt his loſs ſhould make him ſeem to yield to the Victor. Thus different ſucceſs occaſioned the like event. The others preſently followed the Example, and of Governours made themſelves Kings. Thus *Seleucus* became King of *Babylon* and *Media*, killing afterwards with his own hand in combat, *Nicator*, whom *Antigonus* had placed in the Government of that Province; he had afterwards many Wars, as well againſt the Macedonians as the Barbarians, and among the others two againſt the Macedonians. The laſt of which was againſt *Lyſimachus*, King of *Thrace*; and the firſt againſt *Antiochus*, then fourſcore years old, when the Battel was fought near *Ipſa*, a City of *Phrygia*, where that brave old Man diſcharging the part of a General and Soldier together, loſt his life.

XVIII. After his death the Confederate Kings divided amongſt them his Eſtates, of which *Seleucus* had for his ſhare all thoſe Lands that lie between *Euphrates* and the Sea, and from the Sea as far as *Phrygia* in the main Land, which vaſtly augmented his Dominion. And he moreover loſing no opportunity of making himſelf greater, being equally powerful in Eloquence and Arms, conquered *Meſopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia*, ſirnamed *Seleucidia*; and beſides thoſe became Maſter of the Perſians, Parthians, Bactrians, Arabs, Tapyrians, Sogdiens, Arachoſes, Hyrcanians, and other Nations, fronting upon the River *Indus*, which had been ſubdued by *Alexander*. So that, except that King, no Prince ever poſſeſſed ſo great a Country in *Aſia*; for all the Lands, from the confines of *Phrygia* to the River *Indus*, were under his obedience. He went likewiſe to make War with *Androcotes*, King of the Indians, that inhabit beyond the River, and returned not till an Alliance was contracted between them, which was followed by Peace. True it is, that whilſt *Antigonus* lived, he poſſeſſed but ſome part of this, for the greateſt ſhare came to him after his death. They ſay that being in *Alexander's* Army, in his expedition into *Aſia*, and yet but a private Soldier, he conſulted the Oracle of *Didymea*, concerning his return, to which he was anſwered, *Take leave of* Europe *and poſſeſs* Aſia. That in *Macedon*, there of a ſudden appeared on his Fathers Hearth a great flame, which no body was ſeen to kindle, and that his Mother was advertiſed in a Dream, to give the firſt Ring ſhe ſhould find to *Seleucus* to wear; for that he ſhould Reign in that place, where by chance he let it fall, and that ſhe found one of Iron, with an Anchor engraven thereon, which was loſt about *Euphrates*. 'Tis ſaid likewiſe, that as he walked about *Babylon*, he ſtumbled upon a ſtone, which having cauſed to be taken up, there was found an Anchor underneath, which troubled much the South-ſayers,

Southſayers, who would have had this Prodigy to be a preſage of delay: But *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, who accompanied him, ſaid it was rather a ſign of ſtedfaſtneſs, wherefore when *Seleucus* attained to the Royalty, he bore an Anchor engraven in his Ring. Some likewiſe have aſſured us that whilſt *Alexander* was yet living, and in his preſence there happened another preſage of the future greatneſs of *Seleucus*; for after he was returned from the Indies, being embarqued upon the *Euphrates* to go viſit the Marſhes of *Babylon*, with intent to make Channels to water the Champion of *Syria*; his Diadem was by the wind carried of his Head, and ſet upon a heap of Reeds, near the the Sepulcher of an Ancient King, by a fatal preſage of the death of that Prince, which happened ſoon after. Whereupon a Mariner caſting himſelf into the Water, and having taken up the Diadem, put it on his Head, and brought it drie to *Alexander*, who for a reward gave him a Talent of Silver. The Divines told him he ſhould put this man to death, ſome ſay he did it, others deny it; and others again ſay, it was not at all a Mariner, but *Seleucus* himſelf, who caſt himſelf into the Water, and put the Diadem on his Head for fear of wetting it, and that the preſage was fulfilled in the perſons of them both: *Alexander* dying at *Babylon*, and *Seleucus* ſucceeding in the greateſt part of his Empire. Theſe are the ſigns I have met with, preſaging his greatneſs. To proceed, after the death of *Alexander*, he was Captain of the Guards of the Kings Houſhold, a command, which whilſt the King lived, had been poſſeſſed by *Epheſtion*, and after him by *Perdiccas*; from thence riſing by degrees, he came to the Government of *Babylon*, and at laſt mounted the Throne; and becauſe he had gained many Victories, he was called * *Nicator*, for I think that more probable than to imagine that becauſe he ſlew *Nicator*, he bore away that name as a precious ſpoil. He was tall of Stature, and ſo ſtrong, that when *Alexander* once ſacrified, a Bull in fury breaking from its Cords, and eſcaping, he alone ſtop'd it, laying faſt hold on his Horns, which is the reaſon why they place Horns with his Statues. He beautified the Country under his Dominion with many fair Cities, which he built from one end to the other, of which ſixteen he cauſed to be called by the name of his Father *Antiochia's*, ſix after his Mothers name *Laodicea's*, nine after his own name *Seleucia's*, four after his Wives names, three after the firſt *Apamia's*, and one after the laſt *Stratonicea*, the faireſt remaining to this day are five, two *Seleucia's*, one on the Sea ſide, the other on the *Tigris*. *Laodicea* in *Phœnicia*, *Antiochia* in Mount *Libanus*, and *Apamia* in *Syria*: He likewiſe gave names to others, either Grecian or Macedonian names, as *Berœa*, *Edeſſa*, *Maronea*, *Perinta*, *Callipolis*, *Achaia*, *Polla*, *Orope*, *Amphipolis*, *Arethuſa*, *Aſtachia*, *Tegœa*, *Chalcis*, *Lariſſa*, *Heræa*, *Apolonia*, and in *Parthia* it ſelf, *Sotera*, *Calliope*, *Charis*, *Hecatonpolis*, *Achaia*, in *India*, *Alexandropolis*; and in *Scythia*, *Alexandreſcatta*: His Victories gave a name to *Nicephorea* in *Meſopotamia*, and to *Nicopolis* in *Armenia*, which confines on *Cappadocia*. 'Tis ſaid likewiſe, that when he was about to build *Seleucia* on the Sea ſide; It was marked out by the Thunder, wherefore the Thunder is there adored as a God, and to this day they ſing Hymns to it, and uſe many particular Ceremonies. And when he deſigned to lay the Foundations of that, which is upon the River *Tygris*; the *Magi* or Southſayers, who had Orders to ſet out the day and hour, when the Work was to begin, to the end it might be built under a fortunate Conſtellation, pitched upon an unhappy hour, becauſe they were not well pleaſed, that a great City ſhould be built there to awe themſelves. And that as the King in his Tent waited for

* The Victorious.

XIX.

the

the fatal hour, and all the Army ſtood ready to lay their hands to the Work, as ſoon as the Signal ſhould be given them. The hour of good Augury being come, the Soldiers on a ſudden, thinking they heard the Command given, fell to the Work with ſo much alacrity, that no forbidding whatſoever could ſtay them: at which *Seleucus* was much caſt down; but the Magicians ſeeing him diſquieted about the fate of the City, demanding only ſafety for their perſons, and having obtained it, ſpoke to him in this manner.

The Oration of the Magicians.

SIr, neither Men nor Cities can change their Fate be it good or bad, for every City has its Deſtiny, as well as every Man; now it hath pleaſed the Gods that this here ſhall endure many ages, being begun at this preſent hour. True it is, that becauſe we feared that when once built it would become a Fortreſs againſt our ſelves, we have endeaoured to divert the Deſtinies, but they will ſtill be Miſtreſſes, both of the cunning of Magicians, and inanimadvertency of a King. Wherefore Fate it ſelf commanded your Army to do what was moſt advantagious. 'Tis a truth we aſſure you of, and that you may believe we deceive you not again; You were here in perſon, you commanded they ſhould ſtay for the ſignal, and your Army, which in other occaſions, where they were to throw themſelves into dangers, and to endure toil and labour, has always been perfectly obedient to you, could not now ſtand ſtill, though you commanded it; but all on a ſudden with its Officers ran to the work, as if it had been commanded; and ſo indeed it was, and therefore could not be ſtaid at your commands; but who in humane affairs can have more power than a King, but a God? God, which this day grants you the full of your deſires. God, who a more faithful Counſellor than we, is the Author of the Foundation of this City. God, enemy of our Nation and Allies, ſince now we have no more ſtrength left, having neighbours more powerful than we ſo near us. In ſhort, reſt aſſured, this City is founded under a fortunate Conſtellation, and ſhall flouriſh a long time. And now we hope as our fault proceeded only from the fear we had of the decay of our felicity, you will not repent your ſelf of the pardon you have granted us. The King mightily pleaſed with the Magi's diſcourſe, forgave them: And this is what I have found concerning *Seleucia.*

XIX. Now *Seleucus* willing, that whilſt he was yet living, his Son might be King, gave to him the greateſt part of his Territory in the main Land: but though this were an action worthy the magnanimity of a mighty Prince; in my judgement, what he did in favour of this Son's love, and of that modeſty he ſtrugled with in his ſickneſs, declared more courage and prudence. For this young Prince was paſſionately in love with *Stratonice* his Fathers Wife, by whom *Seleucus* had already had a Child; yet knowig his paſſion to be criminal, he never diſcovered it, nor gave the leaſt ſymptom of it to any perſon: but ſmothering his grief, languiſhed in his bed, and deſired death. *Eraſiſtratus* himſelf, that famous Phyſician, to whom the King gave ſuch large allowance, could not at all conjecture whence his diſtemper ſprung, till ſuch time as obſerving that he had no corrupt humours in his body, he concluded the ſeat of his malady muſt be in the mind, the contagion of which had paſt into the

Body

Body. He knew his Grief, Anger, and other disturbances of Man's Spirit; could not well be concealed, but that a Modest Person might well conceal his Love; and founding himself upon this, he privately discoursed it with *Antiochus*, and conjured him to tell him the cause of his Distemper: But not being able to draw any thing from him, he kept near his Bed, had diligently observed those Changes happened to him, when any Woman entred his Chamber, and having taken notice that when others came about him; his Body continued without any alteration; but at all times, when the Queen came to visit him, his spirit seemed strangely moved, and shame and remorse of Conscience seem'd written in his Face, though he said never a word; but that as soon as she was gone, his Body resumed a more lively colour, and with a fresh heat returned to its former Estate. Upon which he told *Seleucus*, *that his Sons distemper was incurable*; whereat the King surprised, let his Grief break out with a Shriek; and the Physician added, *'Tis for Love, Sir, that he dies, and the Love of a Woman he can never enjoy.* *Seleucus* was astonished, that there should be a Woman in the World, that would not let her self be perswaded by a King of *Asia*, when he proposed to her the Marriage of his Son, and thereto added Prayers, Gifts and Money; nay, a great Kingdom, to which the Prince was Heir, and which he would be ready to part with presently in recompence of his cure, if any one demanded it, and thereupon pressing the Physician to tell him, who this Woman was: He replyed, *'Tis my wife, Sir.* To which the King returned: *And how good man, you that are our Friend, and tyed to our House, by so many reciprocal Testimonies of kindness, and besides all that, a wise and honest man; will not you save the life of this young Prince, the Son of a King, your Friend, fallen unhappily in Love, and who out of Modesty has concealed his Grief, even unto Death? Can you make so little account, not only of* Antiochus, *but of* Seleucus *himself?* He feigning to be moved with these Arguments, turned them thus upon the Father. *And if he were* (said he) *in love with the Queen, would you quit her to him?* Hereupon *Seleucus* began to *swear by all the Gods, Protectors of his Crown, that he would give her him freeely, and with all his heart, that he might leave to Posterity a Noble Example of Paternal Goodness towards a Modest Son, who in his Affliction had not made the least Complaint, and was absolutely unworthy of this Misfortune.* In conclusion, after much Discourse of this Nature he declared, *he was extremely troubled, that he himself could not be the Physician of his Unfortunate Son, without being beholding to* Erasistratus: Who seeing now the King was in earnest, discovered to him the whole matter, and how he came to know it, notwithstanding all his Sons resistance. *Seleucus* seemed overjoyed at what he heard, and now there remained only the difficulty of perswading his Son and the Queen; which he did, and after having gained their Consent to his Proposition, he assembled his Army, who perhaps had already some inkling of the Matter, and beginning to make an enumeration of the great Actions he had done, by which he had extended the Bound of his Empire farther, than any of the Successors of *Alexander*, he then remonstrated to them, how being grown old, it was hard for him to govern so vast a Kingdom. *Wherefore* (said he) *I will divide this mighty Mass, and that I may provide for your security for the future, I am resolved to discharge my self at present of one half of this burthen on him that I esteem most dear. I believe that you will obey me in all things, it being but just you should do so.*

You, I say, that since the death of Alexander, *fighting under my Auspices, are mounted to so high a degree of Power. Now that which I esteem most dear, and most worthy of this Empire is this young Prince, the Elect of my Children, and this Princess, who being in a flourishing age, will soon give you Children to be the stay and support of this great Empire. I marry them therefore together in your presence, and I give them all those Kingdoms I possess in the main Land. As for the thing it self, do not you consider in it, so much the Custom of the Persians, and other Nations, as the general Law, common to all men, which requires that Subjects should believe whatever their King Decrees is just.* As soon as he had uttered these words, the Army began to make their Acclamations, proclaiming him the greatest King since *Alexander*, and the best of all Fathers. Thus *Seleucus* married his Wife with his Son, and sent them to take possession of their Kingdom. And surely this Action gained him more Reputation than all the Victories he had won; for he conquered himself. He had seventy two Governments, under his Dominton, so vast it was, of which he gave the greatest part to his Son, receiving to himself only the Country, lying between *Euphrates* and the Sea. After this, having War with *Lysimachus* (which was the last he had) he gave him Battel on the confines of *Phrygia*, near the *Hellespont*, where *Lysimachus* was slain. And as he had passed the Strait to sieze upon *Lysimachia*, he was himself slain by *Ptolemy*, sirnamed *Serranus*, who was one of his Train. He was the Son of *Ptolemy Soter*, and of *Euridice*, the Daughter, of *Antipater*, and fear having driven him from *Egypt*, because his Father had resolved to give the Kindom to his younger Brother; *Seleucus* took pitty on him, received him, as the Son of his Friend, entertained him at his Table, and carried him still along with him, in recompence of which he became his Murderer. Such was *Seleucus* his end, who dyed in the seventy third year of his Age, and fortieth of his Reign; for my part, I believe we may likewise refer to his death the answer of the Oracle: *Take leave of* Europe, *and possess* Asia; for *Lysimachia* is in *Europe*; and this was the first time he had repassed into *Europe:* After having followed *Alexander* to the Conquest of *Asia:* 'Tis said, demanding a Magician where he should dye, he received this Answer.

Keep far from Argos *to prolong the date*
Of Life, for else thou hastnest on thy Fate.

After which he made an exact search of all places, called *Argos*, and took special care not to go near the *Argos* of *Peloponnesus*, of *Amphilochia*, of *Orestiade*, from whence some Macedonians are called *Argeades*, or so much as to a City of that name, which *Diomedes*, during his banishment, had caused to be built beyond the Ionian Sea; but that as he was going from the *Hellespont* to *Lysimachia*, he saw an Alter built upon an Eminence, and having demanded the name of the place, they told him it was called *Argos*, and that whilst he was informing himself of the cause of that name, whether the Argonauts passing that way had not given it, whether the Inhabitants of the Country had not called it so, because of the Argians, that went to the Wars of *Troy*; or at last, whether it might bear that name in memory of the Country of the *Atrides*. *Ptolemy* thrust him with his Sword through the Body. *Phileterus*, Governour

nour of *Pergamus*, redeemed his Body from *Serranus*, with a great ſum of Money; and when he had burnt it, ſent the Aſhes to *Antiochus*, who cauſed a magnificent Monument to be raiſed for him in *Seleucia* on the Sea, and built a Temple in Honour of him, which was called *Nicatorion*. As for *Lyſimachus*, 'tis ſaid that he was one of *Alexanders* Guard of the Body; and that one day having a long time followed the King on foot, who was on Horſe-back, he grew ſo weary, that to eaſe himſelf, he laid hand on the Horſe tail, and by chance was pricked in a Vein of his Forehead, by the point of *Alexanders* Javelin, which hung behind the Crupper, from whence there iſſued ſo much Blood, that that Prince having nothing elſe, bound it up with his Diadem, which being afterwards reſtored to that Prince all bloody, *Ariſtander*, the South-ſayer foretold, that the wounded perſon ſhould be a King, but ſhould always Reign in Wars and Troubles. And indeed he ruled forty years, compriſing the time, when he aſſumed but the quality of Governour, and at laſt was ſlain at the age of ſeventy years, with his Arms in his Hand, his Vanquiſher *Seleucus* not long out living him. *Lyſimachus* being ſlain, a Dog he had loved, ſtaid a long time by the Body, and defended it from the Birds and Beaſts, till ſuch time as *Thorax* of *Pharſalia* finding it, gave it Burial. Though ſome there be that ſay, that he was buried by a Son of his, called *Alexander*, whom fear had made ſeek a refuge with *Seleucus*, when *Lyſimachus* put to death *Agathocles* his other Son; and that his Body having a long time been ſought after, was at length found by means of a Dog, quite putrefied, and was buried by the Inhabitants of *Lyſimachia* in a Temple, which was afterwards called *Lyſimachion*. Thus dyed alſo at the ſame time two Kings of equal ſtature, and of an extraordinary ſtrength of Body, one at the age of ſeventy years, and the other three more, fighting in perſon to their very death.

After *Seleucus* his death, his Sons ſucceeded in his Kingdom of *Syria*, the firſt of which was *Antiochus*, ſirnamed *Soter*, who fell in love with his Mother-in-Law, and afterwards repulſed the Gauls, who had made an irruption out of *Europe* into *Aſia*. The ſecond was another *Antiochus*, born of the ſame Woman, he whom the Mileſians called God, becauſe he had delivered them from *Timarchus* their Tyrant, but this God dyed of Poiſon, given him by his Wife. He had married two; whom he equally loved, *Laodice* and *Berenice*, Daughters of *Ptolemeus Philadelphus*, one of which two, to wit, *Laodice* gave him his death, as ſhe did ſoon after to her Siſter *Berenice*, and her Child. *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Philadelphus* revenged this crime by the death of *Laodice*, and marched into *Syria*, as far as *Babylon*, which gave occaſion to the Parthians, ſeeing the Houſe of the *Seleucides* in trouble, to ſhake off the Yoke of their Dominion. To this Man, ſirnamed God, ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Syria*, *Seleucus* his Son by *Laodice*, who was called *Callinicus*, and after *Callinicus* his two Sons, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*; one after the other: the Eldeſt of which having neither health nor ſtrength enough to keep his Army in awe, was poiſoned by his Domeſticks, having reigned only two years; and for *Antiochus*, who was ſirnamed the Great, it was he who had War with the Romans, the Hiſtory of which we have now wrote. We have likewiſe ſpoke of his two Sons, who reigned both one after the other, *Seleucus* twelve years, without doing any thing conſiderable, (nor indeed had the power, by reaſon of his Fathers former loſſes) and *Antiochus* only two years, during which he took priſoner *Artaxias*, King of *Armenia*, and undertook an expedition into *E-*

gypt againſt *Ptolemy* the Sixth, one of thoſe two Sons, whom their Father lately dead, had left for his Succeſſors. As he lay encamped near *Alexandria*, *Popilius* the Roman Deputy came into his Camp with Letters, whereby he was commanded to depart the Kingdom of the *Ptolemies*. After he had read them, and ſaid he would conſider of them, *Popilius* made a Circle upon the Ground about him with a Rod he had in his hand, bidding him, *conſider before he went out thence*, which ſo terrified him, that he preſently departed the Realm; and becauſe in his way, he plundered the Temple of *Venus* in *Elymais*, he dyed of a rottenneſs of the Lungs: He left a Son nine years old, called *Antiochus Eupator*, of whom we have ſpoken, as alſo of *Demetrius* his Succeſſor, who being Hoſtage in *Rome*, eſcaped into *Syria*, where having taken poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, the Syrians gave him the name of *Soter*, which the Son of *Nicator* had before born. There was one *Alexander* raiſed Arms againſt him falſely, ſaying he was of the Race of the *Seleucides*; and being ſupported by *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, out of the hate he bore to *Demetrius*, he drove him out of his Kingdom; he dying in Exile, his Son, called likewiſe *Demetrius*, reconquered it, and becauſe he had Vanquiſhed this *Seleucus*, who was not of the Family of the *Seleucides*, he was called by the Syrians *Nicator*, like the firſt *Seleucus*, from whom the Kings of *Syria* were deſcended. And endeavouring to follow his Example, he undertook an expedition againſt the Parthians, where being taken Priſomer, he lived a long time in the Court of *Phraates*, and married *Rhodogune*, that Kings Siſter. Mean while a Domeſtick of the former King's, called *Diodotus*, ſeeing the Throne of *Syria* without a King, fieſed on it to advance therein a Child, named *Alexander*, the Son of that baſtard *Alexander*, and a Daughter of *Ptolemyes*; and ſoon after having made away his Pupil, had the boldneſs to make himſelf King, changing the name of *Diodotus* into that of *Tryphon*. *Antiochus*, Brother of the Priſoner *Demetrius*, hearing at *Rhodes* of his Brothers Captivity, and all the diſorders ſucceeding it, returned into his Country, where with much labour he reduced this *Tryphon*; and having put him to death, advanced with his Army againſt *Phraates*, to oblige him to releaſe his Brother, whom he preſently ſent to him out of a fear, the Parthian, at that time, had of War, yet this ſtopt him not from purſuing his deſign, and engaging in Battel with the Parthian, wherein being overcome, he ſlew himſelf. *Demetrius* returned to his Kingdom was murdered by his Wife *Cleopatra*, enraged at the ſecond Marriage with *Rhodogune*, the news of which had before been the cauſe, that during the Captivity of her Husband, ſhe had married with her Brother *Antiochus*, ſhe had two Sons by *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, ſirnamed *Grypus*; and by *Antiochus*, another *Antiochus* called the *Cyzycenian*, of whom *Grypus* ſhe cauſed to be brought up at *Athens*, and the *Cyzycenian* at *Cyzica*. As for *Seleucus*, who had cauſed himſelf to be crowned immediately after the death of his Father, ſhe killed him her ſelf with an Arrow, whether it were ſhe were fearful, he ſhould revenge his Fathers death, or that ſhe had conceived a hate againſt the whole Family. *Seleucus* being dead, the Kingdom deſcended to *Grypus*, who forced his Mother to drink a Poiſon ſhe had prepared for him. Thus ſhe at laſt was puniſhed, and for him he degenerated nothing from *Cleopatra*, for he having advice of it, declared War againſt his Brother, drove him out of his Kingdom, and made himſelf King of *Syria*, he enjoyed it no long time, being himſelf expelled by the Arms of *Seleucus*, Son to *Antiochus*

tiochus Grypus, who reſpected not in him the Quality of Uncle; but he became ſo violent, and lived with ſo much Tyranny, that being at *Mopſa*, a City of *Cilicia*, he was burnt alive in the place of publick Exerciſe. His Succeſſor was *Antiochus*, the Son of the *Cyzycenian*, whom the Syrians believed had eſcaped his Uncles traps, only for his Piety, wherefore they ſirnamed him the Pious; and yet he was only ſaved by a Curtezan fell in love with him, becauſe of his Beauty, which makes me think the Syrians gave him that name, only out of a jeer; for this Pious man married *Selene*, who had before been married to his Father the *Cyzycenian*, and to his Uncle *Grypus*. Therefore Divine Juſtice ſuffered him in puniſhment of his Crime to be driven out of his Kingdom by *Tigranes*; and the Son he had by *Selene*, who being bred in *Aſia* was called *Aſiatick*, to be deprived of his Kingdom by *Pompey*, as we have before related, having reigned only one year, during which that General was elſewhere employ'd. He was the ſeventeenth King after *Seleucus*, without reckoning *Alexander* the Baſtard, or his Son, who were not of the Race, nor their Domeſtick *Diodotus*. To conclude, the Race of the *Seleucides* Reigned two hundred and ſeventy years, and if we account from the time of *Alexander* the Great, till this Kingdom was reduced into the form of a Province, we muſt likewiſe add thoſe fourteen years which *Tigranes* Reigned. Thus much I thought good to ſay, by the way, concerning the Macedonians, that were Kings of *Syria*, though the Subject be ſomewhat ſeparate from our Hiſtory.

The End of the Syrian War.

APPIAN

APPIAN OF ALEXANDRIA, HIS HISTORY OF THE Roman Wars IN PARTHIA.

PART I.

BOOK III.

The Argument of this Book.

I. *THE Introduction to the History.* II. Crassus *chosen Consul leaves* Rome *to go against the Parthians.* III. Crassus *first Expedition wherein he do's nothing memorable.* IV. Crassus *preparations for his second Expedition and the presages of his misfortune.* V. *His march, and the treachery of* Agbarus. VI. *Upon Intelligence that the enemy is not far*

far off, he draws up his Army in Battel. VII. *Deſcription of the Battel.* VIII. *Succeſs of the Battel, and the death of* Craſſus *Son.* IX. *The end of the Battel wherein the Romans are worſted.* X. Craſſus *decamps by by night.* XI. *The Parthians purſue their Victory, and* Craſſus *is ſlain.* XII. *The Parthians rejoyce at* Craſſus *death.* XIII. *The beginning of* Anthony's *War againſt the Parthians, in which* Ventidius *makes great progreſs.* XIV. Anthony's *Preparations.* XV. *Some fights between* Anthony *and the Parthians.* XVI. Anthony's *retreat.* XVII. *The raſhneſs of* Flavius Gallus *who had nigh loſt the Army.* XVIII. *Famine in the Army.* XIX. *Continuation of* Anthony's *retreat, and the end of the War.*

I. After *Pompey* (and thoſe who as we have already ſaid, ſucceeded him in the Government of *Syria*) *Gabinius* was ſent to Command in that Province, whither (as he was diſpoſing himſelf to make War againſt the *Arabs*) *Mithridates* King of *Parthia* driven out of his Kingdom by his brother *Orodes*) came to him to requeſt him to ſuſpend his Expedition againſt the *Arabs*, and march againſt the Parthians. But *Ptolemy* the Eleventh, King of *Egypt* had more prevalency over the Spirit of the Proconſul, and by the power of Mony wrought ſo far with him, that in ſtead of going againſt the Parthians he led his Army to *Alexandria*. After having reeſtabliſhed that King, he was condemned to Baniſhment, for having without the Senates Order undertook a War in *Egypt*, forbid by the Oracles, and particularly by the *Sibyls* verſes. *Craſſus* ſucceeded him, who going to make War upon the Parthians periſhed with his whole Army. After his death, when *L. Bibulus* was governor of *Syria*, the ſame Parthians made an irruption into the Province, and afterwards under the Government of *Saxa*, who ſucceeded him over-run all as far as *Ionia*, the Romans being imbroiled in Civil Wars: yet did they nothing memorable, beſides ſpoiling the Country, rather like thieves then Men of War, and all that was but the conſequence of *Craſſus* overthrow, which had given them a boldneſs that *Anthony* was at laſt to give check to, but to write the Hiſtory of this Expedition we muſt begin our diſcourſe farther of.

II. The day of Aſſembly for Election of Conſuls being come. *C. Cæſar*, *Pompey* the Great, and *Marcus Craſſus* being found Competitors, the two laſt (notwithſtanding all the endeavors of *Cicero*, *Cato* and thoſe of the Contrary Faction) obtained the Conſulate by force, and prolonged to *Cæſar* the Government of *Gaul* for five other years. Having drawn by lot the Governments of *Syria* and *Spain*. *Syria* fell to *Craſſus*, and *Spain* to *Pompey*, with which all Men were well ſatisfied. For the people were pleaſed that *Pompey* ſhould not go far from the City, and there was great likelyhood becauſe he extreamly loved his Wife, that he would not willingly abſent himſelf for any long time. On the other ſide *Craſſus* as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf Governor of *Syria*, diſſembled not his ſatisfaction. He thought no greater happineſs could have arrived him, and ſo far did his Exceſs of Joy tranſport him, as to make him in his familiar converſation with his friends, utter a thouſand extravagancies, which ſavored of the young Man, and ſeemed contrary to his nature, who had never been taken for a Proud Man or a Boaſter; but now exalting his thoughts above their due

level,

level, his judgment was perverted, insomuch that he not only promised himself to subdue the Syrians and the Parthians, but as if the Victories gained by *Lucullus* against *Tigranes*, and by *Pompey* against *Mithridates* had been but sports, his depraved imaginations carried him as far as the Bactrians, the Indians, and the Oriental Ocean. Though in his Commission there was not any mention made of a War against the Parthians, yet no Man doubted but he was resolved to undertake it. *Cæsar* himself writing to him from *Gaul* commended his design, and exhorted him to pursue it, but many good and understanding Men, thought it strange he should go to make War against innocent people who only demanded peace. Wherefore *Crassus*, having intelligence that *Atteius* Tribune of the people had a design to hinder his going out of the City, was afraid, and intreated *Pompey* who had a great power over the spirits of the people, to be his Conductor, they found in the Street a great number of Persons disposed to Arrest him, but *Pompey* observing them, went to meet them, and with a smiling countenance appeased them; so that they held their peace, and gave him passage. *Atteius* only made opposition, first by forbidding *Crassus* to pass any farther, and then by commanding the Usher to sieze his person, but the other Tribunes not thinking it convenient, let him pass. Then *Atteius* ran to the Gate, and filling a chafing dish with fire, as *Crassus* past by made efusions thereon, pronouncing Execrations against the Consul, and invoking Gods, whose names were new and dreadful. This manner of cursing is very Ancient, and the Romans are of Opinion that these Imprecations are so powerful, that whoever they are pronounced against cannot escape, nor can any good happen to him that pronounces them, wherefore they never use them rashly, and now many persons blamed *Atteius*, in that by declaring himself Enemy to *Crassus* though in favor of the Commonwealth, he had filled the minds of the whole City with fear and Superstition. Yet all this hindered not the Consul from setting forward to *Brunduſium*, and though the Winter which was not yet near past might have diverted him from adventuring to Sea, yet he would stay no longer, so that he lost many of his Ships by Storm, and having rallied the remainder of his forces, took his way by Land through *Galatia*, where he found King *Deiotarus*, who was of a great age, building a New City to whom he said in raillery. *You begin to build at twelve a clock*, to which the other replyed smiling, *and you I perceive go not against the Parthians very early*. For *Crassus* had already past sixty years of age, and look'd much Elder then he was.

III. Being arrived in the Province, the first success of his affairs answered very well to his hopes, for having caused a Bridge to be built, he with ease and security passed his Army over the *Euphrates*, and received under his obedience many Cities of *Mesopotamia* which surrendred to him; One he besieged called by the Greeks *Zenodocia*, which was defended by a Tyrant named *Apollonius*, and because he had lost before it one hundred of his Soldiers, he stormed it with his whole Army, took it, razed it, and sold all the Inhabitants he could find by Outcry. After this he permitted his Army to call him Emperor by which he lost much of his Reputation, as if having gained this Victory, his hopes had reached no higher. In conclusion he placed Garrisons in all the Cities had surrendred, whose numbers amounted to seven thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and with the rest of his Army, came to take up his Winter-quarters in *Syria*, whither his Son who had born Arms in *Gaul* under *Cæsar*, from whom he had received

received many Military rewards, came to him with a thouſand choſen Horſe. This was in my opinion the ſecond fault *Craſſus* committed, after having raſhly undertaken this Enterpriſe, for whilſt he ought to have advanced as far as *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, Cities in all times Enemy to the Parthians, by keeping at this diſtance he gave the Enemy time to make preparations. The ſtay he made in *Syria* gained him not more glory, for he lived rather like a Tax-gatherer then a General. The time which ſhould have been employed in making proviſion of Arms, and exerciſing the Soldiers, was ſpent in reckoning up the Revenue of the Cities, and in weighing and meaſuring the Gold and Silver conſecrated to the Goddeſs of *Hierapolis*. And when he had Ordered the Lords and Commonalty of the Country to ſet out a certain Number of Soldiers, he preſently diſpenſed with them for Mony, whereby he drew upon himſelf the ſcorn of all the World. It was at the Temple of the forementioned Goddeſs, whom ſome will have to be *Venus*, others *Juno*, others *Nature*, which contains in her the ſeed of all things, there it was I ſay that he received the firſt preſage of his ill fortune. For as the Father and Son came out thence, the young Man ſtumbled, and fell before the Gate of the Temple, and the old Man fell upon his Son.

Whilſt he was drawing his Forces out of the Garriſons there came to him Ambaſſadors from * *Arſaces* who ſaid but little to him, the ſenſe of which was this. *That if the People of* Rome *had ſent that Army, the War would not end, but by the abſolute ruine of one of the parties, but if it were true* (*as was reported*) *that* Craſſus *without his Countries conſent, and for his own particular intereſts had undertaken it,* Arſaces *would not then do his utmoſt, but having compaſſion on the Conſuls age, would let the Romans go, whom he conſidered rather as men beſieged then Conquerors,* To which *Craſſus* having arrogantly replyed *that he would give them an anſwer at* Seleucia; *Vagiſes* chief of the deputation in a fit of laughter ſhowing the Palm of his hand; *Craſſus* ſaid he, *there ſhall hair grow here before thou ſee* Seleucia, and therewith the Ambaſſadors departed to give advice to * *Orodes* their King that he muſt reſolve for War. Immediately after, ſome of thoſe who had been placed in Garriſon in the *Cities* of *Meſopotamia*, having eſcaped through all the difficulties in the World, came to the Camp, where they bred no ſmall diſturbance. They gave account of the vaſt number of Enemies they had ſeen, the labors they had undergone in defence of the Cities from whence they were driven, and aggravating every thing, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, they aſſured their fellows that it was impoſſible to eſcape from the Parthians when they purſued, nor to overtake them when they fled, that their Arrows wounded before they could be perceived, and that nothing was proof againſt them, whilſt they were Armed with ſuch ſtrong Curaſſes that nothing could offend them. The Roman Soldiers hearing theſe diſcourſes were appalled, for being perſwaded that the Enemies differed nothing from the Armenians, and Cappadocians whom *Lucullus* had beaten till he was weary, and believing that the moſt of their labor would be the length of the way, and the trouble to purſue Enemies that durſt not ſtay for them, they ſaw that quite contrary to the opinion they had entertained, this War would be both doubtful and dangerous; Inſomuch that the Chief Officers of the Army were of opinion to hinder *Craſſus* from proceeding farther, till he had conſidered more maturely of an affair, which concerned the ſafety or loſs of ſo many Men. Moreover the Augures gave private notice that the Entrails of the Beaſts promiſed no good, and that *Craſſus* his Sacrifices were not pleaſing to the

* *The General name of the Kings of* Parthia.

* *The King's particular Name.*

Gods. But he would hearken to nothing from them or any other but thoſe who encouraged him generouſly to purſue his deſign; among which the counſel of *Artabaſus* King of *Armenia* made great impreſſion on his Spirit, for he came to the Roman Camp, with ſix thouſand Horſe which they call the Kings guards with promiſe to furniſh ten thouſand Horſe more, and thirty thouſand Foot at his own expence, perſwading to aſſault the Parthians, by the way of *Armenia*, and he would take care to guide the Army a commodious way, and to furniſh them with all neceſſaries, and that thus *Craſſus* would have continual Mountains to March through, and places difficult for Horſe Service, in which the *Parthian* ſtrength chiefly conſiſted. The Conſul highly applauded the Kings good will, and praiſed the Magnificence of his Troops, but told him he would take the way of *Meſopotamia*, where he had left a great quantity of Valiant Men of the Roman name. After this conference the *Armenian* returned into his Kingdom. As for *Craſſus*, as he cauſed his Army to paſs over a Bridge, great Claps of Thunder began to make a dreadful noiſe, and continual flaſhes of lightning darted in the Soldiers eyes, beſides all on the ſudden an impetuous ſtorm, raged againſt the Bridge, and carried away a part of it. It happened likewiſe that the lightning fell twice in the place whereon they were to encamp, and one of the Conſuls Horſes in his moſt ſtately Trappings carried the Eſquire that rode him, into the River notwithſtanding all endeavors to ſtop him, nor were either Horſe or Man ever ſeen afterwards; They ſay likewiſe that the Eagle that was firſt taken up by the Standard-bearer, of it ſelf fell backward, and that when the Army having paſt the River ſat down to eat, they by chance gave the Soldiers nothing but Lentils and Broath, which is counted doleful meat, becauſe only ſerved at Funerals. Afterwards as *Craſſus* made an Oration to his Army, there eſcaped from him a word which ſtruck a ſtrange terror into the minds of the Soldiers. For he told them he had cauſed the Bridge over the River to be broke down, that not one of them might return; and though that abſurdity might have been repaired by explaining the words, and that the Conſul ought to have interpreted it, that he might not leave upon their Spirits an Impreſſion of ill Preſage, yet he would not do it out of Stubbornneſs. After this having muſtered his Army, he offered a Sacrifice, and as the Prieſt put the Entrails of the beaſt into his hands, he let them fall, at which the aſſiſtants being ſcandalized, he laughing ſaid, *Theſe are the inconveniences of old age, but our Arms will never fall out of our hands.* He then found that the Army which paſſed the River conſiſted of ſeven Legions, about four thouſand Horſe, and as many light Armed Foot.

V. Sometime after the Scouts brought in word that the whole Region was deſert, and that they had only diſcovered the track of a great Number of Horſes which ſeemed to fly before them, upon which intelligence *Craſſus* conceived ſome good hopes, and the Soldiers began to deſpiſe the Parthians, believing they would never ſtand to fight them. However *Craſſus*, and ſome of the Conſuls Friends, adviſed him to retire into ſome one of thoſe places he held in that Country, till ſuch time as he had received more certain advice of the Enemy, or at leaſt that he would march them towards *Seleucia*, along the Banks of the River, for ſo greater plenty of proviſions might be brought him by water, and in caſe the Enemy came to aſſail him, the River might ſerve as a Rampire; ſo that they could not encompaſs him about, and by that means he might fight them with equal Forces.

Forces. As *Craſſus* was conſulting about the importance of this Counſel, there arrived in the Camp an Arabian Gentleman called *Agbarus*, cunning but treacherous, whom Fortune made uſe of as the Principal Inſtrument, for deſtruction of the Army; ſome who had born Arms under *Pompey*, knew him, and remembring that Great General had obliged him, thought he might have an affection for the Romans. But indeed he was ſent to *Craſſus* by thoſe who Commanded the Kings Army, to draw him if poſſible from the River, and Foot of the Mountains, and make him take into the Plain, where the Horſe had more advantage. For they were reſolved on nothing leſs then to come to a pitcht battel with the Romans in that place. *Agbarus* therefore coming to ſalute *Craſſus*, and being well ſpoken, began his diſcourſe with the praiſes of *Pompey*, and the kindneſſes he had received from him, then he fell to diſcourſe of the mighty power of *Craſſus*, ſetting forth that he wrong'd himſelf in ſpending time in conſultation, when he was but more than too ſtrong, for there was not any need of Arms, but only of nimble Feet and Hands, to deal with a People, who had a long time been prepared to pack up their Mony and Choiceſt Riches, and fly into *Scythia* or *Hyrcania*, *But if you will fight*, ſaid he, *you muſt make haſt leſt the King reſuming Courage Rally up likewiſe his Forces, for at preſent you have only to deal with* Surena *who is the Rear-guard of thoſe Forces that make their Retreat, for as for the King, they know not where he is.* Now all this was falſe, for *Orodes* had upon the firſt of the War divided his Forces into two Armies, with one of which he had invaded *Armenia*, where he made ſtrange Havock to Revenge himſelf of *Artabaſus*, and had given the other in charge to *Surena* to oppoſe the Romans. Not out of ſcorn as ſome ſay, for there is no likelyhood that he ſhould diſdain to deal with *Craſſus* a Roman Conſul or that he could think it more Honorable to wage War with *Artabaſus* or Plunder the Villages of *Armenia*, but for my part I am of the opinion he retired thither for fear of the danger, or as into an Ambuſcado, to expect the ſucceſs of the War. For *Surena* was no Common Man, being both for Riches, Birth and Quality, the ſecond to the King, and for Valor and Vigor of Body, the Chief among all the Parthians, beſides he was large of Stature, and of as Noble an Aſpect as any Man living could be. He had continually in his train a thouſand Camels for burthen, two hundred Coaches for his Women, and for his Guard a thouſand Men at Arms, beſides a greater Number of Light Horſe, ſo that the Ordinary Train of his Houſhold, was ten thouſand Horſe, reckoning his Vaſſals and Slaves, and by an Ancient Hereditary Right of his Family he had the Honor firſt to ſet the Crown on the head of the new King of the Parthians: He had brought back this ſame *Orodes* from Exile, and reſtored him to the Throne, he had by Storm taken the Great *Seleucia*, being the firſt that mounted on the walls, from whence himſelf drove the Guards that defended them, and though he were not now above thirty years of age, he was eſteemed one of the moſt Politick Men of the time he lived in, which he ſhewed by entrapping *Craſſus*, who yet in truth was eaſie to be deceived, firſt by reaſon of his pride and daring, and at laſt becauſe of his fear, and the diſtreſs to which he ſaw himſelf reduced. *Agbarus* therefore having by fair words perſwaded him to leave the River, cauſed him to take his march through the midſt of vaſt plains, naked of trees, untill'd, and of which they ſaw no end, ſo that the Soldiers grew faint-hearted, not only for thirſt, and the tedioufneſs of the way, but becauſe they found no refreſhment in their travel, they ſaw neither River nor Mountain, nor any green thing, but as if they had been in the wide Sea,

they beheld nothing on all sides but an affrightful solitude. All this already gave them some suspition of Treason which was confirmed, when Ambassadors from *Artabasus* came to acquaint the Consul that their King being engaged in a War against *Orodes*, who had invaded his Country could not send him any assistance, but that he advised him to turn his Arms that way, and to joyn with the Armenians to give battel to the Parthians, or if that were not his judgment, at least so to order his march that he took care not to engage in the plains, where the Horse should have too much advantage, but that he should as much as he could draw towards the Mountains. To all which *Crassus* who would not write a word in Answer to the King, brutishly and like a Man in Choler made Answer, "That he was not now at leisure to think of the affairs of *Armenia*, but "that at his return he would Chastise *Artabasus* for his treachery. Whereupon *Cassius* and those that were of his mind grew angry, but without saying a word to *Crassus*, who would not listen to any good counsel given him, they fell to reviling *Agbarus* with a thousand reproachful words. *What mischievous Devil brought thee hither, thou most villanous of all mankind* (said they to him) *by what Witchcraft or Inchantments hast thou been able to perswade* Crassus, *to take his march through these vast Solitudes, a road more proper for a* Numidian *Robber then a Roman General?* But he being cunning entertained them still with fair words, exhorting them to have a little patience, and encourageing the tired Soldiers to march, and with flattering smiles telling them: *What do you think you are marching now through* Campania, *or do you hope to find here Fountains, Rivers, Shades, Baths, and continual Inns? Remember, pray remember that you pass now by the confines of* Arabia *and* Syria. Thus *Agbarus* treated the Romans as if he had been their Pædagogue, and before his Treason was discovered he left them, not by stealth but by consent of the Consul, whom he made believe he went to give Orders about things necessary, and to create some disorder in the Enemies Camp. 'Tis said that that day *Crassus* came forth not in a Purple Robe, according to the manner of the Roman Generals, but cloathed in Black, which yet he went and changed as soon as he perceived it, and that some Ensigns pitcht in the ground stuck so fast, that those who were to carry them, could scarcely pull them out, at all which *Crassus* did but laugh.

VI. He Commanded presently to March, and earnestly urged the Legions to follow the Horse, when some of his Scouts coming in, brought word that others of their fellows had been slain by the Enemy, and they had hardly escaped, and that there was a dreadful multitude following them at the heels with resolution to fight. This news amazed the whole Army, but especially *Crassus*, who began to draw his Army into Battel, but with a great deal of Irresolution. First, according to *Cassius* advice, he drew up his Legions at length, extending them as far as ever he could, that the Enemy might not surround them, and placing his Horse on the wings, but afterwards changing his mind, he formed his Legions into a Battel of four Fronts, each of which he covered with twelve Cohorts, each Cohorts strengthened by a squadron of Horse, that all four might be equally defended by the Horse. One of the wings he gave in charge to *Cassius*, the other to his Son, and kept himself in the main battel. Marching in this Order they gained a River called *Balissa*, which though neither deep nor large was very welcome to the Soldiers, who had had so toilsome a March through

through heat and duſt, moſt of the Officers adviſed not only the refreſhing the Soldiers, but reſting that night there, to the intent, that making the beſt diſcovery they poſſibly could of the number and poſture of the Enemy, they might be the better able to encounter the next Morning: but young *Craſſus*, and his Horſemen, calling out for the Battel, the Conſul again re-incouraged, commanded that thoſe, who had a mind to take any repaſt, ſhould eat without ſtirring from their Ranks; and ſcarcely had he allowed them to take what Food was neceſſary, but he marched forward the Army, not ſlowly and often halting, as is uſually done by thoſe, who would preſerve their Men for the Fight; but upon the gallop, and all in a breath, till ſuch time as the Enemy appeared ſooner than they looked for them; but neither in any great numbers, nor in a poſture to give any terrour to the Romans; for the main Body of the Army was hid by theſe Vant-curriers, who by *Surena*'s order had with looſe Coats covered their Armour.

VII. But when they drew nearer, and that the Enemies had given Signal of Battel, there was heard throughout the whole Plain a dreadful noiſe, for the Parthians uſe in War neither Horns or Trumpets; but knowing well that of all the Senſes, the Ear is moſt capable of affecting the Mind; and ſtirring up the Paſſions, they beat all at once through the whole Army, certain Drums, whoſe hollowneſs makes dreadful roaring, which in ſome meaſure imitates Thunder. This noiſe having begun to terrifie the Romans, the Parthians threw off their looſe Coats, and ſhewed their Armour of poliſhed Steel, whoſe brightneſs dazled the eyes, and they were diſcovered to be mounted on Horſes, barbed and covered with plates of Iron and Copper. *Surena* made a ſhow above all the reſt, the Magnificence of whoſe habit ſeemed ſomewhat effeminate, and diſagreeable to the high Reputation he had gained: but in this he followed the Cuſtom of the Medes, who go to Battel painted and curled, whereas the Parthians tuck up their Hair on their Foreheads, to make them appear more formidable. At firſt they charged on the Spur with Lances in their Reſts againſt the Front of the Roman Battel, to try to break it: but having obſerved the Legionary Bucklers joyned ſo cloſe, and their Ranks faſt locked together, they retired, and as if they had disbanded, and quitting their Ranks, wheeled about the Roman Army: *Craſſus* ſent againſt them his light armed Men, who went not far; for the Soldiers ſoon finding themſelves overwhelmed, and beaten down with ſhowrs of Arrows, ran to ſave themſelves among the Ranks of the Legions, bringing amongſt them great confuſion and diſorder; eſpecially when it was perceived, that thoſe were diſcharged with ſuch a violence, that they equally wounded thoſe that were armed, and thoſe that were not. And now the Parthians began to fight at a diſtance with Flights of Arrows from all ſides, which were never ſhot in vain; for the Romans were ſo cloſed together, that though the Parthians would, they could not well have miſt them; and their Bows being great and ſtrong, and managed by vigorous Arms, made no ſlight Wounds: Inſomuch that the Romans were already hard put to it. If they ſtood firm without quitting Ranks, they were wounded; and if they preſſed to aſſault the Enemy, they could not reach them, and yet were wounded ſtill; for the Parthians diſcharged their Arrows, as they fled; and next the Scythians are certainly the moſt skilful Nation in the World in this Exerciſe, invented doubtleſs to defend at once, both from the Enemy, and from the ſhame of flight.

However,

VIII. However, the Romans had patience ſo long as they hoped, that the Enemy having once drained their Quivers, would either retire, or come to fight hand to hand: but when they underſtood that they had in their Army great numbers of Camels laden with Arrows, whither they went by turns to fill again their Quivers, as faſt as they had emptied, they were utterly diſmayed; *Craſſus* ſeeing no end of this kind of fight, began to afflict himſelf, and ſent to tell his Son, that he ſhould advance to charge the Enemy, before they were incloſed; for they preſſed hard upon him, and wheeled about the Wing, which he commanded to fall on in the Rear. This young Man having therefore taken thirteen hundred Horſe, of which *Cæſar* had given him a thouſand, and eight Cohorts of Foot armed with Bucklers, which ſtood next him, drew off, and went furiouſly to charge the groſs of the Enemy; but they (whether that place were miry, as ſome ſay, or that by this ſtratagem, they had a mind to draw the Conſuls Son, as far as was poſſible, from the reſt of the Army) turned tail and fled. He preſently with loud cryes declared the Enemies flight, and addreſſed himſelf to purſue them, accompanied by *Cenſorinus* and *Megabachus*; this laſt famous for ſtrength of Body, and height of Courage; the other a Senator, and beſides a great Orator, both of the ſame age with young *Craſſus*, and his familiar Friends. The Horſe followed, and the Foot after them, all filled with joy and hope, believing they gave chaſe to a Vanquiſhed Enemy; but they had not gone far e're they diſcovered the cheat, beholding thoſe return to the charge, who had made a ſhow of flight, ſupported now and ſtrengthned with great numbers: Whereupon thoſe who were at the Head of the Romans ſtood ſtill, believing, becauſe of their ſmall number, the Enemies would come and aſſault them at hand: but they oppoſed them only with their Lanciers, whilſt the reſt ſcouting up and down the Plain, with their Horſe-hoofs broke the ſurface of the Earth, from whence aroſe ſuch clouds of Sand and Duſt, that the Romans could neither ſee nor ſpeak: So that being thus lock'd up cloſe together in a croud, they were wounded, and dyed not of a quick and eaſie death, but with ſtrange pains and convulſions cauſed by the Arrows ſticking in their Bodies, which not being able to endure, they rolled themſelves upon the ground to break them in their wounds, or elſe ſtriving to pull them out with the barbed heads, which had pierced into the Veins and Nerves, they grievouſly tore themſelves, and added freſh anguiſh to the former. Thus moſt of all thoſe Cohorts that followed the Horſe being ſlain, the reſt remained uſeleſs, becauſe of their wounds; and when their Captains commanded them to go charge the Parthian Men at Arms, they ſhowed their hands nailed to their Bucklers, or their Feet ſtruck through and faſtned to the ground; ſo that they could neither fight nor flee. Hereupon young *Craſſus* reſolved to make one briſk attempt with his Horſe, but the ſtrokes they gave with their weak and ſlender Javelins, having but ſmall effects on the others Curraſſes of boild Leather, guarded with bands of Iron; whilſt on the contrary their ſteel-headed Lances piercing through and through the Gauls lightly armed, and almoſt naked, made the match very unequal. He had great confidence in theſe Gauls, and indeed they did act wonders, they ſieſed on theſe Lances with their naked hands, and in endeavouring to wreſt them away, tumbled the Men at Arms from off their Horſes; who being over-laden with Iron, could very hardly mount again: There were likewiſe ſome of them, who quitting their own Horſes, went and thruſt

their

their Swords in the bellies of thoſe of the Enemy, who mounting at the ſmart of the wound, tumbled back with their Riders, ſo that many were by this means trampled to death under the Horſe Feet, as well of the Romans as the Parthians: but nothing was more inſufferable to the Gauls than the heat and drowth, to which they were not accuſtomed; and beſides, many had loſt their Horſes, which had been ſlain by the Pikes or Lances. Wherefore they reſolved to recover the Legions, having in the midſt of them the young *Craſſus*, already tortured with many wounds: but ſeeing nigh unto them a Hillock of Sand, which formed a kind of Eminence, they retired thither, and tying in the midſt thoſe Horſes they had left; fortified themſelves with their Bucklers, which they ranked round about them, thinking by this means to defend themſelves from the Barbarians: but it fell out quite contrary; for though in a Level thoſe before do in ſome meaſure cover thoſe behind, yet here, by reaſon of the declining ground, one ſtanding above another, no perſon could be in ſecurity. They were all wounded alike, and dyed with the more vexation, that they could not revenge themſelves, but muſt all periſh without Glory. There were along with the young *Craſſus* two Greeks, Citizens of of *Carres*, called *Hierom* and *Nicomachus*, who would have perſwaded him to have ſaved himſelf with them in the City of *Ichnes*, which took part with the Romans: but he made anſwer, There were no death ſo cruel, that for fear of it *Publius* would forſake his Companions, who had not ingaged themſelves in that danger, but for his ſake. And at the ſame inſtant gave leave to them, exhorting them to take care of themſelves; but for his own part, not being able to make uſe of his hand, becauſe of a wound he had received by an Arrow, he preſented his breſt to his Eſquire, commanding him to run him through. Some ſay *Cenſorinus* dyed in the ſame manner, and that *Megabachus*, and moſt of the Nobility ſlew themſelves. The reſt aſſailed by the Parthians, dyed generouſly defending themſelves, and 'tis reported five hundred only were taken alive. The Enemy forthwith cut off the Heads of young *Craſſus*, and his Companions, and returned to ſeek out his Father, who in the mean time had acted, as we ſhall now relate.

IX. After the Command given to his Son to charge, and that ſome came and told him, that the Enemy fled, and that he likewiſe found himſelf not ſo hardly preſſed upon, for indeed they had left him; he took a little courage, and cauſed his Army to March into the lower Ground, hoping his Son would ſoon return from the purſuit of the Enemy. Mean while young *Craſſus* perceiving himſelf in danger, diſpatch'd away ſeveral Meſſengers to his Father, to give him notice of it, of whom the firſt were ſlain by the Enemies; and the next, who hardly eſcaped brought word, that *Publius* was certainly loſt, if not ſuddenly relieved. Upon this news the Conſul found himſelf toſſed with ſundry paſſions which blinded his reaſon, ſo that he knew not what to reſolve on: He was fearful of looſing all, if he went to the ſuccour of his Son; yet he loved him, and therefore was in doubt whether he ſhould go to his relief, or endeavour to ſave the reſt. At laſt he cauſed the Army to March towards the Enemy, who preſently appeared to meet them; witneſſing by their loud and terrible ſhouts that they had gained the Victory; and letting the Romans know, by the confuſed noiſe of their Drums, that they muſt again prepare to fight. Thus they made their approach, bearing the Head of *Publius* upon the end of a Lance, and asking by way of deriſion, who

were

were the Parents of that young Man, and of what Family he was? for they could not believe that *Craſſus* the baſeſt of all men could beget a Son ſo Brave and Valiant. This ſight caſt down the ſpirits of the Romans more than all the Calamities they had ſuffered; and inſtead of ſtirring up in them that indignation and deſire of revenge, which it ought, overwhelmed them with horror and fear. However, *Craſſus* Valour appeared upon this occaſion extraordinarily, he cryed out, as he marched on Horſe back through the Ranks:

The Oration of *Craſſus.*

THis Misfortune concerns me only, fellow Soldiers, the glory and felicity of our Country remains yet intire, whilſt you are in a condition to defend it. And if you have any compaſſion upon me, for having loſt a Son of that Value, diſcharge your anger on your Enemies, and deprive them of their joy by puniſhing their cruelty. Looſe not your Courage, for the misfortune happened to me, whoever pretends to great recompences is ſubject to like diſgraces. Lucullus *did not Vanquiſh* Tigranes, *nor* Scipio Antiochus, *without the expence of blood. Our Fathers loſt a thouſand Ships in the Conqueſt of* Sicily; *and in* Italy *it ſelf many Generals and Captains have periſhed, whoſe loſs hath not hindred their party from gaining the Victory; for the Roman Empire is not mounted to this Greatneſs and Power by the good Fortune of the Romans, but by their Patience and height of Courage in Adverſity.*

After theſe words *Craſſus*, perceiving that moſt of the Soldiers received them but coldly, commanded to give a great ſhout all together, which made but their inward grief the more known; for they ſhouted with weak and diſcordant Voices, whilſt the Barbarians anſwered them in a Tone high and Harmonious. The Fight preſently began, wherein the Enemies light Horſe wheeling about the Romans, galled them in Flank with ſhowrs of Arrows, whilſt the Lanciers, who aſſailed them in Front, made them recoyl and croud cloſe together. However, ſome out of fear of the Arrows, drew off from the groſs to charge nearer at hand: but they did their Enemies little hurt, and were preſently killed by their Lances, whoſe Iron head entring the Body, was followed by a thick Staff, thruſt forward with ſo great violence, that often times it went through and through both Horſe and Man. After the Battel had thus laſted till night, the Parthians retreated, ſaying, *That they gave that night to* Craſſus *to bewail his Son, unleſs he made choice of the better way, and had rather go and preſent himſelf to* Arſaces *than be carried:* And having ſaid theſe words, they went and lodged in a place hard by, with full hopes the next Morning to put an abſolute end the Victory.

X. The Romans on the contrary had but an ill night of it, they had no thoughts either of burying their dead, or dreſſing their wounded, of which ſome lay dying, every one bewailed his own ſelf, for there was no hopes of ſafety, whether they ſtaid in that place till day, or whether, whilſt it was dark, they ſet forward, croſs thoſe vaſt Plains; for the wounded, if they carried them, would hinder their flight; and if they forſook them, the cryes of thoſe miſerable Creatures would give notice

to

to the Enemy of their departure: And though they imputed all their misfortune to *Craſſus*, they wiſhed, notwithſtanding, they might either ſee or hear him; but he had withdrawn himſelf, and with his head bound up, had caſt himſelf on the ground in the dark. Whereby he became a great Example of the inconſtancy of Fortune to the Vulgar, and of raſhneſs and ambition to the Learned; having ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far tranſported by thoſe two failings, that he could not content himſelf to be one of the Prime among ſo many thouſands of Citizens, but believed himſelf miſerable, becauſe he was accounted but the third Man in *Rome*. *Octavius* his Lieutenant, and *Caſſius* his *Quæſtor*, having found him in this poſture, rouſed him up, and entreated him to take courage; but ſeeing he was in utter deſpair, by advice of the * Tribunes and Centurions, they themſelves publiſhed the Deaf March, and began to diſcamp without noiſe: but when the ſick and wounded perceived that they were about to forſake them, with their cryes and roarings they ſpread a general trouble throughout the Army, even thoſe who were already got into the Plain, took the Alarm, as if the Enemy had been ready to fall on: wherefore they made many halts, putting themſelves in order to fight, and perplexed with the great numbers of the wounded that followed them, of which they took up ſome, and left others, they made but little way, ſave only three hundred Horſe that fled away by themſelves, with whom *Ignatius* arrived about Midnight at *Carres*, where having called in Latin to thoſe were upon the Guards of the Walls, he bid them go and tell *Coponius*, the Governour of the place, that there had been a great Fight between *Craſſus* and the Parthians; and without explaining himſelf farther, or ſo much as telling his name, advanced towards the Bridge; the truth is, he ſaved thoſe Horſe, but he was blamed by all the World for forſaking his General, not but that *Craſſus* had ſome benefit by *Coponius*, having this advice; for the Governour conjecturing by the ambiguity of his words, and by the ſuddenneſs of his departure, that the Meſſenger brought no good news, immediately drew to Arms what Force he had; and when he had advice that the General was upon the way, went out to meet him, and gathering up as many of the Soldiers as he could, conducted them to the City.

* *Colonels and Captains.*

XI. As for the Parthians, though they knew well that the Romans were diſlodged, yet they would not purſue them by night; but as ſoon as it was day, they run to their Camp, and cut the throats of all thoſe they had left, which amounted to no leſs than four thouſand, and then purſued the reſt, of whom they took great numbers, whom they found diſperſed in the plain; beſides four Cohorts, under the conduct of the Lieutenant *Vargonteius*, who having ſtragled in the March by night, fell into their hands encloſed in a ſtrait, where having valiantly defended themſelves, they were all cut in pieces, except only twenty Soldiers, who with their Swords in their hands opened themſelves a paſſage through the midſt of their Enemies; and whoſe courage the Enemies themſelves admiring, ſuffered them to paſs at an eaſie rate to *Carres*, without purſuing them. Mean while falſe intelligence was brought to *Surena*, that *Craſſus* was eſcaped with all the conſiderable Perſons in the Army, and that thoſe who were retired into *Carres*, were only a company of wretches not worth any conſideration. Which was the reaſon that not thinking his Victory perfect, and deſiring to have more certain news, he quitted his deſign of purſuing *Craſſus*, and ſent one of his people, who underſtood both Languages,

before the Walls of *Carres*, to ask in Latin either for *Craſſus* himſelf, or *Caſſius*, as if *Surena* deſired a conference with them, which being heard, and told to *Craſſus* and his Friends, diſpleaſed them not. A little while after, came on the part of the Barbarians certain Arabs, who knew the faces of *Craſſus* and *Caſſius*, having frequented their Camp before Battel. Theſe knowing *Caſſius* upon the Wall, told him that *Surena* would grant Peace to the Romans, provided they would be friends to the King, and depart out of *Meſopotamia*, and that they believed they had better accept of that condition, than reduce things to the laſt extremities; whereupon *Caſſius* demanded a time and place for a Conference betwixt the Generals, and they promiſing to let *Surena* know it, went their way; *Surena* rejoying that he had now theſe two Men now ſhut up, ſent next Morning under the City Walls ſome Parthians, who injuriouſly reviling *Craſſus* and *Caſſius*, demanded them to be delivered up, if the Romans had a mind to Peace. And now the Chiefs of the Roman Army knowing that they were betrayed, fell into deſpair; but yet conſulting what was beſt to do, they reſolved on a ſudden flight, beſeeching the Conſul to give over thoſe vain and diſtant hopes he placed in the aſſiſtance of the Armenians. This deſign was not to have been communicated to any of the Inhabitants of *Carres*, before the time of its execution, and *Craſſus* diſcovered it to the moſt perfidious of them all, called *Andromachus*, to whoſe Faith he committed himſelf, taking him for the Guide of the Army: So that by the means of this Traytor, all the Roman deſigns were preſently known to the Parthians. And becauſe theſe were not accuſtomed to fight in the dark, as not eaſie for them to do, *Andromachus* to retard the Romans March, and by that means give the Enemy time to overtake them, placed himſelf at the Head of them, going ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on another, till ſuch time as he had engaged them in deep Mariſhes, and places full of Ditches, whoſe high Banks ſorely perplexed the Army, who yet followed this Traytor; inſomuch, that they were often forced to go a great way about to find a paſſage. This begat a diſtruſt in ſome, who imagining by the many twinings and windings, that *Andromachus* had an ill intention, refuſed to follow him, of which number was *Caſſius*, who returned to *Carres*: And when his Guides, who were Arabs, urged him to advance before the Moon had paſſed *Scorpio*: *For my part*, ſaid he to them, *I am much more afraid of* * Sagittary. However, parting from *Carres*, he took the way towards *Syria*, with five hundred Horſe; and having found faithful Guides, gained the Mountains, called *Synaces*, where before day, there rallied together about five thouſand Soldiers, conducted by *Octavius*, an excellent Man. As for *Craſſus*, day ſurpriſed him, as he followed *Andromachus* with incredible labour. He was accompanied with four Cohorts with Bucklers; ſome few Horſe, and five Lictors or Serjeants, with whom having with all the pain and labour imaginable, overcome the difficulty of the way; the Enemies now drawing near, he went and poſſeſſed himſelf of an Eminence, diſtant about * twelve Furlongs from that, to which *Octavius* was retired, but nothing ſo ſtrong of ſituation, nor of ſo difficult approach for the Horſe, but it lay under the *Synbaces*, to which it was joyned with a long neck, that croſſed the Plain. So that *Octavius* could not be ignorant of the danger in which the Conſul was; wherefore himſelf ran firſt to his aſſiſtance with a few people, and ſoon after the reſt of his Forces, reproaching each other with cowardiſe, followed. They altogether drove the Enemy from the Hill, and drawing up round about *Craſſus*, and lining their whole Body with their

* Sagitarious *ſignifies an Archer.*

* *A Mile and half.*

their Bucklers, bravely proteſted, that no Arrow of the Parthians ſhould reach their General's Body, ſo long as one of them remained alive. Wherefore *Surena*, who ſaw the Parthians gave ground, and that if night came on, the Romans, who had already gained the Mountains, would eſcape him, aſſaulted *Craſſus* with cunning, he let go ſome Priſoners, who had heard ſome of the Barbarians of purpoſe ſaying, *That the King would not be diſſatisfied to have Peace with the Romans, but deſired their Friendſhip, and that if he might obtain it by* Craſſus *means, he would treat him favourably.* In the mean time, cauſing the fight to ceaſe, he after by little and little drew near to the Hill, and unbending his Bow, preſented his hand to *Craſſus*, deſiring him to conſent to an accommodation, he told him that the King having taken up Arms much againſt his will, the Romans had made tryal of his Strength and Power, and that now he would make them taſte of his Goodneſs and Clemency, by ſhowing them his Favour, and granting ſecurity for their Retreat. Not only the Soldiers, but the Leaders glad to hear theſe fine words of *Surena*'s, eaſily believed them. *Craſſus* was the only man was not deceived. Indeed he ſaw no reaſon for ſo ſudden a change, wherefore he would not preſently conſent, but ſtood thinking what anſwer to return, when the Soldiers began to cry out with one voice, that they would have Peace, and withal to revile him, for expoſing them to men, he durſt not himſelf approach diſarmed, as they were; he endeavoured firſt to perſwade them by entreaties and reaſons to have patience the reſt of that day, ſince at night they might eaſily make their retreat, by gaining the Mountains, he ſhowed them the way they ſhould take, begging them not to looſe all hopes of ſafety, which was now ſo nigh; but when he ſaw that the Soldiers enraged, threatned him, and ſmote upon their Bucklers, he was afraid of them, and at parting ſaid only theſe words to thoſe about him:

The Oration of *Craſſus.*

OCtavius, *and you* Petronius, *and all you Gentlemen of Quality here preſent, you ſee how I am forced to go, you are witneſſes of the violence done me; yet tell all the World, when you have gained a place of ſafety, that* Craſſus *loſt his life deceived by his Enemies, but not delivered up to them by his Citizens.*

However, *Octavius* and the reſt ſtaid not upon the Hill, but went down with the Conſul, who would not ſuffer the Lictors to follow him. As they were going down, two Mongrels or half Greeks came to meet him, and alighting, made their Reverence to *Craſſus*, intreating him to ſend ſome of his people before to view *Surena* and his Train, and eſpie if they were not armed. To which the Conſul made anſwer, That if he had yet the leaſt deſire to live, he would not have come to put himſelf into their hands. However, he ſent the *Riſcones* Brothers to ſpie into their deſigns, and diſcover their number; but *Surena* cauſed them to be arreſted; and forthwith advancing with the Chief Men of his Army all mounted on Horſe-back towards *Craſſus*: *And how* (ſaid he, coming near him) *a Roman General on Foot, and we on Horſe-back*; and at the ſame

inſtant commanded a Horſe to be brought him. *Craſſus* having anſwered, That neither one nor the other did amiſs in that, ſince each came to the Conference, after the manner of his Country. *Surena* ſaid, That the Peace was already concluded between *Orodes* and the people of *Rome*, and that there wanted nothing but putting the Articles in Writing, which they would do on the River ſide: *For you Romans* (ſaid he) *do not uſually remember your Treaties very well*; and at the ſame inſtant he gave him his hand: Thereupon the Roman called out to bring his Horſe: To which *Surena* ſaid, there was no need of it: *For ſee*, added he, *one which the King has ſent you*; and forthwith one was brought ready Bridled with a Bitt of Gold, upon which the Footmen mounted him, and placed themſelves on both ſides to make him advance forward: whereupon *Octavius* firſt of all laid hands upon the Horſe Bridle to ſtop him, and one of the Tribunes called *Petronius*, and after him all the reſt placed themſelves about the Conſul, to hinder his going farther, and to pull away from about him thoſe that would have led him forward: Inſomuch, that thus puſhing and ſhoving one another, they came at laſt to blows, *Octavius* drawing his Sword, ſlew one of the Barbarian Horſemen, but another ſlew him with a blow behind. *Petronius* had no offenſive Arms, but having received on his Guiraſs the thruſts made at him, withdrew himſelf from the buſtle without any wound. As for *Craſſus*, he was ſlain by one *Maxarthes* a Parthian, though ſome ſay it was done by another, and that *Maxarthes*, as ſoon as he was down, cut off his head and his right hand: but all theſe are conjectures, for of all thoſe that were preſent, ſome were ſlain upon the place, and the reſt nimbly regained the Hill, before which the Parthians appeared, and called out on the part of *Surena*, that ſince *Craſſus* was puniſhed, all the reſt might come down in ſafety: Some yielded themſelves, others fled away by night, of which few eſcaped, being moſt taken and ſlain by the Arabs. 'Tis ſaid that in this expedition there were twenty thouſand Soldiers ſlain, and ten thouſand taken Priſoners.

XII. *Surena* ſent *Craſſus* Head and Hand to *Orodes* into *Armenia*; and himſelf having beforehand cauſed a Rumour to be ſpread abroad at *Seleucia*, that he brought *Craſſus* alive, he prepared a certain ridiculous Entry, which in Mockery he called a Triumph. To this purpoſe he took one of the Priſoners, called *Caius*, who much reſembled *Craſſus*, and having cloathed him in a Womans Robe, and taught him to anſwer to thoſe, who called him either *Craſſus* or Emperour, made him enter on Horſeback into the City, before him marched, mounted on Camels, Trumpets and Lictors carried Rods with Purſes faſtned to them; and Axes, to which were tyed the Heads of Romans newly cut off: He was followed by the Curtiſans of *Seleucia*, playing on Inſtruments, and ſinging infamous and ridiculous Songs of the faintheartedneſs and cowardiſe of *Craſſus* more becoming a Woman than a Man. Such was the publick Spectacle: but having in particular aſſembled the Senate of *Seleucia*; he expoſed to them the laſcivious Fable of *Ariſtides* the Mileſian, which indeed had been found among *Ruſtius* his Baggage, from whence he took an ample Subject to declaim againſt the Romans, who even in time of War could not abſtain from uncleanneſs, but brought their Books along with them. The Seleucians upon this took occaſion to admire the Wiſdom of *Æſop* in his Fable of the Wallet, ſeeing that *Surena* carried open in the Pouch before the Senſualities of the Mileſians, and kept ſhup up in that behind

the

the Sybaritick or Effeminate Wantonneſs of the Parthians, bringing along himſelf in his Train, multitudes of Coaches full of Concubines; and his firſt appearance being like that of Hydra, dreadful and terrible; where nothing was to be ſeen but Horſes, and Lances, and Bows, whilſt his tail ended in Cimbals, and Songs, and continual Debauches of Women; not but that *Ruſtius* was to be condemned: but the Parthians are in the wrong to blame what comes from *Miletum*; ſince moſt of the Family of the *Arſacides*, who have been their Kings, were born of Mileſian and Ionian Curtiſans. Whilſt theſe things paſſed, *Orodes* was reconciled with *Artabaſus*, having married his Son *Pacorus* to the Armenians Daughter; which was followed by Feaſtings, Rejoycing, and Debauches. They acted likewiſe Greek Comedies, for *Orodes* was not ignorant of the Greek Tongue, nor of Letters; and for *Artabaſus*, he compoſed both Tragedies, Orations and Hiſtories, part of which have been preſerved to our times. When *Craſſus* Head was brought to the entrance of the Court, they were at Table, and a Comedian, called *Faſon* the *Trallian* was reciting ſome Verſes of the part of *Agave* in the *Bacchides* of *Euripides*, which much delighted the Company. At the ſame inſtant *Sillaces* entred the Room, where they were at Meat; and making a profound Reverence, threw down the Head in the middle of the Hall, which being taken up by the Parthians with ſhouts and general rejoycing: the King commanded the Officers they ſhould make room for *Sillaces* at the Table, which they did: then *Faſon* giving one of the Players upon the Flute his part to play the Funerals of *Pentheus*; and himſelf taking the Head of *Craſſus*, as if he had entred in a fury, began as loud as his voice would reach to ſing theſe Verſes:

From the Chaſe we bring to you,
Tender Veniſon fat and good,
Which was taken in this Wood.

All the Company were pleaſed at this Spectacle, but one accident pleaſed them more; for when at every Couple the Choire anſwered ſinging

'Tis to me the Honour's due.

and that one of the Actors danced to it; *Maxarthes* (for he likewiſe was at the Feaſt) leaped from the Table, and took the Head out of his hands that held it, as having more right to it than any other. Whereupon the King made him Preſents according to the Cuſtom of the Country, and gave *Faſon* a Talent. Thus *Craſſus* his Expedition ended in a Tragedy. However, *Orodes* received ſoon after a puniſhment equal to his cruelty, as *Surena* did firſt, what his ſo many violated Oaths deſerved; for the King ſoon after made him away out of the Envy he bore to his Glory: and for *Orodes*, being fallen ſick of the Dropſie, after that his Son *Pacorus* had been ſlain in fight againſt the Romans, *Phraates* his other Son gave him Poyſon, which the force of the Diſtemper expelled, ſo that the King grew better upon it, whereupon *Phraates* would no more truſt to Poyſon, but taking a ſhorter way ſtrangled his Father.

XIII. Sometime after the Parthian Army marched into *Meſopotamia* whither their

their Captains ſent for *Labienus*, and choſe him General, reſolved under his conduct to invade *Syria*; and carry their Arms as far as *Alexandria*. He accepted the Dignity, and at the head of that Army had already pillaged and ſpoiled all that part of *Aſia*, lying between *Euphrates* and the *Ionian* Sea, when complaints thereof came to *Anthony*, who thereupon took a reſolution to make War upon the Parthians. But being recalled by the prayers and tears of his *Fulvia*, he returned into *Italy*, where having made an Alliance with *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, who was in *Sicily*, he ſent *Ventidius* before into *Aſia* to oppoſe the Parthians, and hinder their further Progreſs, and having for himſelf by the favor of his Friends, obtained the Dignity of high Prieſt, which was held by the defunct *Cæſar*, he ſtayd ſometime in *Rome*, managing in fellowſhip with them the Publick affairs with great Concord. There was at this this time in *Anthony*'s train an Egyptian Aſtrologer who (whether it were to gratifie *Cleopatra*, or that it were ſo indeed) took the boldneſs to tell him, that his fortune was indeed very great and ſplendid, but that it was obſcured by *Cæſars*, counſelling him to keep as far off that young Man as he could; *for* ſaid he to him *your Genius is over awed by his*. This diſcourſe diſpleaſed *Anthony*, however he followed the Egyptians Counſel, and having recommended his affairs to *Cæſar*, came into *Greece*, and ſtayd that Winter at *Athens*, where having advice of the firſt ſucceſs of *Ventidius* Arms, that not only *Labienus* but *Phraates* the greateſt of *Orodes* Captains were ſlain, he made a Solemn Feaſt for the Greeks, and gave them the Divertiſement of Plays and Exerciſes. And afterward being ready to ſet forward to the War, he took a Crown of Sacred Olive, and to ſatisfie a certain Oracle, carried along with him a Jar full of the Water of the Fountain *Clepſydra*. Mean while *Pacorus* the Kings Son, being newly entred *Syria* with a powerful Army, *Ventidius* defeated him at *Cyriſta*. The ſlaughter here was very great, and *Pacorus* himſelf was ſlain fighting in the head of his Army, ſo that this great Victory revenged the loſs the Romans had ſuffered under *Craſſus*, and the Parthians after having been thrice more beaten, were forced to keep within the bounds of *Media* and *Meſopotamia*. *Ventidius* would not purſue them farther, leſt he ſhould contract *Anthony*'s envy, yet whilſt he expected him, he reduced to obedience thoſe Cities, had revolted and held *Antiochus Commagenes* beſieged in *Samoſata* ſo cloſely, that he offered a thouſand Talents, and to refer himſelf to *Anthony*'s diſcretion. He was not now far off, wherefore *Ventidius* thought it beſt that he ſhould ſend Deputies to him that he himſelf might conclude the peace, being well content that *Anthony* ſhould have the preheminence in this affair, leſt he ſhould think *Ventidius* aſſumed to himſelf all the Authority, but the Siege having laſted long, and the beſieged out of deſpair reſuming Courage, *Anthony* was ſatisfied to take up with three hundred Talents, and granted peace to *Antiochus*. Afterward having taken ſome order in the Syrian affairs, he returned to *Athens*, giving *Ventidius* all thoſe teſtimonies of his Eſteem, his Services had merited, and ſent him to *Rome* to receive the Honor of Triumph, and he is the only Roman, who till theſe our times ever Triumphed over the Parthians. He was but of mean Birth, and mounted not to that high degree of Glory, but by the Friendſhip of *Anthony*, which he made ſuch good uſe of, that he confirmed the opinion, that *Anthony* and *Cæſar* ſucceeded more happily by their Lieutenants then by themſelves, for *Soſius* one of *Anthony*'s Captains had done Worthy Actions in *Syria*, ſo had likewiſe *Canidius* in his Station on the Confines of *Armenia*, having overcome the Kings of *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, made his way as far as *Caucaſus*, and gained to the name of *Anthony*, Fame and Honor among the Barbarians.

Phraates

Phraates having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Eſtates of his Father *Crodes* by the Parricide before ſpoken of, many Parthians left the Kingdom, one of which called *Moneſes*, a Man of Eſteem, and Power, addreſſed himſelf to *Anthony*, who comparing the Fortune of this Fugitive with that of *Themiſtocles*, and equalling himſelf to the Perſian Kings both for Riches and Largneſs of Mind, gave him three Cities, *Lariſſa*, *Arethuſa* and *Hierapolis*, formerly called *Bambice*. Afterwards the King having recalled and given him ſecurity for his return; *Anthony* freely diſmiſſed him, that he might flatter *Phraates* with hopes of peace; whilſt himſelf out of a paſſionate deſire he had to recover the Enſigns *Craſſus* had loſt, and the Captives that were yet living, ſends back *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and by the way of *Arabia*, ſets forward towards *Armenia* where he had appointed the Rendevouz of his Forces and thoſe the Kings were to bring him, for there were many Friends and Allies of the Romans of whom *Artabaſus* King of *Armenia*, the moſt conſiderable, furniſhed him with ſixteen thouſand Horſe and ſeven thouſand Foot, ſo that at the Muſter taken when his Army was drawn together, the Roman and Italian Foot, amounted to ſixty thouſand Men, the Spaniſh and *Gaul* Horſe to ten thouſand, and the Auxiliary Forces to thirty thouſand, accounting the Light-armed Horſe and Foot. 'Tis ſaid that all this great preparation, and all theſe Forces, which ſtruck terror into the Bactrians and fartheſt diſtant Indians, proved invalid, by the means of *Cleopatra* only, That *Anthony*, that he might the ſooner ſee her, began the War without ſtaying for a ſeaſon proper for the Execution of his deſigns, that having as it were his underſtanding infatuated, he did all things inconſiderately, and was ſo deeply in love with this Woman that he thought not ſo much of overcoming as of returning ſpeedily to her. For whereas he ought to have let his Army Winter in *Armenia*, the better to refreſh it, tyred as it was with a march of * eight thouſand furlongs, and in the Spring have fallen into *Media*, before the Parthians were in the Field, he could not brook this delay, but ſetting forward with his Troops, and leaving *Armenia* on the left hand, and entring into *Atropacena*, ſpoiled that whole Country, beſides having in his Train three hundred Waggons laden with Engines for Sieges, among which there was one Ram of ſeventy Foot long, which could by no means be repaired if once it were broken, becauſe in thoſe Countries no Materials were to be found, there neither growing any trees long enough, nor Wood hard enough: to the end he might march the ſwifter, he left behind all theſe carriages under the Guard of one Officer with ſome Forces. After which beſieging a great City called *Phraates* in which was the Wife of the King of the Medes, with his Children, he was ſoon ſenſible what a fault he had committed in leaving behind thoſe Engines; yet he attempted to take the City by raiſing Taraſſes againſt the Wall, but this was a work of labor and advanced but ſlowly. XIV.

* *A thouſand Miles.*

Mean while *Phraates* took the Field with a powerful Army to come againſt the Romans, and having intelligence that they had left behind the Waggons and Engines, he ſent a great Body of Horſe, who cut in pieces *Stratianus* and ten thouſand Foot that he Commanded. And after having taken the Engines ſlew a great quantity of others of which number was the King *Polemon*, which diſheartned, and not without reaſon, thoſe who had engaged in *Anthony*'s party, diſmayed at ſo mournful a beginning; Inſomuch that *Artabaſus* King of *Armenia*, who had been the Principal cauſe of this War giving over all thoſe hopes he had conceived of the Romans XV.

mans retired with his Army into his own Country. And now the Parthians having ſent relief into the City with a thouſand injurious threats reviled the Romans, ſo that *Anthony*, that he might not let the courages of his Men cool in the Idleneſs of a Siege, took with him ten Legions, three Prætorian Cohorts and all his Cavalry to go and gather in Proviſions and Forrage, hoping the Enemy would come to oppoſe him, and ſo he might gain an opportunity to Fight. After his firſt days march the Parthians appeared, and he ſeeing that they began to enlarge their Battail round about the Roman Camp with deſign to cut off his way of return, he Commanded to Sound a March, and to pack up the Tents, as if he were preparing to diſcamp, and not to Fight, which done he cauſed his Army to March before the Enemies in form of a Creſcent with Orders to the Cavalry to charge as ſoon as the Vanguard was advanced, that ſo the Legions at the ſame time might come to the Charge. The Parthians mean while admired the Excellent Order of the Roman Army, ſeeing the Soldiers paſs along, keeping their Ranks, and Brandiſhing their Piles without making the leaſt noiſe, but as ſoon as the Signal was given, and the firſt ſhout made, the Roman Horſe preſſed forward to Charge the Parthians, and came in ſo cloſe to them, that they could no more make uſe of their Arrows. Yet they ſtood their ground for ſome time till the Legionary Soldiers runing in with their ſhouts, and the noiſe of their Bucklers, ſo horribly affrighted the Horſes of the Enemy, that they turned Tail without ſtriking blow. *Anthony* hoping that this battel would end the War, or at leaſt give a good ſtroke towards Victory, purſued them hard. But when the Infantry had driven them before them * fifty furlongs, and the Horſe had followed them, thrice as far, and that they found but thirty Priſoners, and not above fourſcore ſlain, their courages fell at the conſideration of how few they had deſtroyed in this victory in compariſon of the Numbers they had loſt at the defence of the Carriages. Next Morning they advanced to go and force *Phraates* his Camp, but meeting in their march at firſt with a few Parthians, after that with a greater Number, and at laſt with the whole Army, who as if they had not been beaten the day before, came to the charge and aſſailed them on all ſides, they with much pains and difficulty recovered their Camp, where the *Medes* whom they beſieged, having ſtormed the Paliſado, and driven off thoſe that defended it, *Anthony* fell into ſuch a paſſion that he decimated all thoſe had quitted their Poſts, he drew them off by Decuries or Tens, and making them draw Lots, condemned the unfortunate to death, and inſtead of Wheat gave only Barley Bread to the reſt. This War was troubleſome to both parties, and each feared more grievous conſequences. For *Anthony* could no longer go abroad to ſeek Proviſion or Forrage without having ſome of his People ſlain or wounded, and *Phraates* who knew well that the Parthians would rather endure any thing than to keep the Field all Winter out of their own Country, was afraid leſt if the Romans continued the War his People would forſake him, the Air already growing cold by reaſon of the Autumnal Equinox. Wherefore he made uſe of this Artifice. Some Parthians known to the Romans, meeting them forraging treated them kindly, letting them go away with their burthens and praiſing their valor which their King himſelf admired, and that with reaſon, for indeed they were the moſt valiant Men in the World, and then by degrees drawing nearer they blamed *Anthony*, that he would not make peace with the King, and ſpare the lives of ſo many brave people, whom he only ſuffered to loſe time, and without giving them opportunity of Fighting made them wait for two

* *Above ſix Miles.*

cruel

cruel Enemies, Famine and Winter, and that in ſuch places as their March would be difficult, though the Parthians themſelves were their Guides. This being ſeveral times reported to *Anthony*, he began to be more tractable; yet he would not ſend to the Parthian, till he had cauſed inquiry to be made of theſe honeſt Barbarians, whether it were by their Kings Order they had ſpoke to the Roman Soldiers: which when they had aſſured it was, conjuring them not to have the leaſt fear or jealouſie, he diſpatched one of his Friends to the King, to demand the * Enſigns and the Captives, that he might not ſeem to be content with an honourable Retreat only; to which anſwer was returned, That he ſhould not ſpeak of that, but that Peace, and a ſafe Retreat ſhould be granted him, on condition he would ſpeedily depart, which he did few days after.

* Taken in Craſſus war.

XVI. Though he were very Eloquent in all Aſſemblies, whether Civil or Military, yet ſhame and ſadneſs would not let him now ſpeak to his Army himſelf. He gave Commiſſion to *Domitius Ænobarbus* to take his place, and to exhort the Soldiers to be couragious; ſome took it ill, thinking he did it in ſcorn; but the greater part knowing the cauſe, the eaſilier compoſed themſelves to his thoughts. As he was deſigning with himſelf to return the way he came through the naked Deſerts, a certain Mardian, of whoſe Courage and Fidelity the Romans had trial in the Fight for defence of the Engines, and who knew the manner of the Parthians living, came to him, and adviſed him to take his March by the Foot of the Mountains, which lay on the right hand, and not to expoſe his Army loaden with Arms, to ſuch infinite numbers of Archers on Horſe-back in Plains ſo vaſt, and without any covert; for that *Phraates* had no other deſign, but to fall upon him, when by fair words he had made him leave his Trenches; and therefore he offered himſelf, both to lead them a ſhorter way, and in which they ſhould find abundance of whatever was neceſſary for the Soldiers. *Anthony* propoſed this in Council, not ſeeming to diſtruſt the Peace agreed on by the Parthians, but telling them he ſhould be well ſatisfied to take a ſhorter way, by which they ſhould find good Villages, and that nothing elſe was to be done, but to take good ſecurity of the Mardian: And he of himſelf deſired he might be bound till they had reached *Armenia*; and thus bound, put himſelf at the Head of the Army, and led them two days without any alarm: but on the third, whilſt *Anthony* thought of nothing leſs than the Parthians; and that upon the aſſurance of the Peace, the Army marched without ſtanding on their Guard, the Mardian eſpying the Bank of a River newly broken, and the way, by which they were to paſs, full of Water; he judged the Parthians had done it to put a ſtop to the Romans, by making difficult the paſſage, and ſhowing it to *Anthony*, adviſed him to prepare to receive the Enemy. The Roman General preſently Martialled his Army, leaving between the Ranks ſpaces for the Darters and Slingers to make their diſcharges. At the ſame time the Parthians appeared, perſwading themſelves they ſhould now compaſs in the Army, and defeat them; but the light-armed Foot drawing off to receive them, charged them ſo briskly, that after many wounds given and taken they retreated; yet for ſeveral times they renewed the skirmiſh, till the Gaul Horſe marched againſt them in a Body, and treated them ſo ſeverely, that the remainder of that day they durſt attempt them no more. *Anthony*, by this aſſault, knowing what he had to do hereafter, made the Army March in Battalia on four Fronts, linining not only the Rear, but likewiſe the Flanks with

Darters and Slingers, and giving Order to the Horſe to repulſe the Enemy, if they came to attack them, but not to purſue them too far, after they had chaſed them back; ſo that the Parthians, after having thus followed them four days with equal loſs, began to give it over, and making the ground of their departure to be the approaching Winter, diſpoſed themſelves on the morrow to leave off the purſuit.

XVII. The day before they were to be gone, one of *Anthonies* Captains, called *Flavius Gallus*, a Valiant and Worthy Man, requeſted a greater number of the Light-armed Foot, for defence of the Rearguard, and ſome part of the Calvalry from the Wings, as if he had ſome brave exploit to put in execution. Having obtained his deſire, he ſet himſelf to chaſe back the Enemies, that came to skirmiſh, not as before, retreating in his Body, as ſoon as he had made them give ground; but charging them home, and obſtinately maintaining the Fight, which being obſerved by thoſe who maintained the Rearguard, they recalled him for fear leſt being divided from the Army, the Enemy ſhould encompaſs him. 'Tis ſaid farther, that *Titius* the Queſtor ſtaid the Enſigns to make him return, reproving him for looſing ſo many brave Men; but that *Gallus* quarrelling with him, and bidding him meddle with his own Affairs, he left him, and joyned with the main Body. *Gallus* charging forward on the Enemy, with two much heat, found himſelf beſet in the Rear, and on all ſides oppreſſed with Showers of Arrows, ſo that he was forced to ſend for aid; in which the Colonels of the Legions, and among the reſt *Canidius*, who had much power with *Anthony*, ſeem to have committed a great fault; for whereas they ought to have marched with all their Force thither, they ſent only ſome few Cohorts; and as thoſe were defeated, others, not obſerving that by this means the Army would by little and little be put to the rout, and had been ſo, if *Anthony* himſelf had not ſpeedily made in with all the Vanguard; but now the third Legion advancing athwart the Flyers, and ſtanding the ſhock of the Enemy, ſtop'd them ſhort, and hindred their paſſing farther. There were no leſs than three thouſand men ſlain in this Engagement, and five thouſand brought off wounded, among whom was *Gallus* thruſt through and through with four Arrows, of which he dyed not long after. *Anthony* went among the Tents to viſit the others, comforting them, and weeping himſelf out of grief and compaſſion; but they rejoycing to ſee him, took him by the hand, and pray'd him to take care of his own health, and not afflict himſelf any more. They called him their Emperour, and told him their wounds were all healed, whilſt they ſaw him well. And indeed, there appears not in all that Age to have been any General that had an Army ſo vigorous, ſo brave, and ſo patient; and if we have regard to the reſpect and obedience they bore him, as well great as ſmall, Officers as Soldiers, and the high account they made of his favour, preferring it before their own ſafety, or their very lives; certainly he yielded to none of the Ancient Romans, and ſurely they were diſpoſed to it by many Motives, by his Nobleneſs, his Eloquence, his Uprightneſs, his Liberality both frequent and great; and by the ſweetneſs of his familiar Converſation: but above all his tenderneſs and compaſſion for the afflicted, and the care he took to ſee them furniſhed with all things neceſſary, made the ſick and wounded almoſt as well ſatisfied, as if they had been well. Now this Victory had ſo raiſed the Enemies hearts, before almoſt tired and deſpairing, that they paſſed that night near the Camp in hopes e'er long to be plun-

dring

ring the Publick Treasure and find the Tents deserted. On the morrow they assembled in far greater Numbers, so that it is thought they could not be less then forty thousand Horse; for the King sent those of his own train one after another, as to an evident and assured victory (for as for himself he never engaged in person.) In the mean time *Anthony* designing to make an Oration to his Soldiers would have put on a sad coloured habit to move the more Compassion, but his Friends diswading him from it, he came to the Assembly in the Habit of General, he praised those had behaved themselves well, and declaimed against those that fled, of whom the first desired him to be of good Courage, and the last having given reasons for their flight offered themselves to be decimated or what other punishment he pleased, so that he would forbear to afflict himself, and to look ill upon them. Thereupon lifting up his eyes to heaven, he besought the Gods, that if any Divinity were jealous of his past happiness, they would let all the miseries wherewith he was threatned to fall upon his own head, and give Victory to the rest of the Army. The next day they again set forward in better Order, so that the hopes of the Parthians who assailed them began to decay, for they thought they were come to Pillage and Plunder and not to fight; but finding themselves stiffly beat back by the Roman Piles, which the Soldiers now discharged with a wonderful Alacrity, they once again were forced to give ground. Yet ceased they not from following the Roman Army, and one day as they galled them with their Arrows, whilst they were descending a little Hill, the Targetiers faced about, and after having received the light Armed Foot into the Ranks, set their Knees to the ground, and Ranging their Bucklers one above another, formed a * Testudo, where the Bucklers rising by degrees Resembled in some measure the Seats of a Theater. And indeed this was an Excellent Rampire against the Arrows for they slid away on both sides the Testudo. The Parthians thinking the Romans were thus set down out of wearinesse, giving over their Bow's came to charge them at Push of Pike, but they Rising all at once and giving a great shout, with their Piles broke the foremost Ranks, and forced the rest to Flight.

* *So called because of its resemblance to a Tortoise shell.*

XVIII. But in the mean time Famine began sorely to oppress the Army, for the Soldiers being continually in Fight, could not range abroad for Provisions, besides there wanted Mills, the greatest part being left behind because either Beasts of Carriage were dead, or imployed to carry the sick and wounded, so that 'tis said a Bushel of Wheat, *Athens* Measure, was sold for fifty Drams, and Barly Bread for its weight in Silver, they were forced at last to eat Roots and Herbs, and because they found but few that were known they were necessitated to make experiment of all they met with, and unhappily fell upon an Herb that caused Madness, and in the conclusion proved death, for as soon as any had eaten of it, they lost their Understanding and Memory, and fell to turning upside down, and removing all the Stones they met with, believing they were at work upon some very serious matter, so that all the Camp was filled with People rooting up, and removing Stones from one place to another, who at last died vomiting of Cholor. Wine was the Cure for this Distemper, but it was not to be had, insomuch that 'tis said *Anthony* seeing so many of his People die, and the Parthians still at his heels, often cryed out, *Oh the ten thousand!* Admiring those ten thousand Men who under the Conduct of *Xenophon* marched a much longer way making their retreat from the Plains of *Babylon* to the Sea without loosing so much as one Man though in their way they

were often assaulted by far greater Numbers of Enemies. The Parthians seeing they could not hinder the Romans March, nor engage them to divide one from the other, and that they had been often beaten, began again to talk civilly to those, went abroad for Corn and Forrage, showing them their unbent Bows and telling them that now they might freely go, and indeed there appeared only some *Medes*, who passed a day or two's march farther, without committing any Act of Hostility, but only under pretence to secure the Towns distant from the great Road. After these Civilities and Fair words, the Romans were somewhat more hearty. *Anthony* himself grew a little pleasant and began to have some inclination for the way of the plain, because it was told him, that there was greater conveniency of Water then in the Mountains. As he had resolved it, one of the Enemies called *Mithridates*, Cousin to that *Monæses* who had fled for refuge to *Anthony*, and to whom he had given three Cities, came to the Camp, and asked for any one that could talk with him, either in the Syrian or Parthian Tongue. *Alexander* of the City of *Antioch* a trusty Friend of *Anthonies* presenting himself, the Parthian after having told him, that what he did was for *Monæses* sake, asked him if he saw far afore those high Mountains that touched one another. He making Answer he saw them well. The Parthians (said the other) lie there in Ambush with all their Forces (for this Plain extends it self as far as those Mountains) and there they wait for you out of hopes that giving credit to their fair words, you will leave your Road to Cross the Plain. In the other way you have nothing to suffer but Labor and Thirst to which you are already accustomed, but if you engage in this, *Anthony* will scarce come better off then *Crassus*. And having said thus much he departed. This being reported to *Anthony* he was afraid, and conferred with his Friends, and with the *Mardian*, whom he found of the same judgment, for he knew that the way of the Plain though there were no Enemy to be feared, was hard to find, and many difficult passes whilst all the inconvenience of the other was want of water only for one days march. Determining therefore to take the way of the Mountains and to depart the same night, Orders were given to the Soldiers to furnish themselves with water, and because the most part wanted Vessels, they filled their Head-pieces and certain skins sewed together. The Army was already set forward, when the Parthians having intelligence of it, contrary to their custom followed them by night. About break of day they came up with the Rearguard, and fell upon them, tired as they were with Travel and want of sleep, for that night the Romans had marched * two hundred and forty Furlongs, and did not believe the Enemy could be so soon upon them, which made them almost loose their Courage, besides their thirst encreased with their Fight, being forced to fight and march together. Mean while the Vanguard met with a River clear and cool, but whose salt and venemous waters, ulcerated the bowels as soon as they were drunk, and provoked an intolerable thirst. The *Mardian* had given notice to the Soldiers of it, but that could not hinder them, though he forbad it never so much from drinking. *Anthony* himself came amongst them, and conjured them to have yet a little patience, shewing them that they were not far from another River where they might drink, and that henceforward the way was craggy and unaccessible for Horse, and therefore the Enemy must of necessity retire; at the same time he caused the Retreat to be Sounded, that at least the Soldiers might a little refresh themselves in the shade.

* *Thirty Miles, a thing almost incredible though so good an Historian write it.*

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As they pitch'd their Tents, and that the Parthians were retired, according to their Cuſtom. *Mithridates* came again, and *Alexander* going out to meet him, he adviſed him to raiſe the Camp, after the Army had never ſo little refreſhed themſelves, and to march with all the ſpeed they could paſt the other River, for that was the bounds of the Parthians, beyond which they wonld not go. This advice being brought to *Anthony*, he ſent to the Parthians by *Alexander* Cups and Veſſels of Gold, of which he took as much as his Coat would cover. The reſt of this days March was without any Alarm, but the night following was troubled by the Romans themſelves, who made it both hurtful and dangerous; for they killed thoſe who had any Gold or Silver to rob them, plundered the publick Treaſury loaden on the Beaſts of Carriage, and at laſt, *Anthony*'s own Equipage, even to his neceſſary Veſſels and Tables of ineſtimable price, which the Thieves broke in pieces, and divided amongſt them, that occaſioned ſo great a tumult, and ſo ſtrange an affright (for they thought the Enemy already maſter of the Baggages) that *Anthony* having called to him one of his Guards, named *Ramnus*, who was his freed Man, he forced him to promiſe him upon Oath to run him through with his Sword, as ſoon as he ſhould command it, and to cut off his Head, leſt he ſhould fall into the power of the Enemy, or be known when he was dead. This diſcourſe having drawn tears from *Anthony*'s Friends: The Mardian came to intreat him to take Courage, by telling him, that by a certain moiſt and freſh Wind very pleaſant to the Noſtrils, he knew well they were not for from the River, which he gueſſed beſides by the length of the way they had gone; and the time (for the night was far ſpent) At the ſame time they brought him word, that all the Tumult was occaſioned by the avarice of the Soldiers, who had plundered one another; wherefore that he might put in order this troubled and diſperſed multitude, he made a halt; about break of day, the Tumult being quite calmed, every one began to fall into his Rank, when on a ſudden the Rearguard felt the Parthian Arrows; the Light-armed Foot was preſently commanded out, and the Targetiers, as before, formed a Teſtudo againſt the Enemies ſhot, who durſt not approach them too nigh. At laſt, having fought in this manner for ſome little way, the Vanguard perceived the River, where being arrived, the Horſe was ſent out againſt the Parthians, and they began to paſs over the ſick. The Fight by little and little grew colder, for the Parthians at the ſight of the River unbent their Bows, telling the Romans they might paſs without any fear, and highly commending their Courage: When they were got on the other ſide, they repoſed themſelves at leiſure, then ſet forward on their March, not confiding too much in the words of the Parthians; and ſix days after their laſt Fight, they arrived on the Banks of *Araxis*, a River which divides *Media* from *Armenia*, they thought it both deep and rapid; and there was a rumour ſpread, that the Enemy was coming to encounter them at their paſſage: but after they had happily croſſed it, and ſaw themſelves in ſecurity, in the Territories of *Armenia*, as if they had gained a Port after a Storm; they adored the Earth, embracing one another, and weeping for joy; yet it happened, that coming into a Country abundant in all things, after ſo long a ſcarcity, they ſo overcharged their Stomachs, that many of them fell ſick, either of the Dropſie or Colick. *Anthony*, out of danger, took a Muſter of his Army, and found that he had loſt in this Expedition twenty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, of which more than half dyed of ſickneſs. Since his

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his departure from about *Phraates* till this time, he had made ſeven and twenty days March without reſting, during which he had fought eighteen times againſt the Parthians with advantage: But theſe Victories were to no purpoſe; for not being able to purſue the Enemies far after he had routed them, they remained imperfect. Now it is firmly believed, that *Artabaſus*, King of *Armenia*, was the cauſe that *Anthony* gained not an abſolute Victory; for had he had with him the ſixteen thouſand Horſe armed after the manner of the Parthians, and accuſtomed to fight with them, which that King led back out of *Media*, the Parthians ſo many times overcome, could never have rallied, becauſe that after the Romans had routed them, the Armenians following the chaſe, had made it a perfect Victory. Wherefore all men adviſed *Anthony* to puniſh *Artabaſus*; but he thought he did more prudently, not to reproach him with his perfidiouſneſs. On the contrary, he remitted nothing of the Honour and Civity he uſually ſhewed him, becauſe he ſaw his Army weak, and in a tyred condition: but making another Voyage into *Armenia*, he obliged him by fair words to come and meet him; and having arreſted him, led him Captive to *Alexandria*, whither he entred in Triumph, which much diſpleaſed the Romans, who were vexed that he communicated the Honours of their Cities to the Egyptians: but this happened in the time of the Declination of the Republick. After this, the Kings of the Medes and Parthians quarrelled about the Roman Spoils; wherefore the Median ſeeing himſelf the weakeſt, and fearing to looſe his Kingdom, ſent to *Anthony* to engage him to begin the War afreſh, offering him to that effect his Forces, and his Alliance. Upon theſe offers the Roman conceived great hopes, becauſe he believed that to have ſubdued the Parthians, he wanted nothing but Archers and Horſemen, which now offered of themſelves: he was therefore reſolved to paſs into *Armenia*, with deſign to make a conjunction of his Forces, with thoſe of the Mede on the Banks of *Araxes*; and ſo go together to make War upon the Parthians; but being prevented by the diſſentions of *Octavius* and *Cleopatra*, he referred this Expedition to another Seaſon, though 'tis ſaid the Parthians were at this time divided among themſelves. He notwithſtanding once afterwards returned to *Media*, where having contracted an Alliance and Friendſhip with that King, he demanded one of his Daughters, whom he married to one of his Sons he had by *Cleopatra*; and that done, he returned, becauſe of the Civil Wars, which now began to break out into a flame.

The End of the Parthian War.

APPIAN

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Wars
WITH
MITHRIDATES.

PART I.

BOOK IV.

The Argument of this Book.

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I. MIthridates being dead, after having maintained War againſt the Romans for two and forty years; they added to their Empire *Bithynia*, *Caappdocia*, and all the Neighbouring Nations bordering on the *Euxine* Sea: and as the putting an end to this War, raiſed their Courage; ſo they ſubdued, as a conſequence to it, all the reſt of *Cilicia*; the Provinces of *Syria*, which are *Phœnicia*, *Cœloſyria* and *Paleſtine*, with all the Upland nigh the *Euphrates*, which were never poſſeſſed by *Mithridates*: They impoſed Tributes preſently on ſome of theſe people, but ſubjected not others to it, till ſome time after. As for *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Phrygia*, the *Myſia* contiguous to it, together with *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, and other parts of *Aſia*, which depended on the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, with the old *Greece* and *Macedon*, of which *Mithridates* was ſeiſed, they reduced them under their obedience, and impoſed Tributes on ſeveral Nations, that had never before paid them any. 'Tis for theſe Reaſons (as I imagine) they eſteemed this War of ſuch importance to them, that they termed this Victory ſo Magnificent; and that they gave (which remains to this our age) that General, under whoſe Conduct they had performed all theſe brave Actions, the firname of Great, becauſe of the great numbers of Provinces, he either reſtored to their Empire, or added by Conqueſt: beſides, alſo for the length of this War, and the Generoſity of *Mithridates*, who was both powerful and indefatigable, (as he ſufficiently made appear) for he had more than four hundred Ships of his own,

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and hath ſomteimes had in Arms fifty thouſand Horſe, and two hundred and fifty thouſand Foot, with all Engines of War, and Arms neceſſary for ſo great a Multitude. He was likewiſe ſupported by the Kings and Soveraigns of *Armenia*, *Scythia*, and all thoſe Nations inhabiting from *Pontus*, and the *Palus Mæotis* to the Thracian *Boſphorus*. He was ſent likewiſe to make Alliance with ſome of the principal men of *Rome*, who were then engaged in a troubleſome Civil War, and ſome of which had ſieſed on *Spain*, he treated with the Gauls, that on that ſide he might deſturb *Italy*. He likewiſe filled the Sea from *Gallicia* to the Pillars of *Hercules* with Pyrates, who diſturbing Navigation, and hindring Traffick between the Cities, cauſed for a long time great ſcarcity of Proviſions. In ſhort, he did and attempted all that was poſſible. Inſomuch, that all the people, from the Eaſt to the Weſt, found themſelves concerned in theſe Commotions; for either they were in Arms themſelves, or ſent Auxiliary Troops, or were tormented by the Corſaires, or by their Neighbours, or elſe for their Neighbours ſakes: So many different intereſts there were in this War. The Romans alone gain'd advantage by it: For after it was finiſhed, they extended their Empire from the Weſt, as far as *Euphrates*. I could not poſſibly divide by Provinces what paſſed in each, becauſe the moſt conſiderable Actions were done at the ſame time, and are link'd one within another: But I have treated of them apart where ever they would admit of a ſeparation.

The Greeks are of opinion, that the Thracians, who went to the Wars of *Troy* under *Rhæſus* (their Captain being by night ſlain by *Diomedes*, as *Homer* ſays) retired themſelves to the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, where there is but a ſmall ſtrait to paſs over into *Thrace*; but for want of Shiping, a part of them ſtaid there, and called the Country *Bebrycia*; and the reſt paſs'd over above *Byzantium*, to the place where the Bithynian Thracians inhabit, near the River *Bithyas*; from whence being forced by Famine, they returned to *Bebricia*, whoſe name they changed, and called it *Bithynia*, from the name of the River they had left, and that name did perpetuate in their Deſcendants, there not being very great difference between *Bithynia* and *Bebricia*. This is the opinion of ſome: Others ſay that *Bithys*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Thrace*, was the firſt King of *Thrace* and *Bithynia*, who gave names to theſe Regions. I was willing to ſay thus much of *Bithynia*, by way of Preface; and I believe it likewiſe neceſſary, being writing the Roman Hiſtory, to ſay ſomewhat of the nine and forty Kings that Reigned in this Kingdom, before the Romans became Maſters of it. *Pruſias*, ſirnamed the Hunter, had married the Siſter of *Perſeus*, King of *Macedon*. However, when the War happened between the Romans, and his Wives Brother, he remained Neuter; and yet after *Perſeus* was taken Priſoner, he went and preſented himſelf before the Roman Captains, (in his Gown and Slippers, with a Hat on, and his Head ſhaven, juſt like thoſe Slaves, to whom their Maſters had given liberty by will; and to all this ridiculous dreſs, he had a villanous aſpect, and was very low of ſtature) when he came near the Captains, he told them in Latin, *I am the freed man of the people of* Rome: at which they burſt out in a laughter, and ſent him to the City, and he appearing the ſame ridiculous Creature at *Rome*, obtained favour. Not long after, being fallen at variance with *Attalus*, King of that part of *Aſia*, which lyes about *Pergamus*, he in hoſtile manner invaded his Country; which being come to the Senates knowledge, Deputies were ſent to him, forbidding him to proceed any

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farther in a War againſt *Attalus*, Friend and Allie of the people of *Rome*; and when he ſeemed ſomewhat unwilling to obey the Deputies, vigorouſly charged him, either to comply with the Orders of the Senate, or come only with a thouſand Horſe upon the Frontier, where *Attalus* expected him with a like number to decide the difference by Combat; he deſpiſing the ſmall numbers that were with *Attalus*, and hoping by this means eaſily to defeat him, ſent ſome of his before to give notice, that he would be ſuddenly at the place appointed with his thouſand Horſe: but he came with his whole Army, as if he were to give Battel. *Attalus*, and the Roman Commiſſaries, who had intelligence of it, eſcaping ſeveral ways, he came and took their Baggage, which they were forced to leave behind, and went and beſieged a City, called *Nicephoria*, took it, raſed it, and ſet fire on their Temples. After which he purſued *Attalus* ſo cloſe, that he block'd him up in *Pergamus*. Hereupon the Senate ſent other Commiſſaries, who ordered him to pay all the damages *Attalus* had ſuſtained in this War, which ſo terrified him, that he obeyed, retired, and for intereſt delivered up immediately to *Attalus* twenty Ships with Decks, and agreed to pay him at a certain day, five hundred Talents of Silver, according to the Order of the Commiſſaries. He was very cruel, and therefore hated by his Subjects; but his Son *Nicomede* was extremely beloved, wherefore his Father growing jealous, ſent him to ſojourn at *Rome*; from whence, hearing that he was there likewiſe in good eſteem, he gave him Commiſſion to demand of the Senate a releaſe of the money he ſtill owed to *Attalus*. He had ſent *Menas* to aſſiſt him in the ſoliciting the Affair, with private Order to ſay nothing to his Son, if it were granted; but if it were denyed, to kill him in the City; and to favour his retreat, after the Murder, he cauſed to lye ready near unto *Rome* ſome Ships with two thouſand Soldiers. *Menas* ſeeing the releaſe would not be granted, (becauſe *Andronicus* ſent by *Attalus* to oppoſe the Demand, had made it appear that the ſum adjudged came far ſhort of the damages he had ſuſtained) and that on the other ſide *Nicomedes* was much eſteemed at *Rome*, knew not what to reſolve on. He durſt neither undertake to kill him, nor to return into *Bithynia*. In ſhort, he ſtaying at *Rome* after his Commiſſion was expired, the young Prince came to ſee him, at which he was not at all diſpleaſed. They conſpired againſt *Pruſias*, and aſſociated in the conſpiracy *Andronicus*, the Envoy of *Attalus*, to the end he might perſwade his Maſter to aſſiſt *Nicomedes*, and to put him in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Bithynia*. They came to this end together to *Bernice*, a little City of *Epire*, where meeting together on board by night to conſult what they had to do, after the Conference they parted every one to his own Ship. Morning being come, *Nicomede* appeared on the Hatches, in a Purple Robe, with a Diadem round his Head, after the manner of Kings. *Andronicus* goes to him, and ſalutes him in the Quality of King, and with five hundred Soldiers he had there, joyns himſelf to his Train. *Menas* ſeems ſurpriſed, as if he had not known of *Nicomedes* being there, and conferring with his two thouſand Soldiers, ſeems at firſt extremely enraged; but after ſome diſcourſe, *Of two Kings which we have* (ſaid he) *the one is at home, the other is abroad, wherefore conſider what you are to do for the future, and conſider well, ſince on this opportunity depends your ſafety. I am of the opinion we ought to ſtick to him, who is likelieſt to become Maſter; one is old, the other young; one is hated by the Bithynians, they deſire the other; the moſt conſiderable perſons of* Rome *love the young Man*; Andronicus, *who has joyned with him, promiſes the aſſiſtance of King* Attalus, *the next Neighbour*

bour to Bithynia, *a powerful and ancient Enemy of* Pruſias. To this he added the cruelty of the old King, the violences he had committed, the indignities he had done to an infinite number of people: and in ſhort, the publick hatred. And perceiving that the Soldiers did, as well as himſelf, abhorr his Crimes, he led them to *Nicomedes*, and was the next after *Andronicus* that ſaluted him King, and ſubmitted to him with his two thouſand Men. *Attalus* gladly received this young Prince, who went forthwith to him, and ſent to ſummon *Pruſias* to give his Son ſome Cities for his Reſidence, and ſome Lands for his Maintenance. He made anſwer, That he would e'er long give him all *Attalus* his Kingdom, to the Conqueſt of which, he was already come into *Aſia*: And therewithal ſends to *Rome*, to make complaint of *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*, and to cite them to judgement. But *Attalus* entred immediately into *Bithynia*, with thoſe Forces he had in readineſs, where by little and little, all the people declared for *Nicomedes*. As for *Pruſias*, not truſting in any perſon, and hoping the Romans would diſingage him of this Affair, he obtained from *Digilles* the Thracian, his Father-in-law, five hundred Soldiers, with whom he confided the guard of his perſon, and ſhut himſelf up in the Fortreſs of *Nicea*. The Deputies of *Pruſias* being come to *Rome*, the Pretor of the City, for ſome time, delay'd their Audience, becauſe he favoured *Attalus* his concerns. At length having introduced them into the Senate, he had Orders to make choice of three Commiſſioners to put an end to this War. He choſe three, of which one having formerly received a blow on the Head with a Stone, the Scars ſtill remained, which made his Viſage deformed; the ſecond was lame of his Feet; and the third was little better than a Fool; which made *Cato*, ſcoffing at this Deputation, ſay, That it had neither Head, Feet, nor Soul. The Commiſſaries being gone to *Bithynia*, ordered the Kings to lay down their Arms, upon which *Nicomedes* and *Attalus* made a ſhew of yielding to the Authority of the Senate: but the Bithynians, whom they had ſuborned, loudly declared, That they ſhould never be able to undergo the cruelty of *Pruſias*, eſpecially now he had known their averſion to him: wherefore, becauſe the Senate had yet heard nothing of theſe complaints, and ſo the Commiſſaries could have no Orders concerning them, they returned without doing any thing. *Pruſias* ſeeing himſelf fruſtrated of the Romans aſſiſtance, on the reliance of which he had made no preparations, retired to *Nicomedia*, a very ſtrong place, where he reſolved to ſuſtain a Siege; but the Inhabitants betrayed their King, opening the Gates, and letting in *Nicomedes* and his Army; and *Pruſias* taking Sanctuary in the Temple of *Jupiter*, was ſlain by orders of his Son. Thus *Nicomedes* began to Reign in *Bithynia*, inſtead of his Father. After him his Son *Nicomedes*, ſirnamed *Philopator* ſucceeded, and was confirmed in his Kingdom by Decree of the Senate. Such was the State of Affairs in *Bithynia*; and if any deſire to know more, the Grand-child of this laſt, called likewiſe *Nicomedes*, by his laſt Will and Teſtament, appointed the people of *Rome* Heir to this Kingdom.

III. As for what concerns *Cappadocia*, I cannot certainly ſay upon whom it depended before the time of the Macedonians, whether it had particular Kings, or were a Province of *Darius* his Kingdom: But it is likely that *Alexander*, going to War againſt *Darius*, left theſe people Tributary under their own Princes, becauſe we find that he reſtored *Amiſa*, a City which had been a Colony of the Athenians, to a popular admini-

ſtration, according to the Cuſtom of the Anceſtors. The Hiſtorian *Hieronymus* ſays, He did not ſo much as come near theſe Nations; and that to encounter *Darius*, he took his March nearer the Sea by *Pamphilia* and *Cilicia*. *Perdiccas*, who commanded the Macedonians after *Alexander*, took *Ariarathes*, Governour of *Cappadocia*, and hanged him; whether it were for revolting, or to reduce that Country under the Macedonian Dominion, I know not. He gave to *Eumenes* of *Cardis* the Government of that Province, who having been ſlain for ſhaking off the Macedonian Yoke; *Antipater*, who had the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of *Macedon* after *Perdiccas*, ſent *Nicanor Satrapas* into *Cappadocia*. Some time after diſſenſion happening among the Macedonians themſelves, *Antigonus* drove *Laomedon* out of his Government of *Syria*, and ſeiſed it. Now he had for his particular Friend, *Mithridates* of the Blood Royal of *Perſia*, and once ſleeping, he dream'd that he ſowed Gold in a Field, and *Mithridates* gathered it, and carryed it to *Pontus*, upon which he made him Priſoner, and would have put him to death, but he eſcaped, accompanied only with ſix Horſemen, and fortifying himſelf in a certain Village of *Cappadocia*, many others came in to him, and whilſt the Macedonians were engaged in other Affairs, made himſelf Maſter of *Cappadocia*, and all the Nations neighbouring on *Pontus*. At length having mightily extended his Dominion, he left to his Children a great ſcope of Country, over which they Reigned one after another, till this *Mithridates*, who had War with the Romans. But both the Kingdoms of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, having been joyntly poſſeſſed by the Succeſſors of the firſt *Mithridates*; it is of importance to know how they came divided, and who were Kings of *Pontus*, and who of *Cappadocia*. The firſt, under whom the change began, was *Mithridates Euergetes*, who only ſtiled himſelf King of *Pontus*, hating the Cappadocians, and treating them like a conquered Country. He had made an Alliance with the people of *Rome*, and did effectually ſend them Auxiliary Shipping againſt the Carthaginians. There ſucceeded him his Son of the ſame name, with two ſirnames, *Eupator* and *Dionyſius*, whom the Romans commanded to quit *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, who had put himſelf under the protection of the people of *Rome*, and ſeemed to have more right to that Kingdom than the other. It's poſſible too, that being jealous of the greatneſs of *Mithridates* Monarchy, they were glad of this pretence to divide it. However it were, the King obey'd. But *Socrates*, ſirnamed *Chreſtus* (Brother of *Nicomedes*, the Son of the firſt *Nicomedes*, and Grandchild to *Pruſias*, the ſame that had been confirmed in his Kingdom of *Bithynia* by the Decree of the Senate) having ſome controverſie with his Brother, was aſſiſted by *Mithridates*, who ſent him with an Army into *Bithynia*, where he ſeiſed on the Kingdom, and at the ſame time *Mithraas* and *Bagoas*, having driven *Ariobarzanes* out of the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, wherein the Romans had eſtabliſhed him, placed *Ariarathes* in his ſtead. So that the Romans found themſelves obliged to reſtore *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* each to his Kingdom. To this purpoſe they ſent their Commiſſaries, of whom *Manius Aquilius* was the Chief, and gave Orders to *L. Caſſius*, who commanded in that part of *Aſia*, with a little Army to aſſiſt them; and likewiſe gave the ſame commands to *Eupator* himſelf: but he, who had ſtill a pretence to *Cappadocia*, and remembred that not long ſince the Romans had deſpoiled him of *Phrygia* (as we have ſaid in our Hiſtory of the Affairs of *Greece*) would not concern himſelf. However, *Caſſius* and *Manius* with thoſe Forces *Caſſius* had, and what they could raiſe in *Phrygia*, re-eſtabliſhed *Nicomedes* in *Bithynia*, and

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Ariobarzanes in *Cappadocia*, and afterwards counselled them both to make incursions into *Mithridates* his Country, and to pick with him any occasion of War, assuring them that the Romans assistance should not be wanting; yet neither of them durst attempt so powerful an Enemy: but when the Commissaries again pressed them to it; *Nicomedes*, who owed a great sum of Money to the Commissaries, and the Captains, by the agreement made for his re-establishment; and had likewise formerly taken up great sums at interest from the Romans setled in *Asia*, who now called them in, invaded (as it were whether he would or no) the Territories of *Mithridates*, pillaging all as far as the Gates of the City of *Amestris*, without any opposition. For though the King of *Pontus* had very good Forces ready, yet he still gave ground, that he might make his tale the better.

But *Nicomedes* being returned with a booty of inestimable value, *Mithridates* sent *Pelopidas* to the Roman Captains and Commissaries, and though he knew they wished for the War, and had been the cause of this invasion, he took no notice of it, expecting greater and more worthy causes of the War that was preparing. He gave him in charge only to speak of that Friendship and Alliance he and his Father had with the People of *Rome*. But (said *Pelopidas*) *instead of Protecting him, you have taken from him* Phrygia *and* Cappadocia, *of which this last was the inheritance of his predecessors, and left to him by succession from his Father; and the other the recompense of his Victory over* Aristonicus, *a recompense he received from your General, or rather which he bought with his mony; and now you suffer* Nicomedes *to stop up his passage from* Pontus, *and spoil all his Country as far as the Gates of* Amestris. *Not but that the King was as you know sufficiently powerful, and too well prepared to resist him, but he would have you eye witnesses of what has passed. And now you have seen it,* Mithridates *your Friend and Allie, begs you in quality of his Friends and Allies (for those are the Terms of the Treaty) to succour those* Nicomedes *thus wrongs, or at least impeach his farther violence.* To this the Deputies from *Nicomedes* made Answer. *That it was not at this instant only, that* Mithridates *had laid Ambushes for him, that he had made* Socrates *his Brother to enter in Hostile manner into his Kingdom, who but for him had been quiet, and yielded to the right of Primogeniture in his Elder Brother. 'Tis most true Gentlemen* (said the Chief of this deputation) Mithridates *alone stirr'd up that young Man to make War against him, whom the Senate and People of* Rome *had made King of* Bithynia; *To whom do you think this injury was meant more than to you? and though by your Edict the Kings of* Asia *are forbid to meddle with* Europe, *he with the same injustice has seised several places in the* Chersonesus; *all these Actions are but Signals of the violence he intends to you. You may if you please wait for the effects; for what mean his great preparations as if the War were already Declared? Why so many Auxiliary Troops of Thracians, Scythians, and so many other Neighboring Nations? He allies himself with the King of* Armenia, *sends Agents into* Egypt *and* Syria *to solicite the Alliance of those Kings, has already three hundred Ships of War fitted, and is still building more, having fetcht from* Phœnicia *and* Egypt *Mariners and Pilots; such mighty preparations are never made against* Nicomede, *but against you. He is exceeding angry too, that having bought* Phrygia *of one of your Generals, that suffered himself to be over-reacht, you have commanded him to restore it as goods unjustly got. And as much vexed he is that you have given* Cappadocia *to* Ariobarzanes, *and fearing lest your power should encrease from day to day, the complaints he makes to you, serve him*

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him only for a pretence to Arm, and assault you as soon as he shall find an occasion, but it will be your wisdom not to stay till he openly declares himself your Enemy. Consider more his actions, than his words; and for pretences of feigned friendship, do not forsake your true friends, nor suffer those ordinances you have made concerning our Kingdoms to be scorned, and made invalid by one that is a common Enemy to us both.

After the Deputy had thus spoken, *Pelopidas* again desired the Romans to be judges of the complaints made by *Nicomedes*. *And for what remains* (said he) *you see the present State of Affairs, how* Mithridates *Dominion is lessened, the entrance of the Sea stopt against him, infinite Spoils carried off his Lands. But we intreat you a second time Gentlemen, either hinder* Mithridates *from being thus wrong'd, either defend him from oppression, or suffer him to defend himself without perplexing your affairs.* *Pelopidas* spoke this so sternly, that though before they had resolved to support *Nicomedes*, yet now they would hearken to them both as Judges, and because they had some respect for *Pelopidas* words, and could not reproach *Mithridates* with any breach of Alliance, they stuck at it a little, but after long Consultation they at last Answered in these terms; *We will neither have* Nicomedes *to offend* Mithridates, *nor suffer any to make War upon* Nicomedes, *for we judge it the interest of the Commonwealth not to suffer him to be wronged.*

V. After they had pronounced this sentence, *Pelopidas* would have rejoyned, as not thinking it reasonable; but they made him depart the Assembly. Wherefore *Mithridates* manifestly wrong'd by the Romans sent his Son *Ariarathes* with a Powerful Army to seise upon the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, who presently drove thence *Ariobarzanes*, and setled himself in his place. Whereupon *Pelopidas* going once more to the Commissaries, spoke to them in this manner.

The Oration of *Pelopidas*.

You have lately been told, Gentlemen, *with what patience* Mithridates *suffered* Phrygia *and* Cappadocia *to be taken from him contrary to all Reason: You made no account of the injuries done by* Nicomedes, *even in your sight; and when we had recourse to your Friendship and Alliance, you Answered us rather like Men accused than Accusers, That your Republique would not have any injury done to* Nicomedes, *as if any one had done it. You then are the cause, if there hath lately passed any thing in* Cappadocia *to the prejudice of your Republique; for the disdain wherewith you treated us, and your scornful Answers obliged* Mithridates *to what he has done, and he is now sending Deputies to your Senate to complain of you. Therefore if you please, find some body to plead your cause; but he conjures you not to attempt any thing which is not resolved on by the common consent of the Senate and People of* Rome, *and to think of the importance of this War. Consider that the Kingdom he holds by Succession from his Father, is* * *twenty thousand Furlongs in length, and that he hath added to it, many Neighboring Nations, and among others* Colchis *full of Warlike People, of Greeks that inhabit on the* Euxine *Sea, and of Barbarians confining on them. That he has Friends ready at his Service, Scythians, Taures, Basternes, Thracians, Sarmatians, and in short all*

* 2500 miles.

all the people near Tanais, Iſter, *and the* Palus Mæotis; *that* Tigranes *King of* Armenia *is his Son in Law, and* Arſaces *King of the Parthians, his Friend: in concluſion, that he has a mighty power of Shipping, all either fitted or almoſt ready with all their Gang. Beſides, the* Bithynians *told you no lie in what they ſaid of the Kings of* Egypt *and* Syria, *for it's very likely if the War once begin, they will declare for us, and not only they, but your Provinces of* Aſia, Greece *and* Africa. *As for* Italy, *the moſt part of it not able to ſuffer your boundleſs Avarice is already revolted: and certainly it is matter of amazement to all the World, that not being yet able to ſuppreſs that War, you undertake* Mithridates *by ſetting on Foot intrigues, ſometimes with* Nicomedes, *ſometimes with* Ariobarzanes, *whilſt yet you make profeſſion to be our Friends and Allies; but it is only in appearance you are ſo, for in effect you treat us like Enemies. And if what has paſt diſpleaſe you, give better Orders for the future, prevent* Nicomedes *from farther offending your Friends; which if you do, I promiſe you on the behalf of King* Mithridates, *his Arms and Aſſiſtance againſt your Allies in* Italy *which have revolted. If not, break off that ſpecious and vain Friendſhip, or let us go to* Rome *and plead our Cauſe.*

After *Pelopidas* had finiſhed this Diſcourſe, the Romans thinking it too inſolent, Replyed, *That they forbad* Mithridates *from attempting any thing againſt* Nicomedes, *and ordained him to quit* Cappadocia *in which they would take care to reeſtabliſh* Ariobarzanes. As for *Pelopidas*, they enjoyned him a ſpeedy departure, no more to return unleſs the King diſpoſed himſelf to do what they deſired.

With this Anſwer he was ſent away, but under a good guard, that by the way he might not corrupt any Perſon; and forthwith without expecting from the Senate and People of *Rome*, their advice upon a War of ſuch Importance, the Romans aſſembled all the Forces they could draw together in *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and * *Gallogrecia* of *Aſia*. The Army which *P. Craſſus* commanded and deſigned for the guard of *Aſia* being in a readineſs, and all the Auxiliary Troops drawn to a head, they divided themſelves into three bodies. *Caſſius* went and encamped on the Confines of *Bithynia* and *Galatia*; *Manius* in the paſſage by which *Mithridates* might enter *Bithynia*; and *Q. Oppius* on the Frontiers of *Cappadocia*: being all together about forty thouſand Men Foot and Horſe. They had likewiſe a Fleet commanded by *Minucius Rufus* and *C. Populius* to guard the mouth of the *Pontus*. Beſides, *Nicomedes* was likewiſe in Arms, to ſecond them with fifty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, all in good order. As for *Mithridates*, his Army alone conſiſted of two hundred and fifty thouſand Foot, and forty thouſand Horſe. He had three hundred Ships of War, and three hundred Gallies, with all Stores, and Ammunition neceſſary for ſo great a Fleet and Army. Two brothers called *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus* had the Command of all theſe Forces in quality of his Lieutenant Generals, but the King had his eye upon all, and did many things himſelf. As for the Auxiliary Troops, *Archathias* his Son brought him ten thouſand Horſe out of *Armenia* the Leſs. *Dorilaus* Commanded the Phalanxes, and *Craterus* one hundred and thirty Chariots armed with Scythes. Such were the preparations on both ſides, when at firſt *Mithridates* and the Romans Armed againſt each other, which was about the hundred ſixty ſixth Olympiad. The firſt Engagement was near the River *Amnie*, in a ſpacious plain, where *Nicomedes*, and *Mithridates* Generals

* *Galatia*

met.

met. As ſoon as they diſcovered one the other, they drew into Battalia. *Nicomedes* had all his Forces; but *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus* had only their light Armed Souldiers, and *Arcathias* Horſe, with ſome Chariots: for the groſs of the Army was a great way diſtant, wherefore they eſpying a Rock in the middle of the plain, ſent to poſſeſs it, that they might not be incloſed by the Bithynians, who were much the greater number. Thoſe they ſent being driven back, *Neoptolemus* was more then ever in fear of being encompaſſed; wherefore he poſted in with all ſpeed poſſible making *Arcathias* do the like. *Nicomedes* who knew him came to meet him, and now began a bloody battel, wherein the Bithynians proved the ſtronger, and put their Enemies to the Rout; but as they preſſed home upon them, *Archelaus* wheeling about from the left Wing, came and charged thoſe in the Rear, who thought they had been Victorious, and as ſoon as he had made them face about, gave ground, that *Neoptolemus* might have time to Rally, as ſoon as he knew he was again in a Poſture, he renewed the charge, and the Chariots Armed with Scythes being violently driven into the Enemies ſquadrons, cauſed a ſtrange diſorder, ſome they cut through the middle of the body, and tore others in quarters, which extreamly terrified the Bithynians: for they ſaw the one half of Men ſtill breathing, the trunks of bodies and other members hooked faſt, and drawn along by the Chariots, ſo that the horrour of theſe ſpectacles daunting them more then the fight it ſelf, fear ſieſed them, and begot a wonderful hurly-burly in the Ranks. However though *Archelaus* preſſed upon them on one ſide, and *Neoptolemus* and *Arcathias* were rallied on the other, they took heart, and facing both ways defended themſelves generouſly for a good ſpace, till ſuch time as *Nicomedes* after a dreadful ſlaughter of his Men fled with the reſt to *Paphlagonia*. After this Victory (in which *Mithridates* Phalanx was not concern'd) *Nicomedes* Camp fell into the Victors power who found therein good ſtore of Silver, and took a great Number of Priſoners, whom the King treated kindly, ſending them home to their houſes, and giving them Money to bear their charges that he might make his Clemency known to his Enemies themſelves. But if *Mithridates* rejoyced at this firſt ſucceſs, the Roman Generals were no leſs ſtartled at it. They began to perceive they had kindled this important War without the Senates Orders, with more Raſhneſs then Prudence; They obſerved how great Numbers of theirs had been defeated by a handful of Men, who had neither aſſiſtance from any advantage of ground, or any miſcarriage in the Bithynians, but only by the vertue of the Leaders and Valour of the Soldiers.

VII. After this, *Nicomedes* retired into *Manius* Camp; and *Mithridates* encamped on Mount *Scoroba*, which ſeparates *Pontus* and *Bithynia*. One day his Scouts which were a hundred *Sarmatian* Horſe, met with eight hundred of *Nicomedes* Men, of whom they took many Priſoners, whom *Mithridates* ſent likewiſe into their Country, after furniſhing them with wherewithal to live by the way. Another time as *Manius* retreated, *Nicomedes* being gone to find out *Caſſius*, *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanes* the *Armenian* purſued him, and about the * ſeventh hour overtook him at a Village called *Pachia*, and forced him to fight: he had four thouſand Horſe, and ten times as many Foot of whom they killed ten thouſand, and took three hundred priſoners whom *Mithridates*, cauſed to be brought before him, and then diſmiſſed as he had done the others, that he might gain the hearts of his Enemies. *Manius* loſt all his Baggage, and flying along the ſide of the

* One a Clock.

River

River *Sangara* passed over it by night, and escaped to *Pergamus*. *Cassius*, *Nicomedes*, and all the Roman Commissaries, seeing themselves every where thus ill-handled, went and posted themselves at *Leontecephalus* the strongest place in *Phrygia*, where they began to make new Levies of Souldiers, they Enrolled the Artificers, Laborers and Plough-men, and all Men of what sort soever that could be found in *Phrygia* capable to bear Arms, whom for a while they began to exercise, but finding them so unhandy and improper for War, that they could never be made serviceable, they forbore any longer tormenting those poor People, and after having dismissed them, retired, *Cassius* to *Apamea*, *Nicomedes* to *Pergamus*, and *Manius* towards *Rhodes*. Those who had the Guard of the mouth of *Pontus*, hearing this News, not only quitted their Station, but likewise *Nicomedes* his Ships as a prey to *Mithridates*. Thus the King of *Pontus* being by one only blow become Master of all *Bithynia* went through all the Cities setling necessary Orders; from thence he passed into *Phrygia*, where lodging his Army in the same place where *Alexander* had lodged, he took it for a happy presage, to have spent one night in the place where that Great Conqueror had once encamped. Proceeding forward he overrun the rest of *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, and all the Provinces which the Romans had newly Conquered in *Asia*, and sending abroad his Captains several ways he subdued *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and all that stood in his way as far as *Ionia*. There was only *Laodicea* near the River *Lycus* that opposed him, because that *Q. Oppius* was retired thither with his Horse, and the Mercenary Soldiers. But when a Herald sent from the King told the inhabitants that the King promised Indempnity to all those of *Laodicea*, provided they would deliver *Oppius* into his hands, they sent away the Mercenary Soldiers, and carried *Oppius* to *Mithridates* with Lictors marching before him in derision. The King did him no injury, but causing him to be unbound, carried him every where along with him, well-pleased to see a Roman General his Prisoner. Sometime after *Manius Aquilius*, Chief of the Commission and Principal Author of the War, was taken, but he was not treated so kindly, they carried him about mounted on an Ass, from City to City, and forced him to proclaim aloud as he went that he was *Manius*, and at last at *Pergamus*, poured melted Gold into his mouth to reproach the Romans of Corruption and Covetousness. *Mithridates* having placed Governors in all places, as he went, passed along to *Magnesia*, *Ephesus* and *Mitylene*, where he was received with so great applause, that the Ephesians threw down the Roman Statues that were in their City, for which they were not long after chastized. Then returning into *Ionia* he took *Stratonicea*, where he made the inhabitants pay a great Sum of Money, and placed a Garrison. Here he fell in love with a very beauteous Virgin whom he took into the Number of his Wives, if any desire to know her name, she was called *Monima* the Daughter of *Philopœmen*, he likewise by his Lieutenants made War against the Magnesians, Paphlagonians and Lycians who would not yet wholly submit.

VIII. Whilst *Mithridates* was doing these things, the Senate and People of *Rome* having intelligence of the first Irruption into *Asia*, decreed that an Army should be sent against him, though they were embroiled with intestine seditions, and had then a War with their Allies, which lay heavy upon them by reason that almost all the People of *Italy* revolted against them one after another. The Consuls drawing the Provinces by lot; *Asia* fell to *Cornelius Sylla*, together with the Commission of the War against *Mithri-*

dates, and becauſe there was no Mony in the Treaſury, it was Decreed by the Senate that all which *Numa Pompilius* had conſecrated to the Gods to make Publick Sacrifices, ſhould be ſold. So much was the publick honour conſidered in this neceſſity. However they ſold but a part, from which they raiſed nine thouſand pound weight of Gold, which ſufficed for the expence of this War, for as great as it was they made uſe of no more. *Sylla* was detained a long time by the ſeditious, as we have related in the Hiſtory of the Civil War. Mean while *Mithridates* ſlept not. He made ready a great Number of Ships to ſend againſt thoſe of *Rhodes*. He wrote private Letters to all the Governours of his Provinces, and the Magiſtrates of all his Cities, by which he ordained that on the thirtieth day from the date the whole multitude ſhould fall upon all the Italians they could find, with their Wives, Children and Houſhold-ſervants that were Italians, and after having cut their throats, throw them out upon the Dunghils without Burial, Confiſcating their goods, one half for the King, and the other for thoſe that ſlew them. He likewiſe commanded at the ſame time to publiſh by ſound of Trumpet, ſtrict prohibitions to all perſons, under the penalty of a great fine, either to bury the dead or conceal the living, with a recompence to ſuch as ſhould diſcover any that were hid, that the ſlave who ſlew his Maſter ſhould be free, and the Debtor that ſlew his Creditor releaſed of one half of his Debt. This Private Order being diſpatched to all parts, and the day appointed come, all *Aſia* was filled with infinite Examples of horrible Cruelty, ſome of which we will relate, The Epheſians after having pulled by force from the Statues on which they hung thoſe that had fled for Sanctuary into the Temple of *Diana*, ſlew them upon the very Altars. Thoſe of *Pergamus* when they could not make thoſe wretches, fled into the Temple of *Eſculapius*, quit the place, ſhot them with Arrows as they hung upon the Statues. The Adrumetans purſued into the Sea, thoſe who thought to ſave themſelves by Swimming, and ſent thoſe miſerable people with their Children to the Bottom. The Caunians, whom the Romans after having vanquiſhed *Antiochus* had put under the Dominion of *Rhodes*, and whom the Senate ſoon after had releaſed and made free, pluckt from the Altars thoſe Italians which had fled for refuge into the Sacred Palace of their City, firſt cut the Childrens throats before their Mothers Faces, then Maſſacred the Mothers in the ſight of their Huſbands, and threw the Mens dead bodies upon thoſe of their Wives and Children. Thoſe of *Tralles* that they might not defile themſelves with the blood of their Gueſts, employed a certain cruel fellow a Paphlagonian called *Theophilus*, whom they hired to that purpoſe, who having ſhut up the Italians in the Temple of *Concord*, made ſo cruel, and horrible a Butchery, that he cut of the hands of thoſe that hung upon the Images. In ſhort, all the Romans and Italians that could be found in *Aſia*, Men, Women and Children, even to the very Freedmen and Slaves were all involved in this General Maſſacre; which was ſufficient evidence that the People of *Aſia* were tranſported to theſe Cruelties, not out of fear of *Mithridates*, but out of hate to the Romans; But however, they were doubly chaſtiſed, firſt by *Mithridates*, who treated them with all ſorts of indignities, and afterwards by *Cornelius Sylla*, who put them to exemplary puniſhment.

IX. After this the King went into the Iſle of *Coos*, where being willingly received he found there the Son of that *Alexander*, who had reigned in *Egypt*, him he took and cauſed to be Royally brought up, ſending to the Kingdom

Kingdom of *Pontus*, vaſt Riches taken out of the Treaſures of *Cleopatra*'s precious moveables, Jewels and magnificent Habits, together with great ſtore of Silver Money. Mean while the Rhodians repaired their Walls and Gates, fortifying them with Engines, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Telmiſſians, Lycians, and all the Italians, who eſcaping out of *Aſia*, had fled for refuge to *Rhodes*, among whom was *L. Caſſius* Proconſul of *Aſia*. *Mithridates* being come to beſiege them, they deſtroyed their Suburbs for fear the Enemy ſhould poſſeſs them, they likewiſe drew up their Ships in Order of Battel, one part to Fight in Front, and the other to defend the Flanks. Whereupon *Mithridates* Rowing round his Fleet in a Galley of five Banks gave Orders to his Fleet to extend themſelves as much as they could in form of a Creſcent, that ſo by force of Oars they might encompaſs in their Enemies Ships, who were much fewer in Number. The Rhodians who were fearful of it, began by little and little to give way, and at length turning their Prows fled and got into their Port, whoſe Booms having ſhut, ſo that the King could not enter, he was forced to retreat becauſe of the Shot made at him from the Walls. He came to an Anchor hard by, and after having ſeveral times in vain attempted the Port, reſolved to ſtay till his Army came out of *Aſia*. Mean while they were perpetually skirmiſhing, in which the Rhodians always had the better, which much heightned their Courage. On a time as all their Ships were in a readineſs, and they wanted but an opportunity to go and charge the Enemy, a loaden Ship of the Kings paſſing by the Port was Boarded by a Rhodian Gally of two Banks, which being on each ſide aſſiſted by thoſe of their party who Rowed in, in great Numbers, there happened a conſiderable Engagement, *Mithridates* tranſported with anger, and peſtered with too great a Number of Ships, could not give Orders Neceſſary. But the Rhodians more experienced in Sea affairs, made nimble turns about the Kings Ships, whom charging on the broad-ſide, they bilg'd many of them, and took and brought into the Port a Galley of three banks (boarded on the quarter by one of theirs) with all the Gang, and great quantity of Arms and Plunder. However they miſt one of their Gallies of five Banks, and not knowing any thing of it's being taken by the Enemies, they ſent their Admiral *Demagoras* with ſix of their nimbleſt Veſſels out to Sea in ſearch of it. *Mithridates* ſent five and twenty after him, *Demagoras* got into the open Sea without their being able to reach him, but when night drew on, ſeeing the Kings Galley's were about to make their retreat, he fell on and ſinking two purſued two others into *Lycia*, and after having ſpent that night at Sea, came and joyned the reſt of the Fleet. This was the ſucceſs to that Sea-fight, as much unhoped for by the Rhodians by reaſon of their few Ships, as unlooked for by *Mithridates*, becauſe of his great Numbers, and indeed it was all but a confuſion. In the heat of the Engagement, an Auxiliary Ship of the Iſle of *Chios*, run ſo full on Board the Ship the King Commanded, that it broke her to pieces, at which he was ſo offended that he put the Pilot and the Mate to death, and ever after bore a ſecret Malice to the Inhabitants of that Iſland. Sometime after as *Mithridates* Land Army came upon Loaden Ships and Gallies, a ſudden Storm aroſe which brought all the Fleet towards *Rhodes*. The Rhodians preſently came out with their whole Force, and finding the Enemies Ships, ſtill in diſorder, ſunk ſome, burnt others, and brought in four hundred Priſoners. Wherefore the King prepared once again to Fight them by Sea, and withal to ſtorm their City: cauſing to that intent a *Harpe* to be built, which is a great Engine, raiſed upon two Ships. And

having underſtood by the Runaways that it was eaſie to take the Town on that ſide where ſtood the Temple of *Jupiter Tabyrius* by Scaling the Wall, which was in that part very low, he cauſed ſome of his Soldiers to Embarque on the Ships, and giving Scaling Ladders to others, ordered them all to keep ſilence, till they ſaw a ſignal of fire given them from the place, and that then raiſing as great a ſhout as they could, ſome ſhould fall in at the Port, others at the Wall. As they were going to put this deſign in execution, without making the leaſt noiſe, the Guards of the City who had notice of it, ſhewed a fire, which they taking for the ſignal to be given from the place called *Tabyria* broke ſilence; and both Soldiers and Mariners began to make the Air ring with Shouts of Joy; but being anſwered with the ſame Notes, by thoſe of the City that ſtood upon the Walls, the Royaliſts attempted nothing all that Night, and in the Morning were forced to retreat; It is true that the *Harpe* which they drew nigh unto the Wall oppoſite to the Temple of *Iſis*, extreamly terrified the inhabitants, for it caſt at the ſame time mighty quantities of Darts and Arrows, there were likewiſe upon it Rams which battered the Walls, and beſides multitudes of Soldiers ran out of the Ships with their Scaling Ladders to mount the Walls, but the Rhodians made a reſolute reſiſtance, till the Engine broke with its own weight, and the Statue of the Goddeſs *Iſis*, was ſeen to dart flames of fire againſt it. Whereupon the King after this laſt trial, loſing all hopes of taking the Town, raiſed his Siege. After this he went and beſieged *Patoria*, where as he was about to cut down a Foreſt (conſecrated to *Latona*) for building of Machines, he was frightned by a dream from touching thoſe ſacred trees. Whereupon leaving *Pelopidas* in *Lycia*, to continue the War, he ſent *Archelaus* into *Greece*, to draw what Cities he could to his ſide either by good will or conſtraint. And henceforward eaſing himſelf of the Labors and Toils of War, which he committed to his Generals, he did nothing but leavy Soldiers, and make proviſion of Arms, paſſing away his time with that Woman of *Stratonicea*, and in giving judgment upon thoſe who were accuſed of having plotted againſt his life, done any thing againſt his Service, or favored in any kind whatſoever the Roman party. Whilſt he buſied himſelf in theſe matters, affairs in *Greece* paſſed in this manner. *Archelaus* going with a Fleet, well appointed took by force the Iſland of *Delos*, which had revolted from the Athenians, together with ſome places which he gave to that Republick, after the ſlaughter of twenty thouſand Men the moſt part Italians, and rendring by theſe Actions the Power of *Mithridates* formidable in thoſe parts, he gained him the Friendſhip and Alliance of that People; he ſent to them, likewiſe the conſecrated Treaſure at *Delos* by *Ariſtion* one of their City, to whom he gave two thouſand Men for a Guard of that Mony; but he imploy'd them to another purpoſe, for ſeeing two thouſand Men at his Command he lived like a Tyrant in his Country, putting to death many of his Fellow Citizens, and delivering up others to *Mithridates*, under pretence they were of the Roman Faction. Yet he made Profeſſion of being a Philoſopher of the Sect of *Epicurus*, but he was not the only Philoſopher that has tyrannized in *Athens*, *Critias* and his Companions who profeſſed the ſame Philoſophy, plaid the Tyrants before him. The followers of *Pythagaras* did the ſame in *Italy*. Nor were there any of thoſe who were called the ſeven Wiſe-men of *Greece*, and had any hand in the Government of the Commonwealth but exerciſed their Authority with more Tyranny then an unlearned Man would have done. So that it is not without reaſon that ſome have doubted whether the other

Philoſophers

Philoſophers followed the Study of Wiſdom ſo much, out of the pure Love of Virtue, as to be a comfort to their Poverty, and an excuſe for their Sloath. Since even to this Day we ſee many leading a cloſe and neceſſitous Life, who cloak their Poverty under a pretence of Wiſdom, furious by railing at all rich men and Magiſtrates, which they do not ſo much out of contempt of Riches, as out of envy to thoſe which poſſeſs them, wherefore I think thoſe much wiſer then, who know how to ſlight and contemn their Invectives. Thus much by the way againſt *Ariſtion*, who gave occaſion to this ſhort digreſſion. To proceed, *Archelaus* drew to his Party the Acheans, Lacedemonians, and Beotians, all but the City of *Theſpia*, to which he laid Siege. At the ſame time as *Metrophanes* whom *Mithridates* had likewiſe ſent into *Greece* with another Army, made havock in the Iſle of *Eubea*, *Demetriada* and *Magneſia*, who had refuſed to declare for the King, *Brittius* came out of *Macedon* and falling upon his Fleet, with a very ſmall force beat them, ſunk a great Ship and a Foiſt, and ſlew all the Mariners, and this in the very face of *Metrophanes*, which put him in ſuch a fear that he fled. *Brittius* when he could not overtake him, went and beſieged *Sciatha* a neſt of barbarous Pyrates, and having taken it hanged the Slave, and cut of the Maſters hands, from thence he went to *Bœotia*, whither a recruit of a Thouſand men, as well Horſe as Foot being come to him out of *Macedon*, he gave Battel to *Ariſtion* and *Archelaus*, which laſted three days without knowing which had the better, till ſuch time as the Lacedemonians and Acheans having ſent relief to the Enemy finding himſelf then two weak he went and encamped neer *Pyræum*, which *Archelaus* coming afterwards with his Fleet to ſeiſe, took him there Priſoner.

Sylla, to whom the Senate had given the Commiſſion for the War againſt *Mithridates*, not able before to leave *Italy*, now paſſed over into *Greece*, with five Legions, ſome * Cohorts, and a few Horſe; whither Money being ſent him, and Auxiliary Troops come together, with Proviſions of Victuals out of *Etolia* and *Theſſaly*, finding himſelf ſufficiently prepared, he advanced into *Attica* againſt *Archelaus*. He took his march through *Bœotia*, which almoſt all yielded to him, not the great City of *Thebes* which out of giddineſs of temper had before preferred *Mithridates* to the Romans, durſt now make Tryal of his Arms, but in its turn deſerting *Archelaus* and his Party, declared for the Romans. The Conſul being arrived in *Attica*, divided his Forces into two Bodies, one he ſent to Beſiege *Ariſtion* in the City, and with the other marched directly to the Port of *Pyræum* where *Archelaus* had engarriſoned himſelf, confident in the ſtrength of the place, the Walls of which were near forty Cubits high and all of hewn ſtone. It was indeed a mighty work which had been raiſed by *Pericles* in the time of the War of *Peloponneſus*; who when all the hopes of Victory conſiſted only in this Port, had fortifyed all he could. Yet the height of the Walls amuſed not *Sylla*, who preſently clapt to his ſcaling Ladders; but the Cappadocians bravely defending themſelves, after giving and receiving many Wounds he gave over and retreated to *Eleuſina* and *Megara*, where he fell to building Engines, reſolved to take the *Pyræum* by raiſing Platforms or Terraſes higher then the Walls. *Thebes* furniſhed him with Workmen and Materials, as Iron Inſtruments for Battery and ſuch like things, he cut down Timber in the Academy to frame his great Engines, and beat down all thoſe long Walls which joyned the Port with the City, that their Ruins might ſerve to raiſe his Platforms. There were in *Pyræum* two Athenian Slaves, who whether they were affectionate to the Romans or

X.

* Or Regiments of Guards.

to

to provide for their own ſecurity, in caſe they ſucceeded, writ on Bullets of Lead what paſſed within, and threw them with Slings into the Roman Camp. *Sylla* obſerving that they continually ſlung them, and examining the matter more narrowly, found writ on one of the Bullets. *To morrow the foot will ſally out on the Labourers in Front, while the Horſe charge the Roman Army in Flank.* Whereupon he laid an Ambuſh for them and when they thought to ſurprize the Romans they were themſelves ſurprized by the Romans, who after a great Slaughter drove the reſt into the very Sea. *Archelaus* ſeeing the Platforms advanced in height, cauſed towers to be erected directly oppoſite to them, from whence with Darts he ſorely vexed the Workmen, and having cauſed Forces to come from *Chalcis* and other Iſles, he arrived not only the Marriners but the Galley-Slaves, ſeeing himſelf in ſuch an extremity of danger. Thus he who before much exceeded the Beſiegers in Numbers, ſeeing his Forces encreaſed by theſe new Recruits, made the Night following about the ſecond Watch a vigorous Sally, wherein carrying lighted Torches he burnt one of the Teſtudo's with all its Engines. The Conſul ſoon repaired the loſs, and in ten day's rebuilt and planted others in their ſtead, againſt which *Archelaus* oppoſed a Tower he erected on the Wall. After this *Dromichetes* whom *Mithridates* had ſent with new Recruits being arrived, *Archelaus* drew out the Kings Army in Battel, intermixing the Slingers and Archers and drawing them all up ſo cloſe under the Wall, that thoſe who had Guard might from thence annoy the Enemies at diſtance with their Bows and Slings, whilſt a Party he had placed near the Gates ſallyed out upon a ſignal given, with Torches in their hands, to ſet fire on the Machins. The Fight was fierce and continued a long time doubtful, ſometimes one giving Ground, and ſometimes the other, the Barbarians were the firſt that turned their Backs, but *Archelaus* ſoon forced them to ſtay and return to the Charge, which ſo ſtartled the Romans that they themſelves fled, till *Murena* coming to the head of them forced them to turn again upon the Enemy. At length ſome Companies of Souldiers returning from the Wood (to whom thoſe who had been branded with Infamy for their flight joyned themſelves) and arriving in the heat of the Fight, they charged ſo furiouſly upon *Mithridates* Battel, that after having ſlain two thouſand, they forced the reſt to ſave themſelves in the Port, in ſpite of all the reſiſtance of *Archelaus*, who did all he could to ſtop them, and was ſo obſtinate in it, that the Gates being ſhut before he could get in, they were forced to draw him up the Walls with Ropes. Thus *Sylla* had the honour of keeping the Field, who diſcharged of the Infamy thoſe had been noted for it, becauſe of their good ſervice upon this occaſion, and honoured the other with military Recompences. And becauſe Winter was coming on, he went and encamped near *Eleuſina*, and that he might not be annoyed by the Excurſions of the Enemys Horſe, he cauſed a deep Trench to be dug from the Mountains to the Sea. Whilſt they wrought at it, there happened daily Skirmiſhes, ſome or other continually either going from the Trench or coming from the Wall, and throwing Darts or ſhooting Arrows, Stones or Bullets of Led. This Work finiſhed, *Sylla* who ſtood in need of Shipping, ſent to Rhodes to furniſh himſelf, but the Rhodians who could not paſs the Seas, which were covered with *Mithridates* his Fleets, adviſed *Lucullus* a man very conſiderable among the Romans and one of *Sylla*'s Lieutenants, to embarque privately for *Syria* and *Alexandria*, to demand of the Kings and the Maritime Cities Ships to joyn with the Rhodian Fleet. He took their advice, and fearleſs of any thing embarqued himſelf on a pittiful paſſage Boat, and often changing Boats that he might not be known, came to *Alexandria*

andria. About this time the two Slaves caſt from the Walls Bullets of Lead on which they had written, that the next Night *Archelaus* ſent to *Athens* (where the people were very much oppreſſed with Famine) ſome Souldiers laden with Corn, upon which advice *Sylla* laying an Ambuſh for them, took both the men and the Corn. The ſame day *Munatius* engaging with *Neoptolemus* the other of *Mithridates* his Generals, wounded him, killed him fifteen hundred of his men and took a far greater number Priſoners: Some time after, whilſt the Guards of the Port yet ſlept, ſome Romans caſt Ladders from their Engines upon the Walls, and being got up ſlew the firſt they met with, which ſo ſurpriſed the Barbarians, that ſome believing all was taken by the Enemy, leaped from the Top of the Walls, but others more reſolute put themſelves upon their defence, ſlew the Captain of thoſe were got up, and threw the reſt headlong down. And ſome of them were ſo bold as to ſally out of the Gate with Torches in their hands, with intent to ſet fire to one of the Romans Towers; And they had done it, had they not been prevented by *Sylla* who after a Fight which laſted all Night and next Day, forced them to retreat within their Walls. After this, *Archelaus* cauſed to be raiſed on the Wall a great Tower oppoſite to the greateſt of the Romans, where they fought without intermiſſion with ſhot from their Arbaliſts or Croſs-bow's, till ſuch time as *Sylla* diſcharging from his greateſt Croſs-bow's twenty large leaden Blluets at a time againſt the Enemies, ſlew a great Number of them, and ſhook the Tower in ſuch manner, that it cleaving almoſt aſunder, they were foreed to draw it under their Walls, that they might not have the diſcouragement to ſee it tumble down in pieces. Mean while Famine from day to day increaſing in *Athens*, *Archelaus* was deſigning to ſend them Proviſions by night, of which the leaden Bullets ſoon gave notice. But that General doubting that ſome one advertiſed the Romans of his deſigns gave order that at the time when the Corn was to be ſent, there ſhould be a Party ready at the Gates to Sally out with Torches in their hands upon the Romans at the ſame inſtant that *Sylla* aſſaulted thoſe which carried it, and indeed it happened that *Sylla* took the Souldiers that carried the Corn, and *Archelaus* burnt ſome Engines. Whilſt theſe things paſſed *Arcathias* the Son of *Mithridates* being entred *Macedon* with another Army defeated ſome Roman Forces, left for the Guard of that Province, became Maſter of all *Macedon*, dividing it into Satrapies, and being on his March towards *Sylla*, to cauſe him raiſe his Siege, dyed of Sickneſs near *Tidea*. The news of his death being come to the Conſuls he cauſed Forts to be raiſed quite round the City of *Athens*, which was heavily oppreſſed with Famine, to the end that no perſon being able to get out, the Famine ſhould encreaſe ſo much the more among ſo vaſt a Multitude. That done, he began to batter the Walls of *Pyræum* with his Engines, raiſed on the Platforms, but *Archelaus* had with long labour privately undermined them, ſo that they beginning to ſink; the Romans diſcovering the Mine readily drew off their Engines, and filled up the Hollows with Earth and other Rubbiſh. Then in imitation of the *Barbarians* they began to undermine the Wall, till their Mines coming to meet, there happened a Skirmiſh between the Miners underground, ſuch a one as could be maintained in the Dark. All this while they battered the Wall more then ever with their Rams planted on the Terraſſes, till ſuch time as one part being beaten down, *Sylla* cauſed fire to be caſt into a Tower hard by, with intent to burn it, at the ſame time commanding all the brave men he had to ſtorm the place, both Parties fought valiantly, but the Tower was at laſt burnt, and the Romans became Maſters of one part of the Wall upon which they lodged themſelves.

Almoſt

Almoſt at the ſame inſtant, another part of the Wall undermined by the Romans, the Foundations of which they had underpropped as they went, after that the ſtanchions which they had ſet on fire with ſtore of Pitch, Flax, and Brimſtone, were burnt, began to tumble with all thoſe that defended it, making the Craſh the more terrible, becauſe ſo unexpected. Inſomuch that thoſe who had the Guard of the Walls were utterly daunted, every one trembling for himſelf, as if he were preſently to be cruſhed in pieces by a like ruine, wherefore thoſe who where planted in any ſuſpected places, ran fearfully down in Crouds, taking more care to preſerve their own lives, then repulſe the Enemy. *Sylla* the more fiercely purſued the aſſault, relieving his wearied Souldiers with freſh men, continually encouraging them and mingling Threats with Prayers, aſſuring them that upon this Brunt which could not laſt long, depended the whole Victory. *Archelaus* ſhowed no leſs courage: He oppoſed *Sylla* with freſh men in the place of thoſe whoſe fears had made them uſeleſs, renewed the heat of the fight, preſſing forward and heartning all his people; by telling them they had but this ſhock to ſuſtain, and after it there was nothing to be feared. Thus both Partyes returned to the Charge with wonderful Alacrity, they fought and ſlew on both ſides, with equal loſs. Yet at laſt *Sylla* taking Compaſſion of his Soldiers, ſo tyred that they were able to do no more, and admiring their bravery cauſed the retreat to be ſounded. The night following *Archelaus* ſet to work to repair the two ruined places, making retrenchments within in form of a half Moon. *Sylla* thinking theſe fortifications yet moiſt would eaſily be beaten down, went preſently to aſſault them with all his Forces, but he was ſoon forced to give it over, for being lock'd up in that half Circle very cloſe together, his men could not fight, but were both in Front and Flank expoſed to the Enemys ſhot, which indeed annoyed them on all ſides.

XI. Therefore he reſolved no more to attempt *Pyræum* by ſtorm, hoping at laſt to reduce the beſieged by Famine. But firſt underſtanding that the City was at the laſt gaſp, that they had eaten all their Horſes, and after having boyled the very Hides for ſuſtenance, had been forced at laſt feed on dead Carcaſes, he cauſed a Trench to be drawn round about it, to the end that none might previly eſcape. And having finiſhed that work, he raiſed his Batteries and planted his ſcalnig Ladders, upon which the Souldiers mounted with ſuch a furious violence that thoſe weak and feeble people betaking themſelves preſently to flight he became maſter of the Walls. The whole City was preſently filled with Slaughter, for there was none had ſtrength enough to eſcape, and no quarter was given, nor either Sex or Age ſpared. For *Sylla* incenſed that ſo readily and without any cauſe they had taken part with the Barbarians, and ſo obſtinately defended themſelves againſt him, had given Orders to put all to the Sword, which made many who had heard his voice, that proclaimed this Ordinance, come and offer themſelves voluntarily to death. As many as could, made their retreat into the Caſtle, among whom was *Ariſtion*, having firſt of all ſet on fire the Theatre for Muſick, for fear leaſt *Sylla* ſhould make uſe of the Wood, in the aſſault of the Fortreſs. The Conſul having taken the City, would not let it be ſet on fire, but he gave the Plunder to the Souldiers, who ranſaking every where, found in many Houſes Humane Fleſh ready dreſt to eat. On the morrow he ſold all the Slaves at outcry, and declared that he left at liberty all the free people, who had eſcaped the nights ſlaughter, of whom but few were found, yet thoſe he deprived of any ſuffrage or jurisdiction, as being

being Enemies, but promiſed to reſtore it to their poſterity. This done *Sylla* beſieged the Fortreſs, wherein *Ariſtion* and thoſe fled for Refuge with him, were ſo ſore oppreſſed with hunger and thirſt that they were conſtrained to ſurrender, of whom he put to death *Ariſtion* with his Guards, and all that had born Commiſſion under him during his Tyranny, or in any manner whatſoever had acted contrary to the Ordinances left them by the Romans ſince they firſt became Maſters of *Greece*; He pardoned all the reſt, and left them under almoſt the ſame Laws they had received from the Romans, and in concluſion carried out of the Citadel forty pound weight of Gold, and ſix hundred of Silver. The City thus taken, *Sylla* believed that holding only the Port of *Pyræum* inveſted, it would be a long time before he ſhould ſtarve the Barbarians. Wherefore he again applied himſelf to his Batteries and Engines, and cauſed to be made Galleries and Mantelets, to go under Covert up to the Walls, and undermine them. But *Archelaus* had made proviſion againſt him, for he had raiſed many Walls, one behind another, all after the ſame manner, ſo that *Sylla* ſaw no end of his labor, having no ſooner taken in one Wall, but he found another of the ſame Fabrick, yet he indefatigably attempted all the Walls he met with, cauſing his Soldiers to relieve each other by turns, and going ſometimes to one party, and ſometimes to another encouraging them to labor, and aſſuring them of the great recompences prepared for them, when they had overcome theſe difficulties. And indeed the Soldiers promiſed themſelves an end of their labors, after this Victory, and hoped to gain ſo much the more praiſe, the more they incountred with danger and difficulty, wherefore they did all they could to gain theſe laſt Walls, till ſuch time as *Archelaus* aſtoniſhed at their obſtinacy deſerting them, retired into the ſtrongeſt part of the *Pyræum*, which being on all ſides begirt with the Sea, the Conſul who had no Ships could attempt nothing againſt him. From thence he took his march by *Bœotia* to go into *Theſſaly*, and being got to *Thermopylæ*, he rallyed the remains as well of thoſe Troops which himſelf had brought into *Greece*, as of thoſe which came under the Conduct of *Dromicheſes*, He ſent likewiſe for all that Army which had followed *Arcathias* the Kings Son into *Macedon*, which were all freſh Men that wanted nothing, and beſides all theſe *Mithridates* had ſent him ſome new Recruits, for he was continually ſending. *Sylla* in the mean time burnt the *Pyræum* which had given him ſo much more trouble then the City, ſparing neither Arſenal nor Dock, nor in ſhort any thing that was conſiderable.

XII. This done he took the Field to follow *Archelaus*, taking as well as he the Road of *Bœotia*. As he was upon his March, thoſe Troops lately aſſembled at *Thermopylæ* came forward to meet him as far as *Phocida*; Thracians, Pontique Scythians, Cappadocians, Bithynians, Galatians, Phrygians and others came from the Provinces, newly Conquered by *Mithridates*, amounting in all to ſixſcore thouſand Men, under ſeveral Generals, over whom *Archelaus* was Generaliſſimo. *Sylla*'s Forces were compoſed of Romans and Italian Allies, together with ſuch Greeks and Macedonians as had come over from *Archelaus* to him: And poſſibly ſome Auxiliary Troops of the Neighboring Countries, but all theſe amounted not to a third of his Enemies; when they were encamped cloſe by each other, *Archelaus* every day drew out his Army to invite *Sylla* to a battel, but he conſidering the Nature of the place, and the great Number of his Enemies, thought it beſt to temporize; At length they retreated towards

Chalcis, whither he followed them waiting for a favorable opportunity, and a convenient place. And at laſt perceiving that near to *Cheronea*, they were encamped in a place environed with Cragged Rocks, which were very difficult to paſs, he poſted himſelf hard by in a ſpacious plain, and drawing up his Army reſolved to force *Archelaus* to a Battel, whether he would or no: He found the place was advantagious for him, either to charge or retreat in, whereas *Archelaus* was ſhut up among the Rocks, which would not permit him to fight with all his Forces together, nor could he well form his Bodies or draw in Battel among thoſe uneven Cragged Stones, where if any misfortune happened, thoſe Rocks themſelves would hinder his Eſcape. In ſhort having according to his deſire met him in a place where Numbers would be uſeleſs, he advanced to engage him; He who thought of nothing leſs then Fighting had fortified his Camp with Negligence enough, nor had he taken notice of the diſadvantage of the place till the Romans furiouſly advanced to the Charge. He then commanded a party of his Horſe to make head againſt them, but they being defeated and driven into the Precipices, he ſent next ſixty Chariots to endeavor to break the Ranks of the Legions, who opening to the Right and Left, gave them way quite through, till they had paſt the Rearguard, where before they could turn, the Horſes and Drivers were all ſlain by the Darts thrown at them from all ſides. *Archelaus* defended as he was by the Rocks, might have ſtaid in his Poſt, but receiving Intelligence that *Sylla* was at hand, he choſe rather with all ſpeed poſſible to draw up thoſe vaſt Multitudes into Battel in thoſe ſtraits: and then preſſing forward with the Horſe of his Vanguard he broke quite through the Battel of the Romans, dividing it into two, and then eaſily ſurrounding each part becauſe of their ſmall Number, theſe two half-bodies ſeeing themſelves incloſed caſt themſelves into an Orb and bravely defended themſelves, but that where *Galba* and *Hortenſius* commanded was ſorely put to it, becauſe *Archelaus* himſelf being at the head of his Men preſſed on them extreamly, and all the Barbarians Fighting in his preſence ſtrove to ſhow their General ſome ſignal Marks of their Valor. At laſt *Sylla* coming with a Groſs of Horſe, *Archelaus* who gueſſed by the Cornets, and by the duſt ariſing from the Horſe-feet, that it was he, gave over this manner of Fighting to regain his Order of Battel, but the Roman Charging home (with all the Flower of his Cavalry and two Regiments of Foot, which he had laid in Ambuſh) amongſt the thickeſt of the Enemies, yet aſtoniſhed, and not able to recover any Order, over-preſſed them, broke them, put them to the Rout, and gave them Chaſe. The Victory thus begun on this part, *Murena* did wonders to advance it on the Left, for after having pricked forward thoſe about him by reproaches, he violently led them on upon the Enemy, and put them likewiſe to the Rout, Thus *Archelaus* two Wings being defeated his Main Body ſtood not long, but all equally took their Flight, nor was *Sylla* deceived in the Judgment made of the Succeſs of this Enterprize, for the Enemies intangled in thoſe ſtreits, could not fly, or if they did, threw one another down the Precipices, and if they turned head fell into the hands of the Romans, wherefore the wiſeſt of them returned to their Camp, but *Archelaus* who could not believe the diſcomfiture ſo great, ſtopt their entrance, and ſent them back upon the Enemy, which they obeyed though they had no Captains to put them in order, nor ſaw no Enſigns, which every one in the Rout had thrown here and there, and beſides they had neither Room to Fight, nor to Retreat. Thus in this extremity they were ſlaughtred like Sheep, either by their Enemies, on whom they

they could not revenge themſelves, being too cloſe crouded, or by their own Comerades, as it often happens in a too cloſe and diſordered Battle, wherefore they returned in throngs to the Gates of the Camp, complaining to thoſe had ſhut them out and reviling them, that adoring the ſame Gods, and being tyed by ſo many bonds one to the other they contributed more to their deſtruction, then the Enemies themſelves. At laſt *Archelaus* opened the Gates, but too late. They entred in confuſion and diſorder, and the Romans encouraging one another threw themſelves Pell Mell among the Flyers, where they gave the laſt puſh to the Victory. *Archelaus* and all thoſe that eſcaped from the Slaughter met together at *Chalcis*, where of one hundred and twenty thouſand Men, they found but ten thouſand. The Romans believed they had loſt fifteen Men, but two of them afterwards returned. Thus ended this battel fought between *Sylla* and *Archelaus* General under *Mithridates* near to *Cheronea*, the Succeſs whereof was as well deſerving of the Prudence of *Sylla*, as of the fooliſh raſhneſs of *Archelaus*.

XIII. *Sylla* ſeeing himſelf Maſter of a great Number of Priſoners, of great Booty and vaſt quantity of Spoils, cauſed to be heaped together, all that was uſeleſs in one place, and having made due preparation according to the Cuſtom of the Romans, offered them in Sacrifice to thoſe Divinities that preſide ore War, he himſelf firſt kindling the fire. Soon after having refreſhed his Forces with a little reſt, he marched with his Light Armed Foot towards *Euripus*, hoping, he might there meet with *Archelaus*; But he had made no ſtay there, but becauſe the Romans had no Fleet at Sea, went about overrunning the Iſlands and plundring the Sea-coaſts. He was likewiſe ſo bold as to land upon *Zant*, and to beſiege the City, but ſome Romans that came againſt him, having ſet upon him in an Ambuſh by Night, he haſtily reembarked his Men, got out to Sea, and returned to *Chalcis*, doing things all along rather becoming a Pyrate then a Man of War. *Mithridates* hearing of this great defeat was amazed as indeed he had reaſon, however he began to make new Levies of Soldiers in all the Countries under his obedience, and growing jealous, that after his being thus beaten, there would be ſome People, that either at preſent, or as ſoon as they had opportunity would make attempt upon his Perſon, before he would renew the War he aſſembled all that he had the leaſt ſuſpicion of, ſuch were the Tetrarchs of *Galatia*, and all thoſe who attended on his Perſon as Friends, but yet owned him not as Subjects. All theſe he put to death with their Wives and Children, ſome by ſurprize, others at a feaſt by night, only three eſcaped and fled, for he thought that if *Sylla* came nearer, none of them would continue faithful to him. After this he ſieſed upon their goods, placed Garriſons in their Cities, and ſent *Eumachus* Satrap or Governor into *Galatia*, whom the Tetrarchs that had eſcaped, aſſiſted with ſome Forces of their Vaſſals raiſed in the Country, drove thence with his Garriſons; ſo that of all the Goods of that Nation, *Mithridates* enjoyed only the Mony. Having likewiſe born a ſecret hate to the Inhabitants of *Chios*, ſince one of their Gallies unawares ran aboard the Admiral at the Fight of *Rhodes*, he firſt confiſcated all their Eſtates, who were gone into *Sylla*'s Army, then he ſent Commiſſioners to inform themſelves of all thoſe who were of the Roman Faction, and at laſt *Zenobius* landing there as it were in his paſſage for *Greece* ſieſed by night on the Walls, and moſt advantagious places of the City, and after having placed Guards at the Gates he cauſed Proclamation

mation to be made that all the Gueſts and Inmates ſhould take their repoſe, and that all the Inhabitants ſhould aſſemble themſelves to know the Kings Pleaſure. That done, he told them that the King was Jealous of their City, becauſe ſome of their Inhabitants took part with the Romans, and that there was no way to remove that ſuſpicion, but by ſurrendring up their Arms and delivering ſuch Children, as ſhould be choſen out of their beſt Families for Hoſtages. They ſeeing their City in his hands, yielded both to one and the other, whom *Zenobius* ſent immediately to *Erythrea*, telling them, that as to what was farther to be done the King would write. And indeed his Letter came containing matters to this purpoſe.

Mithridates *Letter to the Inhabitants of* Chios.

YOU Favor the Romans, many of your Citi zens being at this preſent in their Army, and your ſelves enjoy Lands they have given you in Fee, without paying any Tribute to us. Your Galley likewiſe ran on Board mine in the Fight at Rhodes, *which fault I had only imputed to thoſe had the Government of it, could my Clemency have made you wiſe, but you have privately ſent the Chief Men of your City to* Sylla, *and have not diſcovered to me any of thoſe who without the conſent of the whole City were guilty of this crime, which you ought to have done, had you not all been complices. I might according to the advice of my Friends puniſh you with death as Enemies to my ſelf and my Eſtates. However I have choſen rather in reparation of theſe crimes to condemn you in a Fine of two thouſand Talents.*

After having heard this Letter read, they deſired *Zenobius*'s permiſſion to ſend Deputies to the King, which being refuſed them, diſarmed as they were, and tyed up by thoſe Hoſtages they had given, and beſides ſeeing a great Army of Barbarians, ready to cut them in pieces, they began to weep, and were forced to ſell the Ornaments of their Temples, and their Wives Jewels to raiſe the two thouſand Talents. When they had paid it in, *Zenobius* under pretence that it wanted weight, cauſed them to Aſſemble in the Theater, and there encompaſſing them with Soldiers, and lining the Streets leading to the Sea-ſide with Guards, all with drawn Swords, he cauſed them to be led out of the Theater, one after another, and put them on Shipboard, the Men on one ſide, and the Women and Children, on the other, whilſt the Barbarians, as they paſt affronted them with a thouſand indignities; thus he took them all out of their Country, and ſent them to *Mithridates* in the *Euxine* Sea. Thoſe of *Chios* being treated in this manner, *Zenobius* came before *Epheſus* with all his Forces, but the Epheſians made him leave his Arms at the Port, and would not let him enter the City but with a very ſmall train. He ſubmitted to it, and went and lodged at *Philopœmens* (Father of *Monima*, *Mithridates* Miſtreſs, to whom the King had given the Government of that place) and ſoon after proclaimed an Aſſembly off the City, but the Epheſians, who expected nothing but miſchief from him, put off the buſineſs till next morning. Mean while they aſſembled in the night, and mutually encouraging

ging each other, clapt *Zenobius* in Priſon, where they put him to death. At the ſame time they planted good Guards on their Walls, armed the people, made Proviſion of Victuals, and became Maſters of their Citty. Thoſe of *Tralles*, *Hypapa* and *Meſopolis* and others, whom the Calamity of the Inhabitants of *Chios* had terrifyed, hearing the news, follow the Example of the *Epheſians*: So that *Mithridates* was forced to ſend an Army againſt theſe Rebels, ſeverely puniſhing thoſe who returned not to their obedience till they were forced. And to hinder others from revolting, he declared all the *Grecian* Cities free, and all Debtors releaſed from their Creditors, and gave the Inmates freedom of Burgeſſes in all places where they inhabited, and ſet the Slaves at liberty. Hoping (as it happened) that the Debtors, Inmates and Slaves engaged by theſe benefits, would employ all their force to maintain the Royal Power. Mean while *Minio* and *Philotimus*, Natives of *Smyrna*, and *Clyſthenes*, and *Aſclepiodorus* of *Lesbos*, all well known to the King, *Aſclepiodorus* himſelf having ſometime commanded his Mercenary Troops, conſpired againſt him, but the conſpiracy being diſcovered by *Aſclepiodorus*, (who to give a manifeſt Proof of it ordered matters, ſo that the King hid behind a bed heard it from *Minio's* one mouth) the conſpirators ended their lives in torments. Many were afterwards ſuſpected of the ſame crime, fourſcore of the Inhabitants of *Pergamus*, being thereupon arreſted, beſides many others in other Cities, the King ſending Spies into all parts, under his obedience, to find out the Criminals, every one of which making diſcovery of his Enemy, there periſhed about ſixteen hundred men; but the Accuſers ſoon received their Chaſtiſement: for of them, ſome were puniſhed by *Sylla*, others ſlew themſelves, and others fled with *Mithridates*, to the Kingdom of *Pontus*.

XIV. Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Aſia*, the King had raiſed an Army of fourſcore thouſand men, which *Dorilaus* carried into *Greece* to *Archelaus*, who had ſtill ten thouſand men, the remainder of his former Forces. When *Sylla* who now lay encamped within ſight of him, near to *Orchomene* beheld ſo vaſt a Multitude of Horſe arrive, he cauſed ſeveral Ditches to be dug through the Plain, ten foot wide, and when *Archelaus* advanced towards him, put his Army in a poſture to receive him, but perceiving the Romans fought but coldly, againſt ſuch numbers of Horſemen, he rid himſelf through the Ranks, ſtirred them up, threatned them, and at length not being able to provoke them, leaps from his Horſe, takes a Colours in his hands, and advancing with his Guards in the midſt between two Battels, cryes out. *If any asked you fellow Soldiers, where you left your General* Sylla, *tell them it was fighting near* Orchomene. Hereupon the Officers moved by the danger in which they ſaw him, advanced from their ſtanding, and ran to his aſſiſtance, the Soldiers urged with ſhame followed, and all together made the Enemy give ground who before put them hard to it: *Sylla* perceiving this entrance towards Victory, mounts again on Horſe back, ſhows himſelf every where, prayſes his Soldiers, encourages them, and at laſt remains Maſter of the Field; After having ſlain fifteen thouſand men, the moſt part Horſemen (among whom was *Diogenes*, the Son of *Archelaus*,) and driven the Foot into the very Camp of the Barbarians: At the ſame inſtant for fear leſt *Archelaus* ſhould ſave himſelf at *Chalcis*, as he had done the time before, he diſpoſed Guards throughout the whole Plain, to keep Watch that night, and in the morning cauſed to be drawn before the Camp a Trench not above a Furlong diſtant from it. *Archelaus* in the

meaſt

mean time kept within his Trenches, but *Sylla* after having exhorted his Soldiers to make an end of the remain of this War, ſince the Enemies durſt not appear, undertook to force them, and marched directly to the Aſſault. Upon this great change, and in this preſſing neceſſity, the Enemies began by Speeches, to encourage their Troops: Each Captain ſhowed his Solders the danger they were in, if they did not defend themſelves, repreſenting to them how cowardly a thing it would be, if they ſhould not have Heart enough, to drive from their Trenches an Enemy, they far ſurpaſſed in number. Whereupon there preſently aroſe a great noiſe, on both ſides, each Party was ſet on fire, and did actions wonderful. At laſt the Romans leaped into the Ditch and ſtormed an Angle of the Camp, out of which they plucked the Paliſado's. The Barbarians who perceived it, lined the Angle cloſe, with their Swords drawn ready to fight nearer at hand, inſo much that no perſon durſt enter, till *Baſilius* the firſt Tribune of a Legion, leaped up and overturning him he firſt encountred with, the whole Army thereupon followed, and made a mighty ſlaughter of the Barbarians. Some they ſlew in the Chaſe, others they drove into a Lake hard by, and ſome who could not ſwim, cryed out for Quarter, but in vain, for their Language not being underſtood, they were cut in pieces, *Archelaus* hid himſelf in a certain Marſh, and having there found a little Boat, eſcaped to *Chalcis*, where he ſpeedily drew together all the remains of *Mithridates* Forces. Next Morning *Sylla* gave a Crown to the Tribune, and diſtributed Military Recompences to the others. After which he went and ſpoiled *Bæotia*, becauſe thoſe people were perpetually changing Parties, and from thence paſſed into *Theſſaly* where he took up his Winter Quarters, expecting *Lucullus* with the Shipping, of whom receiving no certain intelligence, he ſet to building of others.

XV. Whilſt he was doing all theſe things, *Cornelius Cinna*, and *Cajus Marius* his particular Enemies declared him at *Rome* Enemy of the Common-Wealth, pulled down his Houſes, ſeiſed his Lands, and put to death his Friends. Yet ceaſed not he to do all he could, having a moſt obedient Army, compoſed all of valiant Soldiers. Now *Cinna* having drawn to his Party, his Collegue *Flaccus* ſent him into *Aſia*, with two Legions, to Command in the Province, and make War on *Mithridates*, in the place of *Sylla*, who was declared Enemy, and becauſe he was not very expert in War, *Fimbria* one of the Senate in good eſteem with the Soldiers, went along with him. They embarked at *Brunduſium*, to croſs the Sea, a good part of their Ships were loſt by Storm, and thoſe who gained the other ſide were taken and burnt by the new Army, ſent by *Mithridates*. *Flaccus* was proud, covetous, cruel in puniſhing, and therefore hated by the Soldiers, which made ſome Troops that were ſent before into *Theſſaly*, to go over into *Sylla*'s Camp, and it was only *Fimbria*, (whom they eſteemed the better Captain, and more merciful then *Flaccus*) that prevented the others from doing the like. There happened by chance ſome difference between the Queſtor and he about encamping, wherein *Flaccus* who was Judge, not having duly conſidered the Quality of *Fimbria*, he threatned him to return to the City. *Flaccus* preſently named a ſucceſſor in his charge, and forthwith embarked for *Chalcedon*: Whereupon *Fimbria* taking the opportunity of his abſence, took away the Rods from *Therinus*, whom he had made Propretor, ſaying the Army had given him that Dignity, and *Flaccus* thereat offended, returning to puniſh him, he put him to flight, and forced him to hide himſelf in a private Houſe, from whence eſcaping

escaping by night over the Walls, he got to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to *Nicomedia* where he caused the Gates to be shut. But *Fimbria* was presently there, and drawing him out of a Well where he had hid himself, slew him though a Roman Consul, and more then that his General, whilst he was but a private man, who had followed his friend of greater Quality then he, at his coming into the Province. He cut of his Head, which he threw into the Sea, leaving the rest of the Body unburied, and having made himself General of the Army, fought afterwards succesfully, in several Engagements with *Mithridates* Son. At length having to deal with the King himself, he drove him to the very Gates of *Pergamus*, whence he flying to *Pisane*, had been there besieged had he not taken shipping and escaped to *Mitylene*. After this *Fimbria* going through the Province, ill intreated those who favoured the Party of the Cappadocians, and spoiled their Lands, who refused to open their Gates to him. The City of *Ilium* he besieged, whose Inhabitants having recourse to *Sylla* he promised to come, and sent to *Fimbria* not to do any injury to those who had yielded to him, praising them for being returned into the friendship and alliance of the Roman people. Notwithstanding he required to be likewise received into their City, being likewise of *Rome*, and telling them I know not what of that ancient Kindred of which the Ilians boast. At last he entred by force, slew all he met with, set on fire the City, and particularly put to several sorts of death, those who went to *Sylla*, on the behalf of the City. He had neither respect to the sacred places nor to those had fled thither for refuge, but burnt the Temple of *Minerva*, with a great multitude of people, who had retired thither, as to a Sanctuary. He raised the very Walls, which he went round about next day, to see if any part were left standing. Thus was that City worse treated, by a Man who took thence his Original, then it had formerly been, by *Agamemnon*, for he left not a house, nor a Temple, nor a Statue standing. Some there are that believe, that the Image of the Goddess, which is called *Palladium*, was now found whole, after the removal of the Rubbish, wherewith it was covered, but there is more reason to believe it was taken away by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* in the time of the *Trojan* War. This Massacre of the Ilians, happened about the end of the hundred and third Olympaid, and it is thought to be about one thousand and fifty Years between this sack of *Troy* and that of *Agamemnon*.

XVI. Now *Mithridates* receiving advice of the defeat at *Orchomene*, and considering that, since his first sending an Army into *Greece*, he had lost such vast Multitudes in so short a time, wrote to *Archelaus*, that he should conclude a Peace, upon the faireſt terms he could get. He therefore demanded a conference with *Sylla*, which being granted, he told him; *Sylla, the King* Mithridates *your Fathers friend, and yours, was forced by the avarice of those who had the Command before you, to make the War: But having now experienced your Valour, he demands a Peace, provided what you shall desire of him, be just.* Whereupon *Sylla*, who had neither Fleet nor Money, receiving nothing from *Rome*, since his Enemies had declared him Enemy of the State, and having already spent all the Silver of the Temples of *Pythia*, *Olympia* and * *Epidaurum*, for which he had engaged half the Lands confiscated from the *Thebans*, because of their continual Rebellions, and who besides all this, was impatient, to transport that Army fresh and every way compleat to *Rome* against his Enemies, consented to his Peace, by telling him; Archelaus, Mithridates *should have sent Ambassadors to* Rome, *to complain of the injuries he had received, but instead*

* Ragusa.

ſtead of that he himſelf injured others, entring in hoſtile manner into their Territories, plundring their Treaſures as well Publick as Sacred, ſeiſing on the Goods of thoſe he had put to death, and ſhoving no more faith nor goodneſs to his own friends then to us, deſtroying many of them, and murdering the Tetrarchs, his familiars who had all their throats cut in one night, with their Wives and Children, though they were not guilty ſo much as of a deſign. As for what regards us, he rather made appear his inveterate hatred, then any neceſſity he had to make War, when he let looſe his rage againſt the Italians in Aſia, *by a thouſand ſorts of Torments, ſparing neither Age, Sex nor Quality. So much hate does this man bear to the Latin Name, who calls himſelf my Fathers Friend, but never remembred that friendſhip till I had ſlain him a hundred and ſixty thouſand men. Wherefore we have no reaſon to truſt you any more. However for your ſake I promiſe he ſhall obtain favour from the Senate and People of* Rome, *if it be in good earneſt that he ask it, but if he ſtill feign, I adviſe you* Archelaus, *to conſider the preſent eſtate of his affairs and your own, how he treats his Friends, and how we have dealt with* Eumenes *and* Maſſaniſſa. At theſe words *Archelaus* interrupted him, angry that he ſhould tempt him, and telling him he was not a man to betray Forces intruſted to his charge, but that he really hoped for peace if *Sylla* demanded only juſt things. Whereupon *Sylla*, after ſome moments Silence: *Provided* (ſaid he) Archelaus, *that* Mithridates *put into our hands all the Fleet he has, reſtore the Generals Deputies, and other Priſoners, deliver up the Runaway's and fugitive Slaves, ſend back to their Cities thoſe of* Chios, *and others tranſported to the Euxine Sea, withdraw his Garriſons from all places where he has planted them, ſave only thoſe he had before the Peace was broke, pay the Expence of this War, which he has been the cauſe of, and content himſelf with the Kingdom of his Anceſtors. I hope to prevail ſo far that the Roman people ſhall forget the Offences they have received.* Archelaus hearing theſe conditions, began preſently to withdraw his Garriſons, and about the reſt wrote to the King. *Sylla*, that he might not in the mean while looſe any time; went and ſpoiled the Countries of the Henetians, Dardanians, and other Neighbouring Nations, who made delay incurſions into *Macedon*, by that means exerciſing his Soldiers. *Mithridates* Deputies returning ſome time after, agreed to all, ſave only about *Paphlagonia*, but added that they could have had better terms from the other General *Fimbria*. Whereupon *Sylla* offended at that compariſon, made anſwer, *that that word ſhould coſt* Fimbria *dear, and that as ſoon as he came into* Aſia, *he would ſee whether* Mithridates *ſtood in need of Peace or War.* Whereupon he cauſed his Army to take their March through *Thrace*, that he might bring them to *Cypſela*, having ſent *Lucullus* before to *Abydos*, for he was now returned, having often very narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of Pyrates. However he had brought with him a kind of Fleet of Ships, which he had been furniſhed with at *Cyprus*, *Phœnicia*, *Rhodes*, and in *Pamphilia*, with which he had pillaged all the Coaſt as he came along, and skirmiſhed with *Mithridates* his Fleet: *Sylla* therefore parting from *Cypſela*, and *Mithridates* from *Pergamus*, met together, and began a new conference, being drawn out into the Field, with few followers in the ſight of both Armies. *Mithridates* began his diſcourſe with the alliance which he and his Father had with the people of *Rome*, complained of the injuries he had received from the Roman Generals and Commiſſaries, who had eſtabliſhed *Ariobarzanes* in *Cappadocia*, taken from him *Phrigia*, and favored by their diſſimulation the Violences of *Nicomedes*. *And all this* (ſaid he) *for Money which they received ſometimes from me, and ſometimes from my Enemies, for there is nothing, you Gentle-*

men

men of Rome *may ſo juſtly be reproached with as love of Money. In ſhort, your Generals being come to make War againſt me, whatever I have done in my own defence, ought rather to be attributed to neceſſity then to any deliberate purpoſe.* Mithridates having only ſaid thus much, *Sylla* anſwered in this manner. *Though this be not the buſineſs, we are met for, but only to conclude a Peace on the conditions by me already propoſed, yet I will likewiſe in few words ſatisfy you in what you reproach us with. When I commanded in* Cilicia, *I reeſtabliſhed* Ariobarzanes *in* Cappadocia, *by the Senates order, and I did it becauſe you yielded to the Authority of the People, for you ought either to have oppoſed it and ſhewed your reaſons in Judgments, or after having ſuffered it, acquieſce in the Decree of the Senate. As for* Phrygia, Manius *gave it you, corrupted by your gifts, which made it a common crime betwixt you, and by ſaying you got it by corruption, you own the poſſeſſion unlawful, and indeed* Manius *being convicted of having done many things of like nature for Money, the Senate declared them all null. Wherefore* Phrygia *being granted to you unjuſtly, they would not make it tributary to* Rome, *but ſet it at liberty. And when we diſpenſe with our dominion, over a Country which by right of War belonged to us, as Conquerours of it, what reaſon have you to ſieſe on it? As for* Nicomedes, *he complains that by your perſwaſion* Alexander *who deſigned to kill him, wounded him, and* Socrates Chreſtus *invaded his Kingdom. He confeſſes that thus injured, he entered armed into your Territories, but if you thought your ſelf injured without cauſe you ſhould have ſent your Deputies to* Rome, *and expected the anſwer of the Senate. Yet granting that in the aſſault of* Nicomede, *you only repelled force by force, what had* Ariobarzanes *done, that you ſhould drive him out of his Eſtates? Therefore the Roman Generals that were upon the place, were obliged to reeſtabliſh him, and by reſiſting them, you kindled a War long time premeditated, and to begin which, you ſought only an opportunity, out of the hopes to become Maſters of all the World, if you could overcome the Romans. We have manifeſt Proofs of this, ſince before any War was begun, you entred into alliance with the Thracians, Scythians, and Sarmatians, ſolicited the Kings your Neighbours by your Embaſſadors, cauſed Shipping to be built, provided your ſelf with Pilots and men of War; but above all, the Time you choſe for the Execution of your Deſigns is your conviction, for as ſoon as you knew that our Allies in* Italy *were reſolved againſt us, you made uſe of that opportunity while we thus were embroyled to aſſail* Nicomedes, *and* Ariobarzanes, *and one after another,* Galatia, Paphlagonia, *and our own province of* Aſia. *What cruelties have you not acted? Whether to the Cities which you have ſubmitted to Slaves and Debtors, the firſt of which you freed from Servitude, and the laſt from the Power of their Creditors: Whether to the* Greeks *of whom you put to death ſixteen hundred for one ſole crime. Whether to the Tetrarchs of* Gallogrecia, *whom you murdered eating at your table. Or whether to the Italians, whom in the ſame day you put all to the Sword, or drowned them in Water with their Wives and Children, without reſpect to the ſacred places, or the Temples, whither they had fled for Sanctuary. What Inhumanity did you not manifeſt in this occaſion? What Impiety, what furious hate againſt us? In concluſion, after having ſeiſed the Treaſures of all theſe people, you ſent over great Armies into* Europe, *contrary to our Edict, by which it is expreſly forbid all Kings of* Aſia, *to enter there. That done you foraged* Macedonia, *one of our Provinces, deprived the* Greeks *of their liberty, and never repented of all this, nor made any uſe of the Interceſſion of* Archelaus *till after I had recovered* Macedonia, *and delivered the* Greeks *from your violence by ſlaying one hundred and ſixty thouſand of your men, and taking two of your Camps, with all their Munition. And now I cannot but wonder,*

that you ſhould excuſe your ſelf of the ſame matters for which you asked pardon by Archelaus, *unleſs it be that when I was far off, you were afraid of me, and now ſeeing me near, you think I am come to plead; but pleadings are in vain when Arms are once taken in hand. We do make War upon you, and have defended our ſelves bravely hitherto, and will defend our ſelves to the end.*

Sylla pronouncing theſe words in Anger, the King was afraid, accepted the conditions propoſed to *Archelaus*, and after having ſurrendred up his Shipping, and executed all that was contained in the Articles of Peace, he returned into *Pontus*, reduced to the Kingdoms of his Father only. Thus was the firſt War againſt *Mithridates* appeaſed.

XVII. *Sylla* after this went and encamped within two Furlongs of *Fimbria*, and ſent to ſummon him to deliver into his hands, the Army which he commanded contrary to the Laws, to which he in raillery returned anſwer, that *Sylla* himſelf had no very legitimate command. *Sylla* thereupon beſieged him in his Trenches, and many publickly forſaking him, he aſſembled the reſt to beſeech them to ſtay, but they told him they would not fight againſt Roman Citizens: He thereupon rent his Robe, addreſſes himſelf to every one in particular, begging with Tears in his eyes, but they having an averſion for ſuch a meanneſs of Spirit, the greateſt part went over into *Sylla*'s Army. Then he ran from Tent to Tent to ſolicite the Tribunes, part of whom having gained by Money, he once again aſſembles the Soldiers to renew the Oath. Upon which the *Henetians* crying out all with one voice, that the Soldiers ſhould be called out and ſworn man by man, he gave Orders firſt to call out thoſe who had received kindneſſes from him, and particularly *Nonius* the Companion of all his Crimes, who refuſed to ſwear, he drew his Sword, and had thruſt it into his belly, had not a great ſhout ſuddenly raiſed throughout the whole Army, ſtopt his proceeding farther. After this he ſuborned a Slave with Money and promiſes, to go into *Sylla*'s Camp as a Runaway and to kill him, but he not having been able to bear up with conſtancy enough, his trembling made him ſuſpected, ſo that being taken, he confeſſed the whole matter. This attempt inflamed all *Sylla*'s Army with juſt anger, and made *Fimbria* ſo deſpiſable, that the Soldiers going to the Ditch of his Camp, reviled him, calling him *Ariſtion*, after the name of one of thoſe fugitive Slaves in *Sicily*, who for a few daies was King. Wherefore *Fimbria* loſt to all hopes, advanced to his Rampart, and demanded to ſpeak with *Sylla*, who ſending *Rutilius* in his ſtead, put *Fimbria* quite in deſpair, ſeeing a conference would not be granted to him, which had not uſually been denied even to Enemies. Yet he ſpoke to *Rutilius*, and told him he deſired pardon for the faults he might have committed, through the imprudence of his Age. To which *Rutilius* anſwered, that if he would depart out of *Aſia*, where *Sylla* was Proconſul, he would give him paſſ-port as far as the Sea, he replied he knew a way more convenient, and at the ſame time returning to *Pergamus*, and entring the Temple of *Æſculapius*, he thruſt himſelf quite through the body with his Sword, but the wound not being mortal, he deſired the aſſiſtance of one of his Slaves, who diſpatched him, and afterward ſlew himſelf. Thus ended *Fimbria*, the ſecond Plague of *Aſia*, next to *Mithridates*. *Sylla* gave his body to his freed men to bury it, ſaying he would not imitate *Cinna* and *Marius*, who had deprived many in the City, not only of life, but Burials; he received likewiſe the Army of the defunct, which came to yield themſelves up to him, and joyned them with his own. After this he commanded *Curio* to reconduct *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* into their Kingdoms

doms, and wrote to the Senate of all that he had done, without taking the leaſt notice of his having heard that he was declared Enemy of the State, then he proceeded to ſettle Neceſſary Orders in the Province, he enfranchized and placed in the Number of the Allies of the people of *Rome* thoſe of *Ilion*, *Chios*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Magneſia*, and ſome other people in acknowledgement of the good ſervices they had done the Common-wealth of *Rome*, or the better to comfort them for the miſeries they had undergone for taking part with the Romans. And after having ſent Parties of Soldiers to all the other Cities, he cauſed an Ordinance to be proclaimed by which all Slaves were enjoyned to return under the Power of their Maſters, but becauſe that many would not obey, and that many Cities likewiſe revolted, the publiſhing of this ordinance cauſed a multitude of diſorders, and was followed by ſtrange Slaughters, as well of Slaves, as free people, beſides the ruine of ſeveral Cities whoſe Inhabitants were ſold at outcry. He likewiſe ſeverely chaſtiſed all thoſe who had taken part with the Cappadocian as well in general as particular, eſpecially the Epheſians, who out of a baſe complacence for *Mithridates*, had ſhamefully taken out of their Temple, the gifts preſented by the Romans. After this Heralds were ſent to all the Cities, to give notice to the principal Inhabitans, to appear upon a certain day before *Sylla* at *Epheſus*. Where being aſſembled he took his ſeat on the Tribunal, and ſpoke to them in this manner.

The Oration of *Sylla*.

THe firſt time we paſſed with an Army into Aſia *was when* Antiochus *King of* Syria *ſpoiled your Province, whom we drove beyond the* Tanais *and Mount* Taurus, *and though after that we might have kept you under our Dominion, we left all at liberty, ſave ſome few people, whom we gave to* Eumenes *and the Rhodians, our Allies, rather as Subjects then as Tributaries, which is manifeſt becauſe when the Lycians complained againſt thoſe of* Rhodes, *we freed them from their obedience. Theſe benefits we have done, you obſerve now your acknowledgment. After that* Attalus Philometor *had left us his Kingdom by Will and Teſtament, you aſſiſted* Ariſtonicus *againſt us for the ſpace of four Years, till ſuch time as he being taken Priſoner, ſome of you returned to your duty either through neceſſity or fear. After which remaining in Peace four and tnenty Years together, you in that time became ſo prodigiouſly rich, as well Comonalties at private perſons, that the repoſe and delights which you enjoyed revived in your Spirits your animoſities and averſion againſt us, and taking occaſion from the differences we had with our Allies, ſome invited* Mithridates *to make War againſt us, and others joyned with him, as ſoon as they ſaw him in the Field. But that which is moſt heynous, you conceived no horror to murder, by his order on the ſame day all the Italians with their Wives and Children, not ſparing thoſe who had fled for refuge into the Temples, conſecrated to your Gods. 'Tis true you have in ſome meaſure been chaſtiſed by* Mithridates *himſelf, who violating the Promiſes he had made you, gave you over to the Plunder of his Soldiers, and filling your Province with Blood and Slaughter, deſpoiled you of your Lands, diſcharged your Creditors of the Money they ought you, gave liberty to your Slaves, and ſet Tyrants in many places over you, and encouraged the Retreats of Thieves, and Pyrates in all places, both by Sea and*

Land. So that it was long ere you made tryal of the difference between the Protectors you had caſt off, and thoſe you had choſen; We have likewiſe inflicted ſome puniſhment on the Perſons of the Authors of theſe diſorders, but that is not enough; It is but juſt to impoſe ſome publick penalty that may be agreeable to your crime; But fear not from the Roman Clemency Maſſacres, raſh confiſcations, inſurrections of ſlaves, or other barbarous actions of that Nature. We allow ſomething to the Grecian Name, to the glory of Aſia, *and to our Ancient Friendſhip. I therefore condemn you only in the advance of five years tribute which you owe, together with the mony expended in this War, and a certain Sum to be imployed in the affairs of the Province. I my ſelf will appoint the contribution of each City, and the time of payment, and take notice whoever will not obey I ſhall treat them as Enemies.*

Having ſaid theſe words he Aſſeſſed the ſeveral Sums, ſent the Rolls to the Deputies, and appointed Commiſſioners for Collecting of the Moneys. Now they being Poor and already very much in Debt, and beſides ſorely oppreſſed with the quartering of Soldiers, were conſtrained to Mortgage to the Uſurers, ſome their Theaters, others their places for Excerciſes, others their Forts or Gates or ſome Publick Building; Thus great Sums of Mony were brought in to *Sylla*, and *Aſia* groaned under its Calamities; for beſides all this the Pyrates kept the Sea with ſuch great Fleets, that they might almoſt compoſe ſo many perfect Armies, with which they publickly pillaged the Sea Coaſts. *Mithridates* ſent them firſt to ſpoil thoſe places, the Dominion of which he was like to looſe, but they were extreamly increaſed and grown formidable, not only to thoſe that ſailed on the Sea, but likewiſe to the Ports, Caſtles and Maritime Cities. So that *Faſſos*, *Samos*, *Clazomene* and *Samothracia* were taken and ſackt before *Sylla*'s face, and 'tis ſaid they took out of the Temple of *Samothrace*, Riches to the value of a thouſand Talents. He would not relieve them, whether he thought them unworthy becauſe of their infidelity, or becauſe he haſtned his return to *Rome*, by reaſon of the ſeditious, wherefore he paſſed into *Greece*, and from thence into *Italy*, with the greateſt part of his Army. We have writ what he did there in the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, proceed we now to ſet forth how the ſecond War began between *Mithridates* and the *Romans*.

XVIII. *Murena* whom *Sylla* had left with *Fimbrias* two Legions to ſettle the remaining orders neceſſary in the province, ſought only ſome occaſion of war, out of a Paſſion to obtain the Honor of Triumph, and *Mithridates* being returned into his Kingdom made War upon the Colches, and the Boſphorans who had revolted againſt him. As for the Colches they only demanded *Mithridates* Son for their King, and having obtained it returned to their obedience. But the King having a ſuſpicion that what they had done was by his Sons ſolicitation, ſent for him, fettered him in chains of Gold, and ſoon after made him away, though he had ſerved him well in *Aſia* againſt *Fimbria*. As for thoſe of *Boſphorus*, *Mithridates* ſet forth a Fleet and raiſed ſo powerful an Army, that ſuch great preparations gave occaſion to believe they were not made againſt the Boſphorans but againſt the Romans. For the King had not yet ſo abſolutely quitted the poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, but that it was with the reſerve of ſome places. He had moreover entertained a ſuſpicion that *Archelaus*, when he was in *Greece* had granted to *Sylla* conditions beyond what was reaſonable, which

which that Captain perceiving was afraid, and fled to *Murena* for protection. He animated him so far against *Mithridates* that he presently took the field to be beforehand with him, and entring his Country by the way of *Cappadocia*, forraged as far as the Gates of *Comanes* the greatest City of the Kingdom, Celebrated for a famous and rich Temple, where having defeated some Horse of the Kings, the Deputies on his behalf came to him, remonstrating that by this Action he broke the Articles of Peace, to which he answered that he saw no Articles, and indeed, *Sylla* had drawn no writings, but only contenting himself with the Execution of the conditions, was departed out of the Province. *Murena* giving only this short Answer, pursued his Enterprise, and after having pillaged even the Consecrated Monies, returned to take his Winter quarters in *Cappadocia*. The King sent Ambassadors to the Senate, and to *Sylla* to make his complaint of *Murena*, who in the mean time forbore not crossing the River *Halis* (though very broad, and at that time extreamly swoln by reason of the Rains) and sacking four hundred Villages of *Mithridates* Kingdom, without receiving any opposition from the King, who expected the return of his Ambassadors. So that the Roman General returned into *Phrygia* and *Galatia* with a great booty, where *Callidius* sent from *Rome* because of *Mithridates* complaints, came to meet him. He showed him no Ordinance of the Senate, but only told him before a great company there present that the Senate forbad him to do any injury to a King, with whom they had contracted a Peace, and after having said those words in publick, he entertained him a good while in private. *Murena* forbore nothing of his former Violence, but on the contrary presently caused his Army to March towards the Frontiers of *Mithridates* Kingdom, who seeing now it must of force come to an open War, commanded *Gordius* to possess himself of the Neighboring Villages. That General forthwith made provisions of beasts for burthen and munitions, and gathering together all the Country, and as many Soldiers as he could, went and encamped on the River, directly opposite to *Murena*, but neither one nor the other put themselves in a posture to fight, till such time as the King being come with a more powerful Army, there hapned a great Engagement: For the King having passed the River, notwithstanding all the Resistance of the Enemy forced *Murena* to give ground, and to secure himself on an eminence naturally fortified, from whence taking the byways of the Mountains, he recovered *Phrygia*, after having lost many of his people, either in the flight or in the Battel. The Fame of this great Victory, gained so suddenly, and as it were in passing, being soon spread abroad, in all places drew Multitudes of people to *Mithridates*. And he to return his thanks to *Jupiter Militaris*, after having driven out all the Garrisons *Murena* had left in *Cappadocia*, sacrificed to him according to the custom of the Country. The place where this Sacrifice is made is on a high mountain, on the top of which they raise a mighty pile for the Victims, to which the Kings bring the first Wood, then they raise another smaller Pile on the top of that, whereon they pour Milk, Hony, Oyl and Wine, and all sorts of Odoriferous Drugs. At the foot of the Pile is a Feast made for the Assistants, like to those the Kings of *Persia* were accustomed to make at *Pasargada*, and after all they set fire to the Pile, the flame of which rises so high that it is ordinarily seen a * thousand Furlongs, and the fire so heats the Air thereabout, that the place is not to be approached for some days after. Thus Sacrificed *Mithridates*. But *Sylla* judging that it was a blemish to his Honor to have the War still continued against a King, with whom he him-

* *An hundred twenty and five Miles.*

himſelf had concluded a peace, prevailed to have *Gabinius* ſent to *Murena*, to order him poſitively to give over this War, and to reconcile *Mithridates* with *Ariobarzanes*. They met therefore together in a place where *Mithridates* delivered to *Ariobarzanes* in Hoſtage one of his Sons of four years old, to the end, that part of *Cappadocia* where he had placed Garriſons, might remain to him with ſome augmentation, and that being agreed he made a feaſt for all the company, where he propoſed a reward for thoſe who excelled either in Drinking, Eating, Jeſting or Singing, and in ſhort all ſorts of Divertiſements, from whieh only *Gabinius* excuſed himſelf. Thus ended the ſecond War between *Mithridates* and the Romans, after having laſted three years. Sometime after the King finding himſelf at peace, ſubdued the Boſphorans. And made King of that Nation one of his Sons called *Machares*. After that, he invaded the Acheans, which are on the Frontiers of the Colches, and who as ſome ſay, are the remainder of thoſe who returning from the Wars of *Troy*, were brought by chance to that Coaſt. But having loſt one half of his Army partly by Ambuſhes, partly in ſet battel, or by the Extremity of the Cold, he returned into his Kingdom, from whence he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to ratifie by writing the Articles of the Peace. *Ariobarzanes* for his part whether of his own motion, or ſet on by ſome other, ſent likewiſe to complain againſt him, that he had not reſtored to him *Cappadocia*, for *Mithridates* ſtill withheld a good part. Whereupon *Sylla* ordained that *Mithridates* ſhould abſolutely quit *Cappadocia*, which he did, and then again ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to demand a Ratification of the Treaties. But becauſe *Sylla* being dead, no perſon would move it in the Senate, he underhand engaged his Son in Law *Tigranes* to make an irruption into *Cappadocia*, as done of himſelf, which yet was not ſo cloſely carried, but the Romans had knowledge of it. The Armenian however entred violently into *Cappadocia*, and carried away into *Armenia* three hundred thouſand men whom he imployed with other Country People in Tilling the Land. He had not yet taken the title of *Armenia*, but now he aſſumed it, and cauſed *Tigranocerta* to be called by his own Name, that is to ſay the City of *Tigranes*, theſe things paſſed in *Aſia*.

XIX. But *Sertorius* having ſieſed upon *Spain*, not only made an inſurrection in that Province, but among all the Neighboring People, againſt the Romans, and compoſed a kind of Senate of thoſe of his Faction; of the Number of his Senators, there were two of the name of *Lucius*, the one *Manius* the other *Fanius*, who gave advice to *Mithridates*, that if he he made an Alliance with *Sertorius*, he might ſoon become Maſter of the greateſt part of *Aſia*, and the Nations thereunto confining. The King ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded, and ſent Ambaſſadors to him, whom he cauſed to be brought into his Senate to receive Audience, and after having ſpoken advantagiouſly of his own glory, the regulation of which had reached even to the Kingdom of *Pontus*, ſo that he beheld himſelf in a Condition to make War upon the Romans, both in the Eaſt and Weſt, he made an Alliance with *Mithridates* in favor of which he gave him in *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and ſent *M. Varius* to be his General, and the two *Lucii* to ſerve him as Counſellors. And indeed they counſelled him to undertake this third War; wherein he loſt all his Empire, *Sertorius* being dead in *Spain*, and the Romans having ſent againſt him two Generals, firſt *Lucullus*, who commanded the fleet under *Sylla*, and after him *Pompey* under whoſe Conduct all the Eſtates of *Mithridates*

thridates fell under the Roman Power, and with them all the Neighboring Nations as far as *Euphrates*, *Pompey* taking from this way opportunity to reduce them. *Mithridates* then who had already made trial of the Roman Arms, and hoped for no favor, began this War, with great Gaiety and Courage, laboring might and main in his preparations, as one reſolved to overcome or periſh. He employ'd the reſt of that Summer, and all Winter in cutting down Materials, and building of Shipping, and forging of Arms, and ſent into his Sea Ports two Millions of *Mina*'s of * Wheat; beſides his old Troops he had preſently great Numbers of Auxiliaries. Thoſe he raiſed in *Aſia*, were compoſed of Chalybes, Armenians, Scythians, Taurians, Achæans, Heniochiens, Leucoſyrians and thoſe people inhabiting on the Banks of the River *Thermodoon* called *Amazones*. Thoſe he leavied in Europe were Sarmatians, Baſilides, Jaziges, Coralles, of all the People of *Thrace*, near the River *Iſter*, and the Mountains *Rhodope* and *Hæmus*, and likewiſe the Baſternes the moſt Valiant Nation of all. Thus comprizing the *Europeans*, his whole force was found to amount to one hundred and forty thouſand Foot, and ſixteen thouſand Horſe, beſides Multitudes of Pioneers, Sutlers, and Merchants that followed the Army: Spring being come he took a review of his Fleet, ſacrificed to *Jupiter Militaris* according to Cuſtom, and cauſed to be caſt into the Sea a ſet of white Horſes Harnaſſed, as an offering to *Neptune*, and after all that marched into *Paphlagonia* with his Forces, under the command of *Taxiles* and *Eumocrates* his Lieutenant Generals; being arrived there, he made an Oration to his Army, ſpeaking proudly of his Predeceſſors and of himſelf, how from a little Kingdom he had made it a mighty Empire, without ever having been overcome by the Romans, where himſelf was in Perſon. In concluſion he declared againſt their unſatiable and unlimitted ambition, which had even reduced *Italy* it ſelf, their Native Country to Slavery. Then he began to ſpeak of their Infidelity towards him, refuſing to ratifie the Peace by writing, that they might be at liberty upon the firſt opportunity to renew the War; and then after having laid down the reaſons that induced him to the War, he began to talk wonders of his own preparations, and to ſpeak with contempt of the Roman affairs, whom *Sertorius* overpreſſed in *Spain*, and which in *Italy* were become deplorable by domeſtick Seditions. *'Tis for theſe reaſons*, ſaid he, *that though the Pyrates have ſo long reigned at Sea, they have not been able to take any Courſe with them, for they have no Allies that aſſiſt them, nor no Subjects but thoſe they keep in awe by force of Arms. See you not here ſaid he* (pointing to the two *Lucii*) *their moſt conſiderable Citizens, who have declared themſelves Enemies of their Country to make an Alliance with us.* Having encouraged his Army by theſe words, he made an Irruption into *Bithynia*, which *Nicomedes* lately deceaſed without Iſſue had given by will to the Roman people. *Cotta* was at preſent Governor, but being a heartleſs Man he fled to *Chaltedon* with all his Forces. Thus *Bithynia* fell once more under the power of *Mithridates*, the Romans being all retired with *Cotta* to *Chalcedon*. The King advancing to aſſault that City, *Cotta* who was nothing of a Soldier durſt not come to an incounter with him, but his Admiral called *Nudus*, drew into the field with one half of the Army, and poſted himſelf in an advantagious place; yet he was driven thence, and forced to fly towards one of the Gates of the City, where every one preſſing to enter, the Enemies that purſued them, threw no dart in vain upon a Multitude ſo crouded together, thoſe which guarded the Walls being in fear for themſelves, let down the Porteullis, and drawing up *Nudus* and ſome

* *An uncertain meaſure.*

ſome other Officers by ropes, left the reſt to mercy, who were ſlain in the midſt, between Friends and Enemies, ſtretching out their hands in vain to one and the other. *Mithridates* thinking it beſt to purſue his good fortune, cauſed his Fleet the ſame day to come about to the mouth of the Port, and having broken the Iron Chain, that croſſed it, burnt four of the Enemies Ships, and Tow'd out the reſt, about ſixty in Number, at their Sterns, whilſt neither *Nudus* nor *Cotta* endeavored to prevent them, not daring to ſtir out of the Circuit of their Walls. There died three thouſand Romans amongſt whom was *L. Manlius* a Senator, *Mithridates* loſt only twenty Soldiers of his Baſternes, who were moſt forward in the aſſault of the Port.

XX. Soon after *Lucius Lucullus* ſent to this War, brought with him one Legion from the City, to which thoſe two of *Fimbria*'s, and two others being joyned, ſo that he might have about thirty thouſand Foot, and ſixteen hundred Horſe, he went and encamped near *Mithridates*, who beſieged *Cyſica*, where having underſtood by the Runaway's that the King had about three hundred thouſand Men, and that what Proviſions he had were partly brought by Sea, and the remainder by thoſe that went out on Forrage, he turned himſelf to his people, and ſaid he would ſoon have his Enemies at diſcretion, bidding them remember what he now told them. He obſerved after this a mountain very proper to encamp on, of which if he could poſſeſs himſelf he might have abundance of Victuals, and on the contrary the Enemy would want. Wherefore he deſigned to poſt himſelf there, thinking it of infinite importance to overcome without danger. There was only one very narrow avenue to it, of which *Mithridates* was ſieſed and had placed there a ſtrong guard, according to the advice of *Taxiles*, and his other Captains, but *Lucius Manius*, who had been Arbitrator of the Alliance betwixt *Mithridates* and *Sertorius* after the laſt was dead, ſent privately a man to *Lucullus*, and having got his word for himſelf perſwaded the King to let the Romans paſs, and incamp where they pleaſed, becauſe *Fimbria*'s Legions who had fought under *Sertorius* had a deſign to yield themſelves to him, and would do it in few days, and that there was no need of the expence of blood or ſweat, when they might vanquiſh without fighting. Whereupon *Mithridates* doubting nothing, accorded very imprudently to this advice, ſuffering the Romans to paſs in all ſecurity by the ſtrait, and fortifie againſt himſelf a high mountain, of which being once Maſters, proviſions might freely be brought to them from behind, whilſt a Lake, Mountains and Rivers hindring the bringing of any by Land to *Mithridates*, it ſoon began to grow ſcarce; beſides he had no way left to make a retreat by, nor could he by force draw *Lucullus* from his poſt, having let go his advantage, and to all this Winter approached, when no more Proviſion could come by Sea. Now *Lucullus* remembred his friends of the promiſe he had made them, ſhowing them the thing almoſt done. Not but that *Mithridates* poſſibly might, having ſuch a Multitude of Men, have forced his paſſage through the midſt of his Enemies: but he choſe rather to employ his power againſt *Cyſica*, believing that the taking of that City would prove a remedy both againſt the difficulty of the way out, and the ſcarcity of Proviſion; And becauſe his Army was ſo vaſtly numerous he undertook at the ſame time all manner of ways to ſtorm it. He incloſed the Port where Ships were with a double Wall, drew Lines of Circumvallation about the reſt of the City, raiſed a great Number of Platforms, Built Towers of Wood, and Batteries covered with Teſtudoes

and

and other Engins, of which one which was the greateſt was called *Hellepolis*, one hundred Cubits large, on which was a tower furniſhed with inſtruments to caſt ſtones, and darts of all ſorts. He likewiſe drew up cloſe to the Port, two Gallies joyned together, which bore a tower from which they might lay a bridge to the wall. Things thus prepared he cauſed three thouſand Cyſicenian priſoners, to be imbarked upon Veſſels, and ſent under the walls, who when they came near, ſtretched forth their hands to their fellow Citizens, beſeeching them to have compaſſion of them in the danger wherein they were. But *Piſiſtratus* Governor of the place cauſed them to be told from the wall, that being now reduced under anothers power, they ought to reſolve with themſelves, and with conſtancy undergo their misfortune. This way not ſucceeding, *Mithridates* cauſed to advance towards the wall, the Engine built on the two Gallies, and having preſently let fall the Bridge; four Soldiers leaped upon it and gained the wall. The Cyſicenians ſurpriſed at this Novelty, ſeemed at firſt to give a little ground, but ſeeing no more haſtned to follow them, they took heart, and made thoſe four leap from the top to the bottom. Then pouring pitch on the Gallies, and caſting fire on it, they forced the beſiegers to retire; and get off their Engine. Thus the aſſault from the Seaward proved unſucceſsful. The ſame day a third attempt was made, they brought at the ſame time, all the Batteries up to the Wall on the Land ſide, but the inhabitants bravely defended themſelves running from ſide to ſide, and from one place to another, ſo wherever the Aſſault was moſt violent, they craſhed in pieces the Engines with great Stones which they let fall upon them, or turned off their blow with Cords, wherewith they intangled them, or rendred them ineffectual by placing before them Sacks of Wool hung over the wall, quenching their flaming Darts with Water and Vinegar, and breaking off the force of the others by placing before them bundles of Cloths, and Coverlids. In ſhort, they put in practice all that the wit of Man could invent to defend themſelves; yet all the pains they took could not prevent one part of the Wall, to which the beſiegers had applied fire, from falling before night, but the fury of the flame being then ſo great that they durſt not attempt to enter, and the beſieged the ſame night built up another Rampart from which they defended themſelves, till ſuch time as there aroſe a mighty tempeſt, which utterly broke to pieces all the Kings Engins, and made them uſeleſs. 'Tis ſaid that *Jupiter* gave this City in Dower to *Proſerpina*, whom the Cyſicenians adore above all other Divinities, and that during the ſiege, her Feaſt day on which they uſed to Sacrifice to her a Black Cow being come, and they having none of that hair had made one of Paſte to offer in Sacrifice to her, when behold at the ſame time a Black Cow coming from the Sea, and cutting through the waters, paſſed over the booms that were drawn croſs the Port, and entring into it, ran through the City directly to the Temple, and ſtopt before the Altar, on which the Inhabitants ſacrificed it with hopes of Relief. *Mithridates* Friends upon this, adviſed him to raiſe his ſiege from before this Sacred City, but he would not be moved. He got up to Mount *Dindymus* which is above the City, from whence he cauſed to be continued a Terraſs or Platform directly to the Walls, upon which he made Towers to be erected, he likewiſe wrought hard to undermine the Walls, and having many uſeleſs Horſes, ſome too lean for want of Forrage, and others lame for want of Shoo's, he ſent them back to *Bithynia*. *Lucullus* purſued them, and overtaking them at a paſſage of the River *Rhyndace* made a great ſlaughter, took fifteen thouſand Priſoners, ſix thou-

ſand Horſes for Service, and a great Number of Beaſts for Burthen. Whilſt theſe things paſſed at *Ciſica*, *Eumachus* one of *Mithridates* Generals making inroads into *Phrygia*, with a flying Army, ſlew a great Number of Romans with their Wives and Children, ſubdued the Piſidians the Iſaurians and *Cilicia*, till ſuch time as *Deiotarus* one of the Tetrarchs of *Galatia* drawing into the Field to purſue him, at laſt overtook him, defeated him, and ſlew a great quantity of his people. Mean while Winter being come, *Mithridates* found himſelf deprived of thoſe few Proviſions that came by Sea, ſo that Famine ſurpriſed his Army, ſome dyed, and others lived on dead Carkaſes, after the manner of the Barbarians, others again feeding on nothing but Herbs, contracted mortal diſtempers, beſides the ſtink of the Corps that lay in the Fields unburied brought the Plague amongſt them. Yet for all this *Mithridates* courage failed not, for he hoped at laſt to take the City by the Terraſs he was raiſing from Mount *Dindymus*. But when the Inhabitants had undermined that and burnt all his Engines, and that knowing his Soldiers were weakned by Famine, they began to vex him with continual Sallies, he reſolved to raiſe his Siege, he therefore embarqued by night to go with his Fleet to *Para*, and his Land Army took their march towards *Lampſacus*, but becauſe the River *Æſopus* was more ſwoln then ordinary, *Lucullus* overtook them at the Paſſage, ſlew a great Number, and purſued the reſt as far as that Town, to which having laid Siege, *Mithridates* ſent Shipping thither, and brought away both Soldiers and Inhabitants by Sea. After this he left in one part of his Ships, ten thouſand choſen men, commanded by that *Varius* whom *Sertorius* had ſent to him. *Alexander* the Paphlagonian, and *Dionyſius* the Eunuch, and himſelf went towards *Nicomedia*, with the reſt which where the greateſt Number, but the greateſt part of the one and other, periſhed by ſtorm: Thus the Ciſicenians ſo powerfully aſſailed ſaved themſelves, by their own Valour, and by the aſſiſtance of *Lucullus*, who ſtarved the Enemies Army. Wherefore to this day they exhibit ſolemn Plays in memory of him which they call Lucullians.

XXI. Now the Conſul after having ſo well ſucceeded by Land, by means of the Famine, diſtributed thoſe Ships he had cauſed to come from *Aſia*, to his Lieutenants, of whom one called *Triarius* made a deſcent at *Apamia*, forced the City, and made a horrible Slaughter of the Inhabitants who had taken Sanctuary in the Temples. The other called *Barba* made himſelf Maſter of *Nicea*, and *Prutiade* ſeated on a Mountain, both deſerted by *Mithridates* Garriſons, and then keeping the Sea, went and took thirteen of the Enemies Ships out of the very port of the *Achæans*. And having met near *Lemnos* with *Varius*, *Alexander* and *Dionyſius* in a deſert Iſle, where is to be ſeen the Altar of *Philoctetes*, tyed about with a brazen Serpent, a Bow and a Corſlet, tyed about with Bands, which are the Monuments of his misfortune. He made directly towards them, without knowing who they were, but ſeeing they ſtood firm, he ſent off only two Ships to draw the Enemies to a Battel, who would not quit the road, but were content to defend themſelves from the Land, he therefore ſent other Ships about, who putting aſhore ſome foot on the other ſide of the Iſland, he by that means forced them again to betake themſelves to their Ships, but they not daring to venter out to Sea, for fear of *Lucullus*, but coaſting along, were beaten both by Sea and Land, with a great ſlaughter, and a ſtrange diſcomfiture. The three Commanders were taken, hid in a Cave. *Dionyſius* having drunk poiſon he had with him dyed inſtantly. *Varius* was ſlain by *Lucullus* his order,

order, who thought it improper to lead a Roman Senator in Triumph, but *Alexander* was reſerved for that Pomp. This done *Lucullus* gave advice to the Senate by letter, which he ſent with Laurels, according to the cuſtome of the Victorious, and took his march towards *Bithynia*. As for *Mithriddates* as he ſailed towards *Pontus*, he was twice battered by Tempeſt, whereby he loſt ten thouſand men, and ſixty Ships, the reſt being diſperſed as the Wind carried them, and he, the Admiral being ſplit, contrary to the advice of his Friends, embarked in a Pyrates Veſſel, which brought him to *Sinope*, from thence he went to *Amiſa*, and there diſpatched away into *Armenia* to his Son in law *Tigranes* and into *Boſphorus* to *Machares*, his Son, to leavy ſpeedily Auxiliary Forces; and deputed *Diocles* to the Neighbouring Scythians with preſents and a great Sum of Money. But he went both with Preſents and Money, and ſurrendred himſelf to *Lucullus*, who in the mean time purſuing his Victory ſtill, advanced with his Army, ſubduing and plundring all as he went, ſo that being entred into a rich Country, and which for a long time had known no War, he found every thing ſo extraordinary cheap, that a Slave was ſold for four Drachms, an Ox for a Drachm, and Goats, Sheep and Cloths at a proportionable rate. At length he beſieged *Amiſa* and *Eupatoria*, which *Mithridates* cauſed to be built near *Amiſa*, calling it by his own Name, and deſigning it for the reſidence of the Kings. He aſſaulted it with Towers, Terraſſes, and Mines ſo vaſt, that they oftimes fought underground, beſides the beſieged having met with their Works, and opened them from the City ſide, did with Hives of Bees drive againſt the Labourers, Bears, and other Wild Beaſts: But yet he found more difficulty at the ſiege of *Amiſa*, for the Inhabitants defended themſelves gallantly, making frequent Sallies, and provoking the Beſiegers to fight man to man. Beſides *Mithridates* ſupplied them with as much Proviſion, Arms and Soldiers as he pleaſed, which he ſent from *Cabires*, where he ſpent the Winter, in gathering together another Army, which he ſoon found to amount to forty thouſand foot and four thouſand Horſe. About the beginning of the Spring *Lucullus* took the Field, and took up towards the Mountains to march againſt the King, who to hinder the Conſuls paſſage had placed there very good Troops, with orders to give him notice by fires of whatever paſſed. They were commanded by *Phœnix*, a man of reputation, and of the Blood Royal, who ſoon gave the Signal of *Lucullus* coming according to appointment, but went and deliverd up himſelf and his Forces to him, ſo that having ſecurely paſſed the Mountains he deſcended to *Cabires*, where being defeated in a Battel of the Horſe, he again recovered the Mountain, *Pompey* Colonel of his Cavalry was wounded and brought before the King, who asking him what he would do for him, if he gave him his life. *Much* (ſaid he) *provided you become a Friend to* Lucullus, *but as long as you are his Enemy, I have nothing to ſay.* Upon this anſwer the Barbarians would have killed him: but the King prevented them ſaying he would never injure Valour forſaken by Fortune. After this he ſeveral times drew up his Army in Battel in the Plain, and ſeeing that *Lucullus* would not deſcend, he obſerved on all ſides how he might gain the Mountain. Mean while a certain Scythian called *Olcaba*, who had ſometime before fled out of the Kings Army to *Lucullus*, and had ſaved a great part of his Forces in the laſt Battel of the Horſe, and therefore eat at the Generals Table, and was of his Counſel, and had knowledge of his ſecrets, came to his Tent, as he repoſed in the heat of the day, and would needs enter, having no Arms about him, but a little Dagger which he uſually wore; But when the Guards ſtopped him he grew

angry telling them that there was a neceſſity to wake *Lucullus*, but they told him again, that nothing was more neceſſary for *Lucullus* as life. Whereupon he mounted on horſeback, and went and ſurrendred himſelf to *Mithridates*, whether it were that he believed himſelf ſuſpected, or that he was angry at the injury he imagined he had received, he preſently diſcovered to the King another Scythian called *Sobadacus*, who being arreſted, was accuſed of a deſign of going over to *Lucullus*, who ſtayed ſtill on the Mountain; for he would not deſcend into the plain, becauſe the Enemies were ſtronger in Horſe, ſo that ſeeing no other way to go to *Mithridates* he found in a Cave a Huntſman, who knew all the ways, under whoſe Conduct he came, by unknown paſſages juſt over the head of *Mithridates*, from whence he deſcended, and without entring the plain where the Enemies Horſe lay, he went and pitched his Camp, behind a certain Channel full of Water; being there encamped he would ſoon have been in want of Proviſion, but he ſent for Corn as far as *Cappadocia*, and was continually skirmiſhing with the Enemy, till *Mithridates* one day, as thoſe of his party fled iſſuing out of his Camp, ran to meet them, and after having reviled them with reproachful words, forced them to turn head again, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Romans that they fled, and all in a breath run up to the Mountain, continuing their flight a long time after the Kings party had given over the chaſe of them, for every one took the companion of his flight for an Enemy, ſo much had fear diſtracted them. *Mithridates* puft up with this ſucceſs ſent through all the Territories under his Dominion, news of that Victory, and drew off the greateſt and beſt part of his Horſe, giving them Order to Ranſack *Lucullus* his Forragers, as they brought Corn from *Cappadocia*, hoping to reduce him to as great neceſſity of Victuals as himſelf had been at *Cyſica*. And indeed it was a plauſible Deſign to cut of *Lucullus* Proviſions which could be brought to him from no other part but *Cappadocia*, but the Kings Horſemen meeting with the Vanguard of the Forragers in certain ſtraits, where their Horſes could hardly do any ſervice, had not the patience to ſtay till they were come into the open plain. The Romans preſently put themſelves into order, and favored as they were by the advantage of the place, killed a great many of their Enemies, drove others down the Precipices, and put all the reſt to the Rout. Some ſaved themſelves by night in the Camp, and believing they only were eſcaped made the noiſe of this defeat, though truly it were great, much greater then indeed it was. And becauſe this news came ſooner to *Mithridates* then to *Lucullus*, the King judging that after the loſs of his Cavalry, the Enemy would not fail to fall upon him, grew fearful, and diſpoſed himſelf to remove thence, of which at the ſame inſtant he gave notice to his friends, that were in his Tent; But they without ſtaying till he publiſhed the march, ſent every one out of the Camp before day, his Equipage, with ſuch haſt that at the Gate the Baggage-horſes overthrew one another. This being obſerved by the Soldiers who knew thoſe that led the Horſes, their fear increaſed their ſuſpicion, and the whole Army thinking themſelves wronged, that they had not all notice of it, in a fury flew to the Paliſade, broke it down, and ſpread themſelves in diſorder through the Plain, every one flying what way he thought beſt, notwithſtanding all their Generals and Officers could do to prevent it. The King himſelf could not appeaſe this Tumult and Rage; for when he perceived it, he went out of his Tent to ſay ſomething, but not being liſtned to by any one, he threw himſelf on the ground in the midſt of the croud, from whence being taken up, and ſet on Horſe-

back

back, he fled by the way of the Mountains, with very few in his Train. *Lucullus* having intelligence of the Victory of the Forragers, and seeing the flight of his Enemies, sent the greatest part of his Horse to give them chase, and incompassed with his Foot those who remained in the Camp prepared to receive the assault. He had before strictly forbid the Soldiers to plunder, till the Enemy were utterly defeated: but when they beheld so many Vessels of Gold and Silver, and so much costly Rayment, they quite forgot his Orders. *Mithridates* himself had been taken, had they not cut open, and straw'd abroad some Males full of Gold, wherewith a Mule was loaden, which while those that followed him, busied themselves to gather up; he escaped to *Comanes*, from whence he went with two thousand Horse towards *Tigranes*, who would not see him, but gave him some Castles for his abode, and caused him to be treated and served like a King. Insomuch, that despairing of ever entring again into his Kingdom, he sent an Eunuch, called *Bacchus*, to his Seraglio, to put to death in any manner whatever, his Sisters, his Wives, and his Concubines. They became their own Executioners, and either by Steel, Poyson or a Halter ended their Lives, of which the Governours of the Garrisons left by *Mithridates* having advice, surrendred (all but a very few) to *Lucullus*.

Lucullus after this seeing himself Master of the Province, went about to all the Cities setling his orders. And causing his Fleet to come before the maritime places, he soon took *Amastris*, *Heraclea*, and all the rest except *Sinope*, which for some time generously defended it self, and got the better of him in a Sea fight. But when the Inhabitants saw they must be taken, they set on fire their largest Ships, and going on board their lighter Vessels, fled. Sometime after he restored them their liberty, being thereto advertised by his Dream. 'Tis said that *Autolycus* the Companion of *Hercules*, in his expedition against the *Amazones* being driven by tempest into *Sinope*, reigned there, and that after his death, his Statue was reverenced as a God, and uttered Oracles. Those of *Sinope* willing to have their God along with them, when they fled, wrapt it up in Linnen, and tyed it round with Cords, to carry it away the more secretly, but though *Lucullus* knew nothing of it, nor no one living had given him notice, he thought he saw that God calling to him, and on the morrow as some passed by him, carrying that *Statua* so bound up, he commanded them to unfold the Linnen that covered it, and beheld the same Image that had appeared to him. So this Dream proved advantagious to the Cittizens of *Sinope*. *Lucullus* likewise restored to liberty the Citizens of *Amisa*, who like the others had escaped away by Sea. He had heard tell that in the same time when the *Athenians* were Masters of the Sea, they had sent thither a Colony, and established a Government of which the people had the Administration, that afterwards that City falling under the Dominion of the Kings of *Persia*, *Alexander* first restored them to that liberty which afterwards the Kings of *Pontus* had deprived them of. Whereupon he took pity on them and imitating the goodness of *Alexander*, and in favour of the *Attick* people, he made it free, and gave order that the Inhabitants as well of *Amisa* as *Sinope*, should forthwith return to their dwellings. After these two places were thus taken by *Lucullus*, and restored to liberty, one of the Sons of *Mithridates*, called *Machares* King of the *Bosphorus*, having sent him a Crown of Gold, he received him into the friendship of the people of *Rome*. Afterward he dispatched Messengers to *Tigranes*, to demand *Mithridates*, and XXII.

then

then marching towards *Asia*, which still owed one fourth part of their fruits of the fine adjudged by *Sylla*, he imposed a Tribute upon them according to the Value of their houses, and the number of their Slaves, withal sacrificing to the Gods of Victory, as if his Enemies had been already totally overcome. The Sacrifices performed, he marched forward with two chosen Legions, and five hundred Horse, to make War upon *Tigranes*, because he would not deliver up *Mithridates* to him. As soon as his Army had passed the *Euphrates* he went on without doing any injury to the *Barbarians*, save only making them pay contribution, for the people of these Countries were Enemies to War, and would not engage themselves in the differences between *Tigranes* and *Lucullus*. No one durst give advice to *Tigranes* of *Lucullus* design, for one unhappy man that adventured but to speak of it, was hanged up as a disturber of the publick Peace, but at last when he saw he came on, he sent *Mithrobarzanes* before with two thousand Horse, to oppose his march, and gave orders to *Manceus* to make hast to *Tigranocerta* to defend that place. This King (as we have said before) had caused this City to be built for the Glory of his Name, and to the intent that he might people it with Persons of Quality and Condition, had by Edict declared that all moveables were not brought thither, should be confiscated. The Walls were fifty Cubits high, at the foot of which there were Stables quite round. He had likewise in the Suburbs built a most stately Palace, with magnificent Gardens, and a great number of Channels full of Fish, with Parks for Beasts, and some distance from thence a strong and beautiful Citadel: All these things he committed to *Manceus* Guards, whilst he on all sides levyed Forces to compose an Army. Mean while *Lucullus* meeting with *Mithrobarzanes*, soon defeated him, and gave him chase; and *Sextilius* having shut up *Manceus* in *Tigranocerta*, pillaged the Royal Palace without the Walls, besieged the City, planted his Batteries, and set the Miners to work. Whilst *Sextilius* was busied at this siege, *Tigranes* had gathered together two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and fifty thousand Horse; about six thousand of which he sent to *Tigranocerta*, who opening a passage through the midst of the Roman Army, rescued from thence the Kings Concubines, and carried them away with them. For his part he marched against *Lucullus*, with the rest of his Forces, where *Mithridates* came to him, and advised him not to come to a set battel with the Romans, but to keep the Field with his Horse, and wast all the Country round about their Army: so that, if possible he might serve him in the same manner, as *Lucullus* had done his Army before *Cysica*, and destroy them without fighting. But the Barbarian laughing at this advice, continued his March always in order of Battel, and seeing the small number of the Romans, said in a Jeer: *If they be Ambassadors, they are a great many, but if they be Enemies they are very few.* *Lucullus* having taken notice of a Hill behind *Tigranes* Army, gave order to his Cavalry to go charge the Enemy in Front, and to betake themselves to flight, as soon as they had drawn them on to a Battel, to the end, the Barbarians might break their Ranks to pursue them, whilst he with the Infantry, taking a compass, went and gained the Hill, without being perceived by the Enemy: When he saw them scattered and in disorder, in chase of his Horse, as if they had already been victorious; and their Baggage remaining at the foot of the Hill, he crying out *the Victory is ours fellow Soldiers*, went down, and first of all charged upon the Train and Baggage Horses, who forthwith betaking themselves to flight, pressed upon the Foot, and the Foot did the like upon the Horse;

so

ſo that the whole Army was immediately in a rout; for on one ſide the Roman Horſe turning head againſt thoſe, who had ſeparated themſelves from the main Body to purſue them, cut them in pieces; and on the other ſide, the Baggage Horſes, as if they had been thruſt forward, overthrew all they met with; and the whole multitude preſſing one upon another, by reaſon of their great number, without knowing the reaſon of the diſorder, the Romans made a wonderful ſlaughter. Not a man ſtopt now to plunder, for *Lucullus* had expreſly forbid it, with ſevere threats on the tranſgreſſors. Wherefore trampling under foot Collars and Chains of Gold, they followed the Maſſacre for the ſpace of * ſixſcore Furlongs, *Fifteen miles.* till night coming on, they returned back, and ſpoiled the dead, by permiſſion then given them by *Lucullus*. After this defeat, *Manceus*, Governour of *Tigranocerta*, diſarmed all the Mercenary Greek Soldiers in the City, having entertained ſome ſuſpicion of them: Wherefore they fearing to be likewiſe made Priſoners, got them Clubs, and trooped together; ſo that they parted not one from another, either marching or ſtanding ſtill. And when *Manceus* came to charge them with ſome armed Barbarians, they wrapt their left Arm in their Coats inſtead of Bucklers; and running deſperately into the midſt of their Enemies, ſlew a great number, whoſe Arms they divided amongſt them; when they thought they had Arms enough to ſerve their turn, they went and ſeiſed upon ſome Towers that flanked the Walls, from whence they called to the beſiegers, and helping them to mount upon the Wall, made them Maſters of the City. Thus *Tigranocerta* newly built, whither out of meer vanity Inhabitants were forced to come from all parts, became a prize, and enriched the Army with a moſt prodigious booty. *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, in the mean time, gave orders to ſet on foot another Army, of which *Mithridates* had the command, becauſe the other thought him more capable, being inſtructed by the experience of ſo many loſſes; they ſent likewiſe to demand aſſiſtance from the Parthians; but *Lucullus* having likewiſe diſpatched to that King, to requeſt him to aſſiſt him with his Forces, rather than the others, or at leaſt to be but a looker on; he in particular promiſed both parties, but kept his word neither with one nor the other. There was no City but *Mithridates* ſet on work to forge Arms, nor ſcarce a perſon in *Armenia* capable to bear them, but came and enrolled himſelf in theſe new Levies. But he thought it not beſt to employ ſuch a multitude, he choſe only ſeventy thouſand Foot, and half as many Horſe of the ableſt Men, and diſmiſſed the reſt: And after having diſtributed them into Companies and Regiments, almoſt according to the Italian Diſcipline; he gave it in charge to the old Pontick Soldiers to exerciſe them. They were no ſooner in the Field, but *Lucullus* appeared reſolved to fight: but *Mithridates* kept firm upon an Eminence, where he had poſted himſelf with all his Foot, and the greateſt part of his Horſe; and *Tigranes* being gone with the reſt to charge the Romans, who were forraging abroad was defeated, which gave liberty to the Romans, for the future, to fetch Corn without any fear, to forrage in the very face of *Mithridates*, and to draw nearer to his Camp. At laſt the Kings were reſolved to block up *Lucullus* in the midſt between them; to this end *Tigranes* took the Field, but the duſt diſcovering his March, the General, who knew their deſign, drew off the flower of his Horſe, with Orders to go as far as they could to meet the Armenian, and to charge him before he could put his people in order. Mean while he did all he could to draw *Mithridates* to a battel, he attempted the making a Ditch round about the Hill, but he could not oblige

him

him to deſcend, till Famine beginning to afflict both Armies, they all retreated without doing any thing. *Tigranes* into the heart of *Armenia*, and *Mithridates* into what was left him of the Kingdom of *Pontus*, with four thouſand Men of his own, and as many of *Tigranes*. *Lucullus* followed them in the Rear; but being himſelf oppreſſed with want of Proviſion, he returned back again: and *Mithridates* having made a ſwifter March than could be imagined, ſurpriſed *Fabius*, whom the Conſul had left to command there, and forced him to betake himſelf to flight, after having five hundred of his Men ſlain; yet he returned to the charge, ſtrengthed with the aſſiſtance of all the Slaves that followed the Army, to whom he gave their liberty, and held out the fight all that day, till ſuch time as *Mithridates* wounded with the blow of a Stone on the Knee, and with an Arrow below the Eye, was ſuddenly carried out of the Battel. This occaſioned the paſſing away of ſome days without fighting, whether the Enemies were in pain for the Kings health, or whether their wounds required reſt. However it were, the King was ſoon cured, being dreſt with medicaments compoſed of the Poyſon of Serpents, by the *Agbares*, Scythians by Nation, who for this purpoſe always followed the Court. To *Fabius* ſucceeded *Triarius*, who brought a new Army of *Lucullus* his Forces, with which he preſently marched againſt *Mithridates*; but as they were ready to engage, both ſides were forced to part, there ariſing ſuch a furious Tempeſt, as had never being ſeen in the memory of man; it threw down the Tents of both Camps, carryed the Beaſts of Burthen out of the way, and likewiſe took up ſome Soldiers and threw them among the Precipices. Upon the Rumour of *Lucullus* his coming, *Triarius* deſirous to do ſome memorable action whilſt he commanded, went about break of day to make an aſſault upon *Mithridates* Out-guards. They fought a long time with equal Fortune, but at laſt the King making an onſet with the Wing in which he was, began to overcome, broke the Romans and drove their infantry into a miry Valley, where the Soldiers not able to ſtand upright, ſuffered themſelves to be killed without any reſiſtance. After which purſuing his advantage he fell into the Rear of the Cavalry, to whom he gave chaſe with much eagernes, when a Roman * Centurion Galloping by his ſide as if he had been one of his Train, gave him a great wound with his Sword in the thigh, for he was doubtful if he ſhould have ſtruck him in the Reins he ſhould not have pierced his Armour. The Roman was preſently cut in pieces by the Guards, and *Mithridates* carried into the Rear of his Army. However they ceaſed not purſuing the Victory, which had been much greater, had not thoſe who were about the King, cauſed the retreat to be ſounded. This ſurpriſed thoſe who followed the Chaſe, and troubled them ſtrangely; for they were fearful, leſt ſome misfortune were happened elſewere, till ſuch time as the thing being known, they came and gathered in Throngs about the wounded King, in the midſt of the Plain, where *Timotheus* his Chirurgion having ſtopt the blood, ſhowed them him ſtanding, as *Alexander* was in the *Indies* ſhown to the Macedonians, who were in fear for his ſafety. *Mithridates* himſelf would needs be dreſt upon the Arlop of a Ship, to the end every one might ſee him, where being ſomewhat recovered, he reproved thoſe who had cauſed the Retreat to be ſounded, and the ſame day cauſed his Army to march towards the Roman Camp, which they for fear had already deſerted, there were found among the dead, four and twenty Tribunes, and one hundred and fifty Centurions, nor ever did the Romans in one only defeat looſe ſo many Officers. After this Victory, the King retired into *Armenia* called the leſs, carrying along

* *Captain of an hundred men.*

along with him all Proviſions that he could tranſport, and corrupting what he left, leſt if *Lucullus* came into that Country, he ſhould make uſe of them. At the ſame time a certain Roman Senator called *Attilius* who for fear leſt proceſs ſhould be made againſt him, had eſcaped to *Mithridates*, and had by him been received with all poſſible demonſtrations of friendſhip, was convict of a plot againſt his perſon. Yet he would not out of reſpect to his former Dignity, let him be put to the Torture, but was content to let him ſuffer an ordinary death: but his accomplices were cruelly tormented, ſave only thoſe of his freed man, to whom he had communicated his deſign, whom the King let go becauſe they had only obeyed their Maſter. As for *Lucullus* he ſoon was come up to *Mithridates*, and was now upon the point to engage with him, when the Proconſul of *Aſia* ſent to proclaim through all the Province, that the Senate blamed *Lucullus* for having ſpun out the War ſo long and therefore diſmiſſed the Army, injoyning the Soldiers not to ſtay any longer upon pain of confiſcation of their Goods. The news of this Ordinance being come to the Camp, moſt began to file off, there remaining only with *Lucullus* ſome poor Wretches who having nothing to looſe, feared no confiſcations. Thus *Lucullus* no more then thoſe before him, could not make an end of this War, for the Allies being revolted in *Italy*, and the City afflicted with Famine, by reaſon that the Pyrates were Maſters of the Sea, it was not thought proper to embroyl themſelves in ſo great a War, till they were delivered from the preſent Inconveniences.

Mithridates having advice hereof entred into *Cappadocia*, and began to reeſtabliſh himſelf in his own Kingdom, which the Romans diſſembled till ſuch time as the Sea was cleared of Pyrates: but after the Pyrates were defeated by *Pompey*, and that he was come into *Aſia*, they renewed the War againſt *Mithridates*, giving that great Captain Commiſſion to be their General. Wherefore what this great man acted on the Sea before he bore Arms againſt *Mithridates*, making a part of that expedition, and not relating to another Hiſtory, I am of the mind to make a Summary recital of it in the place. *Mithridates* at the beginning of his firſt War againſt the Romans having made himſelf Maſter of *Aſia*, becauſe *Sylla* was then imployed in *Greece* about Affairs of importance, believing that his Dominion there would be of no long durance, ſpoiled all that Country, and continued all thoſe Cruelties we have related. He likewiſe at the ſame time ſent forth Pyrates who at firſt coaſting up and down with a few ſmall Barques, only got ſome booty, but the War growing hot, they encreaſed in Number, and fitted out great Ships, and afterwards finding a ſweetneſs in the vaſtneſs of their gain, whether the King were overcome, or whether he had made Peace, or whether he were in flight, they continued their Robberies; for they ſaid that having loſt their Goods, and abandoned their Countries by reaſon of the War, neceſſity had driven them from the Land, to ſeek their Fortune for the future by Sea. They elected among themſelves Arch-pyrates, who commanded a certain Number, as if it had been a lawful War. They aſſaulted weak Cities, and ſometimes very ſtrong ones too, whoſe Walls they either ſcaled or threw down. They pillaged them after they had taken them, carrying to their places of retreat all the rich men they took, to make them pay their ranſome, and giving their Crimes honourable names they ſhook off the name of Pyrates, and called themſelves Soldiers adventurers. They had likewiſe Artificers whom they kept in Fetters, and continually ſtored up Wood, Iron, Braſs, and other Materials. XXIII.

For their vaſt booty had ſo heightned their courages, that preferring that kind of life before any other, they imagined themſelves Soveraigns, and Kings, comparing their Power to that of Armies, and eſteeming themſelves invincible, when ever they pleaſed to unite together, they built Ships and forged Arms eſpecially in *Cilicia* called the Rough, which was the common retreat of all theſe Corſairs, or as we may ſaw the principal Seat of War. Not but that they had in other places Caſtles and Forts in deſart Iſlands and cunning Harbours, but they uſually retired to that Coaſt of *Cilicia* the Rough, which was inacceſſible, and bounded with Rocks reaching almoſt out of ſight, and therefore all the World commonly called them Cilicians. This miſchief which was begun in *Cilicia* infected likewiſe the Syrians, Ciprians, Pamphilians, Pontick Nations, and almoſt all the Oriental people, who tyred with the length of the *Mithridatick* War, and chooſing rather to do ill then ſuffer it, changed their dwellings on Land for the Sea, ſo that in a ſhort time they amounted to many thouſands, and not only become Maſters of the Sea that wets the Oriental Coaſts, but ſpread themſelves throughout all the Seas as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*, for they defeated ſome Roman Pretors in Sea Fights, and among others the Pretor of *Sicily*. No Ship durſt appear about that Iſland, the very Husband-man had abandoned the Fields, becauſe of the continual deſcents they made, which very much annoyed he Romans, for beſides that they beheld their Provinces pillaged, want of Corn brought a Famine into the Citie. Beſides it was not eaſie to defeat ſuch great Forces, that ſpread themſelves over all parts both of the Sea and Land. Who were alwaies ready either to fly or fight, whilſt none knew their Country or place of retreat, nor indeed had they any reſidence or propriety, but what fell in their hands. Wherefore theſe extraordinary kind of Enemies who gave themſelves a diſpenſation againſt all the Laws of War, of whom nothing clear or certain could be made out, were very formidable, and few would have accepted a Commiſſion for this War. For *Murena* having undertaken theſe Pyrates did nothing memorable, no more did after him *Servilius Iſauricus*. They were grown ſo bold as to Land upon the Coaſts of *Brunduſium* and * *Hetruria*, from whence they carried away ſome Women of Quality whom they found in the Country. And defeated two Bodies of an Army, whoſe Eagles they carried away. The Romans no longer able to ſuffer theſe Loſſes and Affronts, by Decree of the Senate, gave to *Pompey* the greateſt man of that time Command of their Armies for three Years, with Authority over all the Seas, as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*, and within all the Maritime Provinces for * four hundred Furlongs from the Sea, and to Command all Kings, Governours and Cities, to furniſh him with neceſſaries. They permitted him likewiſe to make new Leavies, both of men and Monies, and in the mean time gave him an Army compoſed of ſtanding Legions, all the Ships they had, and ſix thouſand Attick Talents in ready Money. So difficult a thing they believed it to overcome ſo many Naval Armies, to purſue them in ſo vaſt an extent of Seas, and to ſeek them out in ſo many holes, having to do with Enemies, they could not get within reach of except they pleaſed, and who were ready to fall on, when they were leaſt thought of. Nor indeed did ever any Roman General go to War with ſo large a Commiſſion as *Pompey*'s. Soon after they furniſhed him with ſixſcore thouſand foot, four thouſand Horſe, and two hundred and ſeventy Ships, comprizing the Brigantines, and for his Lieutenants, they gave him five and twenty Senators, among whom he divided the Seas, giving them Horſe and Foot and Shipping, with the Enſigns of Pretor. Every

* Tuſcany.

Fifty Miles.

Lieutenant

Lieutenant had absolute power in the Quarter he Commanded, and he like a King of Kings, went from one part to another, to disperse his Orders, and to see that every one kept in his Post without quitting it, or pursuing the Enemy far from it, if he could not gain the Victory upon the place, to the end that there being alwaies people in a readiness in all places, to take up what others had not fully done, the Pyrates might find no security in flying from place to place. After having disposed things in this manner, he gave the Commission of *Spain*, and the Streit to *Tib. Nero* and *Manlius Torquatus* joyntly, of the * Celtick and * Ligustique Sea, to *Marius Pomponius*; of *Affrica* with *Sardinia*, *Corsica* and the Circumadjacent Islands to *Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *P. Attilius*; of the Coast of *Italy* from *Sicily* to *Acarnania* to *L. Gellius* and *Cn. Lentulus*; of the *Ionian* Sea to *Plotius Varus* and *Terentius Varro*; of *Peloponesus*, *Attica*, *Eubœa*, *Thessaly*, *Macedon* and *Bœotia* to *L. Cinna*; of all the *Ægæan* Sea, and the *Hellespont* to *L. Cullius*. Of *Bithynia*, *Thrace* the *Propontick*, and the mouth of *Pontus* to *L. Piso*, of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia* to *Metellus Nepos*. * These were the Quarters he assigned every Lieutenant, where they were to fight, and to give them their Chase, so that saving themselves from one, they might fall into the hands of another, forbidding them to pursue beyond their Bounds, for fear lest those long Chases might be a means to delay the War, for his own part he flew (if one may so say) from one part to another, to see what passed, and having in forty days gone the Circuit of the Western part of the Sea, he returned to *Rome* from whence he went to *Brundusium*, where again taking Shipping, and running over all those vast Oriental Seas, he brought every where a dread of his Name, by the swiftness of his motion, the greatness of his Force and Power, and the opinion had of a Captain of such high reputation. So that the Pyrates who as it was thought would have assaulted him, or at least would have found ways to have made his Victory difficult, presently raised their Siege, before those Towns they had blocked up, and out of the fear they had of him, retired into their Forts, and sheltring places. Thus *Pompey* cleared the Seas without fighting, and his Lieutenants every one in their Quarter took all the Corsairs that haunted there. After this he went into *Cilicia* with a great number of Soldiers and Workmen, and store of Engines, believing he should be put to the assaulting after sundry manners those Forts built upon such high Rocks. But the renown of his name alone and the vastness of his preparations struck such a terror into the Pyrates, that they believed they should make the better composition if they yielded without fighting. Those who were in the two largest Forts, called *Cragus* and *Anticragus* were the first who submitted at discretion, and after them all those who held the Mountains of *Cilicia* one after another, yielded themselves with great quantities of Arms, either already furnished, or else only begun in the Shops, besides a great number of Ships, some half built, others ready to sail, with Copper, Iron, Canvas, Cordage, and divers others Materials, which they had gathered together for their use. There were found also many Captives which they kept there, some for Ransome, others to labour in their works. *Pompey* burnt all their unwrought Materials, carried the Ships along with him and sent the Captives home, many of whom found that their Funerals had been performed, their friends believing them dead. As for the Pyrates who appeared not to have engaged themselves in this kind of life, but because they had lost their substance by the War, he assigned them for their dwellings, *Malle*, *Adane*, *Epiphania* and such other Cities as were but thinly inhabited in the upper *Ci-*

* Gaul.
* Genoua.

Note, there were 25 Lieutenants, and here are Commissions but for 13.

licia, ſome of them likewiſe he ſent to *Dima* in *Achaia*. Thus the War againſt the Pyrates, which all Men thought would have been long, was ended in a few days by *Pompey*. There were ſeventy two Ships taken, three hundred yielded up, with ſixſcore Towers, Forts and others places of retreat, and about ten thouſand ſlain of thoſe who ſtood out upon their Defence.

XXIV. After this ſo expeditious victory, the ſucceſs of which exceeded all Mens hopes, the Senate and People of *Rome*, in acknowledgement of the great Service done by *Pompey* conferred on him ſignal Honors. They gave him the Commiſſion of the War againſt *Mithridates*, continued to him the ſame Power to make Peace and War, and at his own Arbitrement to declare Friends and Enemies to the People of *Rome*, thoſe whom he ſhould think Worthy, and over and above all this made him Generaliſſimo of all their Forces out of *Italy*. Never before had the People of *Rome* given ſo much Power to one Man at once, which poſſibly was the Reaſon, why they called him GREAT, for as to any thing elſe, the other Generals had before left but little to do in this War. *Pompey* then having Aſſembled the Forces of *Aſia*, went and encamped on the Frontiers of *Mithridates* Eſtates, who had at preſent a very gallant Army, compoſed of thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe all choſen Men, raiſed upon his own Lands for the defence of his Kingdom. *Lucullus* had not long before ſpoiled all that Country, ſo that victuals were ſtill ſcarce, which made many of *Mithridates* Soldiers run into the Roman Army, and though the King inflicted cruel puniſhment upon thoſe, were ſurpriſed in the attempt, throwing ſome headlong down the Rocks, ſqueezing out others eyes, and burning ſome alive, ſo that fear kept many of them in their duty; yet did his Army by little and little waſt, by reaſon of the ſcarcity. Which occaſioned his ſending Ambaſſadors to *Pompey*, to demand upon what conditions he might have peace, to which the Roman anſwered; *by delivering up the Runaways and yielding himſelf at diſcretion.* The King having reported this anſwer to the Revolters, and ſeeing them terrified at it, ſwore he never would have peace with the Romans, becauſe of their cruelty, Nor would conſent to any thing but what ſhould be for the Common good of thoſe had done him Service. Whereupon *Pompey* having laid a party of Horſe in Ambuſh, ſent the reſt to skirmiſh with *Mithridates* Camp, with Orders to give ground after the firſt charge, as if they had been ſurpriſed with fear, till ſuch time as having drawn the Enemy into the Ambuſh they charged them both together. And indeed the Romans put them to the Rout, and might poſſibly have entred the Camp in the Rear of thoſe that fled, if *Mithridates* fearing the diſorder had not drawn out his Foot, and placed them in Order before the Camp which forced them to a retreat. This was the firſt Engagement of Horſe between the two parties. At length the King oppreſſed for want of proviſions returned into the heart of his Kingdom, in hopes that the Enemy could not ſubſiſt in that ruined Country, at leaſt without much inconveniency. But *Pompey* preſently diſcamped, and bringing in proviſions along with him marched as far as the Eaſtern parts of the Kingdom where he cauſed a Line to be drawn of *one hundred and fifty furlongs in length fortified with many Forts, to incloſe the King and cut of his paſſage to fetch in Corn and Forrage. *Mithridates* gave no hindrance to this work, either out of fear or out of imprudence which ordinarily precedes Calamity, and ſoon found himſelf once more reduced to ſuch want that he was forced to kill

* *Eighteen Miles in length.*

kill all the beasts of burthen, to sustain his Army, keeping only the Horses of Service. With infinite trouble he made a shift to subsist thus for fifty days, and afterwards with great silence made his escape by night through difficult ways. On the morrow *Pompey* overtaking him fell upon his Rear-guard, but the King notwithstanding all the Counsel of Friends, would not give Battel, but contenting himself to oppose the Romans, with some Horse to keep him off, gained towards Evening, the Forrests which served him for Retreat. The next day he possessed himself of a Village fortified with Rocks on all sides, to which there was but one Avenue in which he placed four Regiments for Guard, directly opposite to which the Romans went and pitched their Camp, that so the King might have no way to escape. On the morrow the two Armies betook themselves to their Arms very early, and those which had the Guard on one Party and the other, began the skirmish. Some of the Kings Horsemen alighting from their Horses, without Command went to assist their Infantry, but seeing a great party of the Roman Cavalry, come forward to the charge, they all at once set a running towards the Camp to take their Horses, that they might return to fight against the Romans on equal terms. But those who were still above, and ready to descend in a posture of fighting, seeing these People run with great cries and in disorder, and not knowing the reason, believing that the Camp being taken on the other side, they fled; themselves likewise threw down their Arms, and betook themselves to flight, and because the way was narrow, the croud was so great, that they overthrew, and tumbled one another down the Precipices. Thus the Army of *Mithridates* was defeated by those who going to assist their Companions without any Orders, occasioned the Rout. It was an easiy Victory to *Pompey*, for he had nothing to do but to kill, or to take Prisoners those unhappy disarmed wretches, engaged among the Rocks, there were about ten thousand slain, the Camp was taken, and all *Mithridates* Baggage and Munitions, who escaping himself behind his Camp accompanied only with his Guards, found by chance some Mercenary Horse, and about three thousand Foot, with whom with all speed he got to the Fort of *Synorega* where he had abundance of Mony. And having given both a largess, and a whole years Pay to the Companions of his flight, he carried with him about six thousand talents, taking his way towards the springs of *Euphrates*, that from thence he might get to *Colchis*; he made such hast that in four day march he passed the *Euphrates*, where he stayed three days to refresh his Men, and Arm those other Troops he had gathered together, he thence entred into the Country of *Cotenea*, which is a Province of *Armenia* where he defeated the Coteneans and Iberians who would have stopt his passage, and from thence gained the River *Aspara*. Some say that the Asiatick Iberians, are descended from the European, that is to say, the Spaniards, others on the contrary, say the Spaniatds came from these Asiatiques, others again, that there is nothing common between the one and the other but the name, there not being the least conformity either in their Language or Manners. Now *Mithridates* having taken up his Winter quarters at * *Dioscuriade* (which is a City said to be founded by the *Argonautes* and *Castors* in the voyage they made) began no more to have mean thoughts, nor that savored of the fugitive, he laid a design to march along the banks of the *Euxine* Sea, and by the Scythians, neighboring on that Sea, and the *Palus Mœotis*, that so he might this way arrive at *Bosphorus*, and after having driven thence his ingrateful Son *Machares*, he might thence renew the War against the Romans, and from *Europe* transport

* *A City of* Colchis *built by* Castor *and* Pollux, *who are said to be Sons of* Jupiter, Dioscuri *in Greek, signifying Son of* Jupiter.

sport his Arms into *Asia*, which are only divided by a strait which some believe to have taken its name from βοῦς * because *Io* transformed to a Cow passed there flying from the jealous *Juno*. Though these designs were extraordinary and scarce credible *Mithridates* attempted to put them in Execution, he marched through all the Scythian Nations, whether Enemies or unknown, partly by force and partly by sufferance: He was still both respected and feared, fugitive and miserable though he were. The Heniochians willingly gave him passage, but the Acheans endeavoring to oppose his march he forced it. It is said that these people being cast by Tempest on the Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, as they returned from *Troy*, were ill treated by the Barbarians, becaus they were Greeks, and that having demanded some Ships from the Cities of their Country and being refused them, they conceived such an indignation or rather such a rage, that all the Greeks they could catch they made Sacrifice off, at first, without any distinction, sometime after chusing out the faireſt, and at last drawing them by lot. But let thus much suffice concerning the Scythian Achæans. Now *Mithridates* being entred into the Country bordering upon the *Palus Mæotis* which is divided among many petty Kings, there was not one but out of respect to the great reputation of his actions, and of his Kingdom received him favorably, and gave him passage through their Lands, they likewise made him presents, and he ordered things so, that having drawn them into alliance with him, and given some of his Daughters in Marriage to the most powerful of them there entred into his thoughts a wonderful Expedition. He formed a design to March through *Thrace* and so through *Macedon*, and thence by the way of *Pannonia* to pass the *Alpes*, and enter into *Italy*. *Machares* his Son understanding that in so short a time he had traversed all those Salvage Nations, and those which are called the Straits of *Scythia*, where never Man before him had passed, sent Ambassadors to make his excuse, that out of fear he had made an accommodation with the Romans, but knowing him implacable, he fled towards the *Pontique Chersoneſus*, after having burnt all the Ships he had to hinder his Father from pursuing him, but his Father sending a Fleet after him he slew himself. As for *Pompey*, he pursued *Mithridates* as far as *Colchis*, but never imagining that he would take the way we have spoken of, or that a fugitive Prince would attempt any thing Great, he went through all that Province well-pleased to see the Country whither the Argonautes, and *Castor* and *Pollux*, had made their Voyage; and particularly the Rock, where they say *Prometheus* was chained on Mount *Caucasus*. There are in this Mountain several springs, that cast forth Grains of Gold, but so small, that they are scarce perceivable. Wherefore those of the Country, put into the streams skins covered with wooll, by which means they get the golden sands, which gather in the fleece. And possibly that famous golden fleece of *Aæte* is nothing else. As *Pompey* passed through the Country to see these rarities, all the neighboring Nations came to wait on him, and be his Conductors. Only *Oreses* and *Artocus* Kings of the Albanians, and Iberians laid an Ambush for him with seventy thousand men near the River *Cyrus*, which discharges it self into the *Caspian* Sea by nine Navigable Channels, and into which a Multitude of other Rivers loose themselves among which the *Araxes* is the greatest of all. The Roman General having intelligence hereof caused a Bridge to be laid over the River, crossed it, and drove the Barbarians into the Wood, from whence they being accustomed to fight sallying out as from a fortress, and when they were least thought of renewing the charge, *Pompey* having placed People round about

* Βοῦς *in Greek signifies Bull or Cow.*

about the wood, ſet fire to it, and as they came forth gave them chaſe, till ſuch time as coming to give him preſents and hoſtages, they ſerved likewiſe as matter for his Triumph. He found among the Hoſtages and Priſoners many Women who had received no leſs wounds then the Men. They deemed them to be Amazons, whether the Nation of the Amazons, who are not far off, had ſent aſſiſtance to thoſe Kings, or whether the Barbarians by a general name call all Warlike Women Amazons.

Pompey returning after this Victory marched his Army into *Armenia* againſt *Tigranes*, as the Allie of *Mithridates* taking the way of *Artaxata* the ordinary Reſidence of thoſe Kings. But *Tigranes* was not for War. He had had three Sons by *Mithridates* Daughter, two of which he had ſlain with his own hand, one for turning his back in the fight, and the other as he was hunting, becauſe he happening to fall, his Son had not vouchſafed to help him up, but on the contrary had taken off his Diadem as he lay upon the ground, and put it on his own head. As for his third Son *Tigranes*, becauſe he ſeemed grieved for his fathers fall, he gave him the Crown, yet he ſoon after raiſed War againſt *Tigranes*, but being defeated in a Battel eſcaped to *Phraates* King of the Parthians, who had newly ſucceeded in that Kingdom to his Father *Syntricus*. Upon *Pompey*'s approach the Fugitive *Armenian* by the Advice of his Hoſt; who for his own particular ſought the favor of the General, came and ſubmitted himſelf to the Romans in the poſture of a Suppliant, though he were Grandchild to *Mithridates*, being the Son of his Daughter, but the reputation of the Juſtice, and uprightneſs of *Pompey* was ſo great among the Barbarians, that *Tigranes* himſelf relying upon it, without ſo much as ſending a Herauld before came to meet him, to put his cauſe into his hands and to complain of his Son as to a Judge. *Pompey* having ſent ſome Officers before to receive the King in Honor of him, thoſe who accompanied him not thinking themſelves in ſecurity, becauſe he had not ſent a Herauld before turned tail, but *Tigranes* continued on his way, and being come near unto *Pompey*, paid him his reſpects as to his Superior, after the manner of the Barbarians. Yet there are ſome ſay the Lictors brought him to *Pompey* by his Command. However it were, he came, gave an account of his Actions, made a preſent to *Pompey* of ſix thouſand Talents, fifty drams to every Soldier, a thouſand to every Centurion, and ten thouſand to every Tribune. *Pompey* pardoned what was paſt, reconciled the Son with the Father, ordained that the Son ſhould enjoy as King the Province of *Sophena* and *Gordiana*, which are at this day compriſed under the name of *Armenia* the leſs, and adjudged to the Father the reſt of *Armenia*, on condition that he left it by ſucceſſion to his Son, and that he quitted to the Romans the Provinces he had conquered, and indeed he quitted all *Syria*, from the *Euphrates* to the Sea, with part of *Cilicia* which he had poſſeſſed himſelf of, after having driven out *Antiochus* the Pious. The two Kings were not yet parted from the Roman Camp, when the Son by perſwaſion of thoſe Armenians, who for fear had abandoned his Father, when he came to meet *Pompey*, deſigned an attempt on his life, but he was diſcovered and Arreſted, and being afterwards Convicted, that though Priſoner as he was, he had ſolicited the Parthians to make War upon the Romans, he was led in Triumph, and afterwards put to death in Priſon. *Pompey* believing the War was ended built a City in *Armenia* the leſs, in the ſame place where he had overcome *Mithridates*, which becauſe of his Victory he called *Nicopolis*. He gave likewiſe the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes* XXV.

barzanes and joyned to it *Sophena* and *Gordiana* which he had before given to the young *Tigranes*, and which at preſent belong to the Province of *Cappadocia*. He gave him likewiſe *Cabala* a City of *Cilicia*, and ſome others, ſo that *Ariobarzanes* left to a Son that ſucceeded him all that Kingdom, ſubject to many changes, till the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, under whoſe Empire it was, with many others, reduced into the form of a Province. *Pompey* after this paſſed Mount *Taurus*, and went to make War upon *Antiochus Commagenes*, to whom he afterwards granted Peace with the Title of Friend to the People of *Rome*, he defeated likewiſe the *Mede Darius*, becauſe he had aſſiſted *Antiochus*, or poſſibly *Tigranes* before him. Afterwards he led his Army againſt *Areta* King of the Arabian Nabathæan, and at length againſt the *Jews*, who were revolted againſt their King *Ariſtobulus*, from whom he took by force their holy City *Jeruſalem*, beſides all this he reduced under the Roman obedience without fighting, and as it were only in paſſing by, the remainder of *Cilicia*, which yet acknowledged not the Roman Empire, together with all the habitable *Syria* on this ſide *Euphrates*, *Cœloſyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, *Idumea*, *Ituria* and all the other members of *Syria*. Not that the Romans had any cauſe of complaint againſt *Antiochus* the Pious, who was preſent at all this, endeavoring to obtain the Kingdom of his Fathers by force of Prayers; but the Roman General believed that having driven *Tigranes* out of theſe Provinces which he had conquered, they by right of War belonged to the People of *Rome*. As he was ſetling neceſſary Orders in his Conqueſts, there came to him Ambaſſadors on the behalf of *Phraates* and *Tigranes* who began to make War on each other. The *Armenian* demanded his aſſiſtance as his friend, and the Parthians deſired to be received into the friendſhip of the People of *Rome*, and he unwilling to enter upon a War with the Parthians, without a particular Order of the Senate, ſent Commiſſioners who made Peace between the two Kings.

XXVI. Whilſt he was employed in all theſe affairs, *Mithridates* had taken the whole compaſs of the *Euxine* Sea, and having ſieſed upon *Panticapea* a Merchant City ſituate in *Europe* on the mouth of *Pontus*, very near the Strait, he ſlew his Son *Xiphares* for a fault committed by his Mother, in this manner. *Mithridates* had great quantity of Veſſels of Braſs bound about with Iron, and filled with Silver, hid under ground in a certain Caſtle, the Guard of which he had entruſted to *Stratonice* one of his Concubines or of his Wives. She only knew of it, and yet whilſt the King was making the Circuit of *Pontus*, ſhe delivered to *Pompey* the Caſtle, and all the Treaſures, only on this condition, that if her Son *Xiphares* fell into his power he ſhould ſave his life in favor of his Mother, he took the Mony, promiſed to preſerve her Son, and permitted him to retire whither he pleaſed with his Equipage. The King coming to know this, ſlew *Xiphares* on the Sea-ſide in the ſight of his Mother, who ſtood on the other ſide the Strait, and threw the body into the water, not permitting it burial, ſo ſmall account he made of paternal piety, that he might revenge himſelf of the Mother, who had committed the fault. After this he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Pompey* who was in *Syria*, and knew not that he was yet living, offering to pay Tribute to the Romans if he would leave him the Kingdom of his Fathers, to which *Pompey* ſending him word that he ſhould come and meet him as *Tigranes* had done, he anſwered that he could not do it, for that it would be unbecoming the Perſon of *Mithridates*; yet offering to ſend his Sons, and ſome of his Friends. Upon this anſwer he began to make

make new Leavies of all Men of all ſorts and conditions indifferently, to cauſe to be made great quantity of Arms, Bows and Engins, without ſparing any thing whatſoever, the very Oxen uſed to Labour, being killed only for their Nerves, he impoſed likewiſe new Tributes from which the very pooreſt were not exempt, whilſt thoſe who had the charge of Collecting them, committed a thouſand Extortions unknown to *Mithridates*. For he had got an Ulcer in his face, which ſo disfigured him that he let no perſon ſee him but three Eunuchs that dreſſed him; being recovered he found all his Forces in a condition to march being compoſed of ſixty Regiments of ſix hundred Men each, beſides multitudes of all ſorts of People with quantity of Ships, and ſtrong places which his Captains had ſeiſed upon during his diſtemper. He therefore paſſed over a part of his Army to *Phanagoria*, another Merchant City ſituate on the other ſide of the Strait, to the end he might on both ſides be Maſter of the paſſage. *Pompey* was ſtill in *Syria*, but a certain Inhabitant of *Phanagoria* called *Caſtor*, whom *Tryphon* the Kings Eunuch had formerly put to the Torture, killed the Eunuch as he entred, and began to cry out Liberty. The people preſently roſe upon it, and though the Fortreſs was guarded by *Artaphernes* and other Children of *Mithridates*; yet they brought Wood round about it, and ſet it on fire, which ſo affrighted *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, *Oxathres* and *Eupator* the Kings Sons, that they yielded themſelves. They were all very beautiful, but they were all but Children, except only *Artaphernes*, who might be forty years old; there ſtaid in the Fortreſs only one of their Siſters called *Cleopatra*, who would not go out, and whoſe generoſity ſo much pleaſed the King that he ſent Brigantines which brought her off. All the Caſtles thereabouts, which *Mithridates* had lately ſurprized, followed the Example of *Phanagoria*, *Cherſoneſes*, *Theodozia*. *Nymphæa*, and other fortified Cities above in the Pontick Sea, did the like, inſomuch that the King ſeeing ſo many revolts, and not placing any confidence in the Fidelity of an Army, moſt of whom went to the War by Conſtraint, beſides the great Exactions he had made to bring this Army on foot, and his own unfortunate condition, in which Eſtate a Prince can have no reliance on the Faith of his Subjects, he ſent ſome Eunuchs into *Scythia* with his daughters to give them in Marriage to the Kings of that Country, entreating them to come to his ſuccour with all the Force they had. He had appointed theſe Eunuchs a guard of five hundred Soldiers, for the Conduct of theſe Princeſſes, but ſcarce had they loſt ſight of *Mithridates* but they ſlew the Eunuchs, who by virtue of the power they had over the Kings Spirit, had always tyrannized over them, and carried the Ladies to *Pompey*. The King though he had loſt ſo many Children, ſo many ſtrong places, nay indeed his whole Kingdom, nor had now any hopes of aid from the Scythians, abated not at all the fierceneſs of his courage, nor entertained any thoughts that were mean or ſuitable to his preſent Calamity; He formed a deſign to march into *Gaul* and ſtir up that people to Arms, with whom he had to that purpoſe before hand made a league and entred into alliance, thinking with them to croſs the *Alps*, and fall upon *Italy*, where he had hopes many people would joyn with him, out of the hate they bore the Romans; for he had heard tell how *Hannibal* making Wars within *Spain* had laid the ſame deſign and ſucceeded, and after ſo daring an attempt made himſelf formidable to his Enemies; beſides he had intelligence that almoſt all their allies in *Italy* were revolted againſt them, out of a general hate, and had a long time bore Arms againſt them, and likewiſe favored to their prejudice the Gladiator *Spartacus* a vile fellow. Upon theſe hopes he was ready to take his march towards

Gaul, if the Army terrifyed with ſuch prodigious boldneſs, had not made abortive theſe magnificent Deſigns. The Soldiers ſeeing he had a mind to lead them ſo far off, to encounter people, they could not defend themſelves from, in their own Countrey, thought that *Mithridates* deſpairing of his own Affairs, thought it more honourable to die generouſly like a King, then to lie idle and do nothing. However they ſaid nothing but received his orders without any murmuring, for this King was a man of no mean Soul, nor deſpiſable in the very midſt of Calamity.

XXVII. Things being in this Eſtate, *Pharnaces* the moſt beloved of all his Sons and whom he had often deſigned his Succeſſor in the Kingdom, laid a deſign againſt his life; whether it were that he thought this expedition might prove prejudicial to his Affairs, and blaſt the hopes he yet had, the Romans would grant him pardon, which he was ſure they would abſolutely refuſe, if his Father went to ravage *Italy*, or whether it were for other reaſons, or elſe out of an impatient deſire to reign. His Complices being taken and put to torture, *Monophanes* perſwaded *Mithridates* that being ready to march, it was not convenient to put to death a Son he had ſo tenderly loved, that ſuch diſorders would happen during the War, and would end with the War, inſomuch that he ſuffered himſelf to yield and pardoned his Son. But *Pharnaces* being affrighted with ſome private intelligence given him, and knowing that the Army had an averſion for this Expedition, went by night, and conferred with the Principal of the Roman Fugitives, whoſe Tents were not far from the Kings, aggravating to them the danger they ran into (which was not unknown to them) if they went into *Italy*; and making them great Promiſes if they would ſtay with him, he prevailed with them to forſake *Mithridates*. At the ſame time he ſent ſome of his people to the neighbouring Tents to make the ſame Propoſition to the Officers, who likewiſe gave him their word. Morning being come, the Runawayes began to ſhout all together, to which thoſe who were encamped next them, anſwered in the ſame tone, after them all the Army, even to the very Fleet did the like. It's poſſible they were not all of the Conſpiracy, but thoſe who were not engaged followed the others, out of a natural facility men have to deſpiſe the miſerable, and to affect Novelty. And ſome too not knowing the number of the Conſpirators, believed the whole Army concerned, and believing themſelves alone unable to reſiſt ſuch a Multitude, ſhouted with the reſt more for fear then good will. *Mithridates* wakened by theſe cries, ſent ſome to them to know what they deſired, to whom they returned anſwer, they demanded his Son for their King, a young man for an old one, overſwayed by his Eunuchs, and a Murderer of many of his Children, Captains and Friends. Having heard this return, He came out to ſpeak to them, and in the mean time a Troop of his Guards going to joyn with the Runawayes, they told them they would not receive them, unleſs to gain belief amongſt them, they would do ſome notable action, and at the ſame time ſhowed them the King. They then killed his Horſe, ſeeing him diſpoſe himſelf to flight, and then as if they had done what was deſired of them, called *Pharnaces* King, and ſome one having taken out of a Temple a certain Band of Parchment tyed it about his head inſtead of a Diadem; the Old man ſeeing all this from a high Gallery whither he had eſcaped, ſent ſeveral Meſſengers one after another, to his Son, to deſire ſecurity for his retreat, but none returning, he was afraid leſt they would deliver him up to the Romans. Wherefore having given orders to his Friends and thoſe of his Guards, who had not yet forſaken him, to go and ſubmit themſelves to the new King, after having extolled their fidelity, he

took

took out ſome Poiſon which he alwaies carried hid in the Belt of his Sword, and began to diſſolve it, but two of his Daughters lately brought to him, *Mithridatis* and *Niſſa*, promiſed in marriage to the Kings of *Ægypt* and *Cyprus*, earneſtly beſought him to permit them to drink before him, and hindred him from taking it, till they had firſt ſwallowed it. The violence of the Poiſon ſoon gave them their death, but on *Mithridates*, though he walked up and down a great place on purpoſe to heat himelf, the Poyſon had no effect, becauſe of the Preſervative he had uſed dayly to take for fear of being poiſoned, which to this day is called *Mithridate*, ſeeing therefore near him a certain Captain of the Gauls, called *Bituitus*. *Your hand* (ſaid he) *has done me many excellent Services in War, but the moſt excellent of all would be to kill me now, leſt I ſhould be led in Triumph, after having ſo long reigned in ſo great a Kingdom. I cannot die by Poyſon, becauſe I have been too cautious againſt it, inſenſible that I was to have taken ſo much care of what I eat, and not to foreſee that cruel and domeſtick Venome to all Kings, the Treaſon of my Children, my Friends and my Armies.* *Bituitus* moved with this diſcourſe performed for the King this laſt Office he deſired of him. Thus dyed the ſixteenth Deſcendant from *Darius* the laſt King of the Perſians, and the eighth Succeſſor to that *Mithridates*, who ſhaking of the Macedonian Yoak, made himſelf King of *Pontus*, the ſixty eighth or ſixty ninth Year of his Age, and the fifty ſeventh of his Reign, for he was but an Infant when he took Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. He ſubdued all the neighbouring Barbarians, and a great part of *Scythia*, he maintained War againſt the Romans forty Years ſpace, during which he ſeveral times made himſelf Maſter of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, made ſeveral Inroads into *Aſia*, *Phrygia*, *Paphlagonis*, *Galatia*, *Macedon*, beſides many memorable Actions in *Greece*. He had likewiſe the Empire of the Sea from *Cilicia* as far as *Ionia*, but he quitted it when *Sylla* forced him to confine himſelf with the Bounds of the Kingdom of his Father, after the loſs of one hundred and ſixty thouſand men. Yet after that mighty loſs, he forbore not to renew the War, and did it without much difficulty, having beſides always had to do with great Captains. 'Tis true that *Sylla*, *Lucullus* and *Pompey* overcame him, but he had likewiſe the advantage ore them in many Encounters, and withal he took Priſoners *L. Caſſius*, *Q. Oppius* and *Manius Aquilius*, carrying them about Captives with him, till he put one of them to death, as the Principal Author of the War, and delivered up the others to *Sylla*. He defeated likewiſe *Fimbria*, *Murena*, *Cotta* Proconſul, *Fabius* and *Triarius*. He appeared always great, always conſtant, even in the midſt of Calamities, and vanquiſhed though he were, omitted nothing that might be attempted againſt the Romans, even to the allying himſelf with the *Mæotiques* and *Gauls*, ſending Ambaſſadors to *Sertorius* into *Spain*. Notwithſtanding all the wounds he received from Enemies or from Traytors, he never gave himſelf any reſt, no not in his Age, nor ever was there any conſpiracy againſt him, but was diſcovered, ſave only the laſt, and poſſibly he now periſhed for ſuffering himſelf willingly to be deceived; ſo ungrateful is the malice of thoſe to whom we grant pardon. He was yet ſo cruel and bloody that he ſlew his Mother, his Brother, three of his Sons and as many Daughters, he was of great Stature, as his Arms ſent to *Delphos*, and *Nemæa* make appear, and ſo ſtrong that even to his laſt end, he was one of the luſtieſt Horſemen and moſt vigorous thrower of a Javelin in his whole Kingdom, he had travelled in one day a * thouſand Furlongs drawn by a Chariot with eight Horſes, and having freſh ones led. He had learned the Greek Tongue, and was well inſtructed in the Ceremonies of Religion

* *One hundred twenty and five Miles.*

ligion of the *Greeks*. He was likewiſe a lover of Muſick, was patient in labour, ſober in diet, but intemperate in the love of Women. Such was the end of *Mithridates*, ſurnamed *Eupator Dyonſius*, whoſe death delivered the Romans from a troubleſome War, which they teſtifyed by their joy when they heard the News.

XXVII. *Pharnaces* ſent to *Pompey* to *Sinope Mithridates* body in a Galley, and with it thoſe who had arreſted *Manius*, with a great number of Hoſtages, as well *Greeks* as Barbarians, ſupplicating him to continue him in the Kingdoms of his Father, or at leaſt in that of *Boſphorus* which *Mithridates* had given to his Brother *Machares*. *Pompey* delivered the Kings body to thoſe that brought it to be Royally interred and would himſelf be at the expence, giving orders it ſhould be laid in the uſual Sepulcre of the Kings at *Sinope*, prayſing him as the greateſt King of his time, and who had done the nobleſt actions. As for *Pharnaces* in acknowledgement of his having freed *Italy* from many difficulties, he gave him the Kingdom of *Boſphorus*, except only *Phanagoria* whoſe Citizens he would have remain free, becauſe they firſt forſaking *Mithridates*, who again levied Forces, and had already a Fleet and Army, and ſtrong places of retreat, had put a ſtop to him, and by the Example they had given others, been the cauſe of his death; As for *Pompey* himſelf having in this War alone cleared the Sea of Pyrates, overcome the greateſt of Kings, waged War ſuccesfully (beſides the *Pontick* Nations) with the Colches, Albanians, Iberians, Armenians, Medes, Arabs, Jews, and all other Oriental People, he extended the Roman Empire from the Eaſt as far as *Ægypt*, whither he would not go, though *Ptolemy* called him to his aſſiſtance againſt his ſeditious people, and to that end ſent him Preſents of Silver, and Cloths for all his Army, whether he feared to give occaſion of envy to his Enemies, by attempting what the Oracle had forbid, or for other reaſons, we ſhall ſpecify when we come to treat of the affairs of *Ægypt*. As for what concerns the Nations which he had ſubdued, he gave ſome their liberty, becauſe they had ſent him Succors, others he reduced into the form of a Province, and to others gave Kings. To *Tigranes Armenia*, to *Pharnaces Boſphorus*, to *Ariobarzanes Cappadocia* and its dependances, as we ſaid, to *Antiochus Commagenes* what he Conquered in *Meſopotamia*, dividing *Gallogrecia*, inhabited by the Galatians Neighbours of the Cappadocians, among four Tetrarchs, of whom *Deiotarus* was one. He gave *Attalus* the Soveraignty of *Paphlagonia*, and *Ariſtarchus* that of *Colchis*. He made *Archelaus* High-prieſt to the Goddeſs adored by the *Commaniens*, a dignity comparable to any Principality whatſoever. He honoured *Caſtor* of *Phanagoria*, with the Title of Friend of the people of *Rome*, and in ſhort gratifyed a multitude of other Perſons with Governments, and likewiſe with great Sums of Money. He built alſo Cities, *Nicopolis* in *Armenia* the leſs, as a Monument of his Victory. *Eupatoria* in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, which *Mithridates Eupator* had called by his name, when he founded it, and afterwards had raſed it for opening its Gates to the Romans, which *Pompey* afterwards rebuilding from the ground called *Magnopolis*. He reedifyed likewiſe *Mazaca*, a Citie of *Cappadocia*, which had been demoliſhed during the War, and repaired divers others which were ruined or decaying in divers places of *Pontus*, *Paleſtine* the lower, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, in which laſt is ſcituated that City formerly called *Soly*, and at preſent *Pompeiopolis*, which he peopled for the moſt part with Pyrates. He found in the City of *Talauris* where *Mithridates* Magazines were, two thouſand Veſſels of * *Onichitis*

* *A certain kind of Marble.*

bound

bound about with Gold, quantity of Flagons; Cups, * Tables, and Seats, all perfectly beautiful. There were likewise such vast numbers of Bridles and Saddles, enriched with Gold and precious Stons, that the Questor was thirty daies in receiving and counting them. One part of these precious moveables came to *Mithridates* by succession from *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* having passed from hand to hand, to the several Successors of the Kings of *Persia* unto him; *Cleopatra* had taken another part out of the Treasures of the *Ptolemies*, and given them in keeping to the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Coos*, from whence *Mithridates* had brought them, and the rest that King had bought and stored together himself, being very curious of rich moveables. Towards the end of Winter *Pompey* distributed rewards to his Victorious Soldiers, fifteen hundred *Attick* Drams to every Soldier. And to the Tribunes and Centurions proportionably, so that it is said the whole Sum of this distribution amounted to sixteen thousand Talents. After this he went from *Ephesus* to *Italy* by Sea, and dismissing his Army at *Brundusium* returned to *Rome*. And by this popular action, astonished the Romans as if they had seen a Miracle. The whole City went forth to meet him, the youngest a great way, and others according to their Age; and after all came the Senate themselves admiring the prodigious greatness of the actions he had done. For never before him had any person defeated so powerful an Enemy, nor added so many Provinces to the Roman Empire, or extended their Dominion to the *Euphrates*. And in like manner he entred in Triumph in in a more Magnificent manner then ever any had done before in the five and thirtieth year of his age. The Pomp lasted two days, for it required a great deal of time for the passing by of so many different People, Ponticks, Armenians, Cappadocians, Cilicians, the several Nations of all *Syria*, Albanians, Heniochians, Acheans, Scythians, and Iberians. He brought likewise into the Ports seven hundred Ships compleatly fitted, and sent into the City Chariots laden with Gold, and Rarities of inestimable price, among which was the * Table of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, the Chair and Scepter of *Eupator*, with his Figure of Massie Gold eight foot high, and yet was only the Breast and Head, and seven hundred thousand five hundred and ten Talents of Silver Money. There were likewise a great number of Waggons laden with Arms, and some with Ship Beaks. After followed a multitude of Captives and Pyrates, chained and habited every one according to the fashion of his Country, before the Triumphal Chariot marched the Satrapes, Captains, and Sons of Kings, some Captives, others Hostages, to the number of four hundred twenty four. Among whom was *Tigranes* the Son of *Tigranes*, five Sons of *Mithridates*, *Artaphernes*, *Cyrus*, *Oxathres*, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, and two Daughters *Orsabaris* and *Eupatra*, and among the rest *Olthalces*, and *Aristobulus* King of *Colchis* and the Jews, the Tyrants of *Cilicia* and the Queens of *Scythia*. Three *Iberian* Generals, two of the *Albanians*, with *Menander* of *Laodicea* who commanded *Mithridates* Horse. Those absent were carried in Picture. *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* fighting, giving ground and flying. *Mithridates* besieged, his secret flight by night, his death and with him his two Daughters companions of his misfortune, there were shown likewise the Pictures of his Children of both Sexes that dyed before him, and the Figures of the Gods adored by the Barbarians adorned after the manner of their Country, and neer to them a fair Table with this Inscription. Ships of War taken, eight hundred; Cities built in *Cappadocia*, eight; in *Cilicia* and *Celosyria*, twenty; in *Palestine Seleucia*. Kings overcome, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, *Artotes* of *Iberia*, *Oreses* of *Abania*, *Darius* of the Medes. *Areta* of the Nabathæans;

* *Or beds, for they then eat on beds.*

bathæans, and *Antiochus Commagenes*. Then appeared *Pompey* on a Chariot all glittering with precious Stones, clad (as ſome ſay) in the Coat of *Alexander* of *Macedon*, but if that may be believed, 'tis likely it was found among *Cleopatra*'s Movables, which the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Coos* delivered to *Mithridates*. At laſt after the Chariot marched the Officers of the Army who had ſerved him in this expedition ſome on Horſeback others on foot, who all together conducted their General to the Capitol. When he was arrived there, he put not to death any of the Captives, as all who triumphed before him had done, but ſent them back into their own Countries at the publique charge, except only the Kings and Kings Children, of whom he not long after put to death *Ariſtobulus*, and after him *Tigranes*. As for *Pharnaces* he in the mean time kept the Inhabitants of *Phanagoria* blockt up, till ſuch time as Famine made them reſolve to give him Battel, however the King granted their pardon, and without injuring any of them was content to take Hoſtages. Sometime after he took *Sinope*, and deſirous to make himſelf Maſter of *Amiſa*, he made War upon *Calviſius*, who then Commanded the Roman Forces in the Country, in the time that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* were engaged againſt each other, and at laſt the Romans being elſewhere buſied he was driven out of *Aſia* by *Aſander* upon a particular Quarrel. He had likewiſe to do with *Julius Cæſar*, as he returned from *Ægypt* after the Rout of *Pompey* (which happened about that Mount where his Father had beaten *Triarius*) and being beaten eſcaped to *Sinope*, with a thouſand Horſe, whither *Cæſar* wanting leaſure to follow him, ſent *Domitius* to whom he yielded the City, who after he was come out with his Cavalry according to the Articles of Peace, agreed between them, cauſed all the Horſes to be killed, which did not well pleaſe the Horſmen, with whom Shipping himſelf he retired by Sea to the Kingdom of *Pontus*. As ſoon as he came there he aſſembled a great number of Scythians, and Sarmatians and made himſelf Maſter of *Theodotia* and *Panticapea*, but *Aſander* renewing the War with him, his Horſemen being diſmounted and not uſed to fight on foot, were beaten, and *Pharnaces* ſhowing himſelf the only man of Valour was ſlain, after having received many wounds, the fiftieth year of his Age, and fifteenth of his Reign in *Boſphorus*. *C. Cæſar* gave his Kingdom to *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* who had ſerved him well in *Ægypt*, but at this day all thoſe people are free, and there are yearly Prætors ſent into the Kingdoms of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, *Cæſar* confirmed all thoſe who had received favours from *Pompey* in the Eſtates and Governments he had given them, though he complained they had taken part with their Benefactor to his Prejudice, ſave only the prieſt-hood of *Commanes*, which he took from *Archelaus* to give to *Nicomedes*. But ſome time after not only theſe Eſtates, but alſo all that *C. Cæſar* and *M. Anthony* had given to others, were reunited to the Roman Empire, after that *Auguſtus* became Maſter of *Ægypt*, for the Romans let ſlip no opportunity to enlarge their Empire. Wherefore having extended it by the *Mithridatick* War, from the *Euxine* Sea, to the ſandy Deſarts of *Ægypt*, and from the Pillars of *Hercules*, which are in *Spain*, to the *Euphrates*. It was not without reaſon they called this Victory great, or gave to *Pompey* who made all theſe Conqueſts the Title of *Great*, they poſſeſſed likewiſe all *Africa*, as far as *Cyrene* it ſelf, which was given them by the Teſtament of *Appion*, the laſt King of that Countrey, who was a Baſtard of the Race of the *Lagides*, ſo that to have the whole Circuit of the Mediterranian Sea, they wanted only *Ægypt*, which was their laſt Conqueſt.

The end of the fourth Book of the Romans War with Mithridates.

APPIAN

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Wars
IN
ILLYRIA.

PART I.

BOOK V.

The Argument of this Book.

I. *Description of* Illyria, *and those who first inhabited it.* II. *Apollo's Chastisement of the Illyrians Sacriledge.* III. *The Romans War with* Agron *King of* Illyria. IV. *Their Wars against* Demetrius, *and against* Genthius. V. *Against the Ardians, Palarians, Tapodes, Segestians and Dalmatians.* VI. *The affairs of* C. Cæsar *with the Dalmatians*

tians and other Nations of Illyria. VII. *Beginning of* Auguſtus *Conqueſts in* Illyria. VIII. *His War againſt the Japodes and the Siege of* Metulia. IX. *His Wars againſt the Segeſtians and Pæonians.* X. *His Expedition againſt the Dalmatians, and the ſiege of* Promona. XI. *The Concluſion of this Hiſtory.*

I.

THE * Illyrians according to the opinion of the Greeks, are the People that inhabit above *Macedon* and *Thrace*, from the Charnians and the Theſprotes as far as the *Iſter*, and this is the Length of *Illyria*, its breadth extends from *Macedon*, and the Mountains of *Thrace*, as far as the Pæonians, and the Ionian Sea, and the end of the *Alps*. It contains five days Journey in breadth, and its length is thrice as much as the Greeks report, the Romans after meaſuring it found it* ſix thouſand Furlongs long, and * twelve hundred broad, and aſſure us that it took its name from *Illyrius Polyphemus*, and that *Polyphemus* the *Cyclops* had three Sons by *Galatea*; *Celtus*, *Illyrius* and *Gallus*, who going out of *Sicily* gave their Names to the * Celtes, Illyrians and Galatians, of which Nation they made themſelves Kings; and indeed this opinion ſeems to me the moſt probable of all. They ſay likewiſe that *Illyrius* had ſons *Achilles*, *Autarius*, *Dardanus*, *Medus*, *Taulantius* and *Perhebius*, and Daughters *Partha*, *Daorta*, *Dazera* and others, from whom are deſcended the Taulantians, Perhebians, Achilleians, Autarians, Dazeretians and Darſians. That *Autarius* had two Sons *Pannonius* or rather *Pæonius* and *Scordiſcus*, from which *Pæonius* came *Triballius*, who all three gave their names to three Nations as we learn in Ancient Records. *Illyria* therefore (as we find to this day by ſeveral Publick Teſtimonies in that great Countrey) was formerly poſſeſſed by the Scordisks and Triballians, who continually made War, till ſuch time as thoſe that remained of the Triballians went away to the Getes above the *Iſter*. And this Nation which to the time of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had a great reputation is at this day ſo utterly decayed that there ſcarce remains to us the memory of its name. The Scordicks are likewiſe much weakned, for being ſubdued by the Romans they retreated within the Iſles of the River *Iſter*. However ſometime after a party returned and inhabited a Corner of *Pæonia*. Wherefore the Scordisks are to this day reckoned among the Pæonians. The Autarians who likewiſe poſſeſſed a good tract on the Sea Coaſt, were likewiſe driven out by the Ardians. After that the * Liburnians who were eſteemed excellent Seamen, came and ſetled themſelves in a part of *Illyria*, from whence they ſcoured all the *Ionian* Sea, plundring all the Ships they met with, and becauſe they had Ships very ſwift and extreamly light, the Romans call Veſſels that excel in ſwiftneſs *Liburnicks*.

* *Sclavonians.*

* *Seven hundred and fifty Miles.*

* *One hundred and fifty Miles.*

* *Gauls.*

* *Croats or thoſe of the County of* Zara.

II.

'Tis ſaid that *Apollo*'s anger was the cauſe of the utter deſtruction of the Autarians, and that they going with thoſe *Celtes* that are called Cimbrians to beſiege the City of *Delphos*, were forthwith defeated and took their flight in diſorder, ſome of them not ſtaying till the battel began, by reaſon of the Rain, Tempeſt and Thunder which terrified them. Thoſe who returned found their whole Country covered with infinite multitudes of Frogs who ſtinking poiſoned the Rivers with their putrefaction, and that at laſt the Earth caſting forth Malignant Vapors, bred a cruel Plague in *Illyria*. This Malady ſieſed chiefly on the Autarians, who leaving their Country,

Country carried the Contagion along with them, ſo that no perſon durſt receive them, after three and twenty days travel they ſtopt in a marſhy and unhabited Country, and built Cities on the Confines of the Baſternes. As for the Celtes *Apollo* ſent into their Country ſuch Earthquakes as ſwallowed up whole Cities at once, and that this Calamity ceaſed not till they as well as the others had quitted their habitations and come into *Illyria*; where finding the Aſſociates of their crime extreamly weakned by the Plague, which had ſwept away the greateſt part of them, they eaſily overcame them, but the Contagion ſieſing likewiſe upon them by their touching of infected Cloths, they departed thence, and for change of air went as far as the Pyrenæans. Afterwards taking their way towards the Eaſt, the Romans who were fearful leſt the Celtes with whom they had ſeveral times been engaged ſhould once more paſs the *Alps* and fall into *Italy*, ſent againſt them their Conſuls, who were defeated, with their whole Army. This defeat of the Conſuls, and the dreadful name of the Celtes ſtruck a terror throughout all *Italy*, till ſuch time as having choſen *Marius* General who had lately gained a great Victory againſt the Lybians, Numidians and Maruſians, they overcame the Cimbrians, and afterwards had the better of them in ſeveral Engagements (as we have ſet down in the recital of the Roman Wars againſt the Gauls.) So that weakned by ſuch vaſt effuſion of blood, and grown hopeleſs of ſettling themſelves in any other place, they again recovered their Ancient Seat after having done much miſchief, and ſuffered innumerable loſſes. And here ended *Apollo*'s puniſhment of the impiety of the Illyrians and Celtes. Yet this deterred them not from afterwards committing other Sacriledges, for at another time part of thoſe two * Nations, and eſpecially the Scordisks, Medes and Dardanians made inroads into *Macedonia*, and likewiſe into *Greece*, robbing many Temples and aſſaulting that of *Delphos*, where they again loſt a great Number of their People. Two and thirty years after the firſt Battel between the Romans and the Celtes, during which they had ſeveral Engagements, the Romans who had already conquered *Greece* and *Macedon*, declared War againſt them for the like Sacriledge, and gave *L. Scipio* the Command of their Armies. The Fame has reached even to our times that their Neighbors were the Companions of their Impiety, but remembring the puniſhment of the Autarians of whom not one was left alive in *Illyria*, left them to *Scipio*'s mercy without giving them any aſſiſtance. And that *Scipio* having cut in pieces all the Scordisks, except a ſmall Number who ſaved themſelves on the other ſide of *Iſter*, and on the Iſles of that River, ſuffered himſelf to be bribed with the Sacred Gold, and for it made an Alliance with the Medes and Dardanians, which gave occaſion to ſome Hiſtorians of *Italy*, to write that this corruption was the cauſe of all the Civil Wars, wherewith the Romans were tormented from *Scipio*'s time till the Eſtabliſhing of the Monarchy. Theſe were the Greeks opinions of the Illyrians, on which I was willing to enlarge my ſelf. As for the Romans they reckon with them not only the People we have ſpoken of but likewiſe the * Pæonians which are beyond them, and the Rhetians, the Naricks, and the * Myſians which inhabit in *Europe*; and alſo all the Neighboring People which lie on the right hand of *Iſter*, whom they diſtinguiſh (as the Hellens and the Greeks) by particular Names, but in General call them all Illyrians: This opinion which they have held from the beginning, and perſiſt in it till our times, hath been the cauſe that they have not yet found out the limits of thoſe Nations, and that they ſet the bounds of *Illyria* from the Springs of *Iſter*

* Illyrians *and* Celtes.

* Auſtria *and* Hungaria.

* *The Northern* Bavaria.

far as the people upon the *Pontick* Sea, where they levy Tribute. I know not well in what manner the Romans ſubdued them. So in writing the affairs of *Gaul* I have declared that I could not gain a ſufficient and ample knowledge of the beginnings and occaſions of theſe Wars; wherefore I have exhorted thoſe who had the better knowledge of the Affairs of *Illyria* to write the Hiſtory of them. In the mean time I ſhall preſent the publick with ſuch things as are come to my knowledge.

III. *Agron*, King of that part of *Illyria* ſituate on the Gulf of the *Ionian* Sea, once poſſeſſed by *Pyrrhus* and his Succeſſors, became likewiſe Maſter of a Corner of *Epyrus*, and with that of *Corcyra*, *Epidamnum*, and *Pharos*, under pretence of protecting them. And being at Sea to ſieze upon the reſt of *Ionia*, a certain Iſland called *Iſſa*, revolted from him, to ſubmit to the Romans, and at the ſame time ſent Deputies to *Rome* to complain of the oppreſſions they had ſuffered under *Agron*. As they returned they were aſſaulted by the Illyrians, who ſlew their Deputy called *Calemporus*, and a Roman Commiſſary, who according to the opinion of ſome was *Carnicanus*, which ſtruck ſuch deſpair into the reſt of their Company that they all ſlew themſelves. The Romans (as it ſaid) took this occaſion to declare War againſt the Illyrians, and aſſaulted the Illyrians both by Sea and Land. Mean while *Agron* died leaving only a Son; yet under age called *Pina*, and to oblige his Wife to take care of the Child though ſhe were not his Mother, left her Regent of the Kingdom. *Demetrius* to whom *Agron* had given the Government of *Pharos* having likewiſe ſiezed upon * *Corcyra* delivered both to the Romans, who then kept the Sea with a Fleet: they afterwards drew * *Epidamnum* to their party, and the Iſſians and Epidamnians being beſieged by the Illyrians, they ſent an Army to their relief who made the Illyrian forces raiſe their ſieges and return home, but ſome of them called the Atintanes, went and ſubmitted to the Romans. This occaſioned *Agrons* Wife to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, reſtoring the Captives and Fugitives, and demanding pardon, by remonſtrating that what was paſt, ought to be imputed to *Agron* and not to her, to which the Senate anſwered, that *Corcyra*, *Pharos*, *Iſſa*, and *Epidamnum*, as alſo thoſe Illyrians called Atintanes, belonged now to the Roman Empire. That they would leave to *Pina* all the remainder of that Country poſſeſſed by his Father, and receive him into the Alliance of the Roman People, on condition, he medled not with any of the reſt, nor ſuffered the Illyrians to ſail to the Iſland of *Iſſa*, ſave only with two boats unarmed. Theſe conditions the Ambaſſadors accepted, and this was the firſt War, and the firſt Peace between the Romans and thoſe of *Illyria*.

* Carfu.
* Dyrrhachium

IV. After this the Romans ſet at liberty *Corcyra* and *Apollonia*, and rewarded *Demetrius* for his treaſon, becauſe of the advantage they had gained by it, not but that they hated his Infidelity, of which they themſelves ſoon after found the effects. For when the Romans and the Celtes were engaged one againſt the other about the River * *Eridanus*, *Demetrius* who thought they had their hands full, beginning not to be ſo much afraid of them as before, went about to lord it at Sea, and made himſelf Maſter of the * Iſtrians, and forced the Atintanes to revolt againſt the Romans, but they as ſoon as they had made Peace with the Celtes, ſet out a Fleet to Sea, and took the Corſairs, who were joyned with *Demetrius*, and the revolted Illyrians; As for *Demetrius* he at firſt eſcaping to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and afterwards retreating into the Country, and committing Pyracies on the Ionian

* Po.

* Iſtria *a peninſula in the gulf.* of Venice.

Ionian Sea's with ſome few Ships, they ſlew him at laſt, and utterly ruined *Pharos* his Country as an Abettor of his miſchiefs. But for the Illyrians they pardoned them for *Pina*'s ſake, who had kindly received them. This was the ſecond War and ſecond Peace with the Illyrians. Now in the purſuit of this Hiſtory I ſhall neither reſpect time nor order, but content my ſelf to write the affairs of every particular Illyrian Nation, as far as I have learnt them. The Romans having ſent their Armies into *Macedon* againſt *Perſeus*, who then poſſeſſed that Kingdom by ſucceſſion from *Philip*, *Genthius* another King of *Illyria*, prevailed with by the Macedonians Money entred into an Alliance with him, and engaged himſelf in this War. He forthwith ſtirred up the Illyrians againſt the Romans, and laid in Irons thoſe Ambaſſadors they ſent, under pretence they were not come within his Lands as Ambaſſadors but as Spies. Wherefore *Anitius* the Roman Prætor being then at Sea, took ſome of that Kings Ships, and afterwards Landing in his Country, defeated him and afterwards ſo cloſely beſieged in a place that he only asked for quarter. Upon which the Prætor returning anſwer that he could grant him no other terms then ſurrendring at diſcretion, he deſired three days to conſider of it, which being granted, and the mean while finding that his Subjects ran away to *Anitius*, he only deſired ſecurity to come to him himſelf. When he came before him he fell upon his knees, and with abaſance inſupportable in a man of courage beſought the Roman to grant him his life. *Anitius* ſeeing him tremble, bid him take courage, raiſed him up with his own hand, and made him eat at his Table, but when Dinner was done, gave Order to his Officers to keep him Priſoner, and afterwards led him and his Son in Triumph to *Rome*. The War with *Genthius* was ended in twenty days, after which, *Æmulius Paulus* pillaged ſeventy Cities in this manner. After having defeated King *Perſeus*, whom he ſent to the Senate going himſelf privately to *Rome*, and returning with all ſpeed, he cauſed it to be publiſhed in the name of the Senate, throughout all the Cities, that they promiſed pardon for all the faults yet committed, on condition they brought in what Gold and Silver they had, which being agreed to, he ſent his Army divided into ſo many parties, into every City, and gave Order to the Commanders to cauſe it to be proclaimed upon the break of the appointed day, that every Burgeſs ſhould within three hours, bring his Mony into the Publick place, which being performed he gave up the reſt of the City to plunder. Thus *Paulus* deſpoiled ſeventy Cities of all their goods.

V. Another time the Ardians, and another of the Neighboring Nations called the Palarians, being entred in hoſtile manner into the Lands poſſeſſed by the Romans in *Illyria*, becauſe they were buſied elſewhere, they ſent Ambaſſadors to forbid them to paſs any farther, whom when they would not obey they took a reſolution to ſend an Army of ten thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe. The Illyrians who were yet ſcarce ſufficiently prepared for ſuch a War, diſpatched to *Rome*, and as if they had ſeriouſly repented of what they had done, demanded Pardon. Upon which the Senate condemned them to pay to them that they had oppreſſed, the full value of the damage they had ſuſtained, but when yet they performed not this Decree, *Flaccus* was ſent with a powerful Army. Yet all his exploits amounted to no more then ſome Inrodes and Skirmiſhes, for he could not ſo ſuddenly end this War. I find likewiſe in Hiſtory, that *Sempronius* ſurnamed *Tuditanus* and *Tiberius Panduſius* defeated the

Japodes which inhabit the *Alpes*, and that they ſubmitted to both at a time, in the ſame manner, as the Sagiſtains yielded to *L. Cotta* and to *Metellus*. As for the Dalmatians who are likewiſe a Nation of *Illyria*, but on the other ſide, it is certain that they made War upon the Illyrians, ſubject to the Romans, and that they would not receive the Deputies that came from *Rome* to confer about this Affair. Wherefore there is ſome likelyhood that the Romans ſent Forces againſt them. They diſpatched (ſay ſome) an Army Commanded by *Marcus Figulus* then Conſul, but as ſoon as he was entred the Country they fell upon his Vanguard, put the whole Army to a rout, and purſued them as far as the River *Naro*, from whence they returned home becauſe of the approaching Winter. Then *Figulus* judging he might ſurprize them as they retired in diſorder, followed them in the Rear, defeated and purſued them as far as the City of *Dalminium* which gives Name to the Dalmatians, and that not being able to take this City, ſo ſtrongly was it fortifyed, by aſſault, nor to make uſe of any Engines by reaſon of the vaſt height of the Wall, and beſides wanting many things and not being ſecure becauſe of the frequent Sallies made by the Beſieged, he had recourſe to another Artifice: He took Stakes two foot long and wrapping them about with Tow dipt in Pitch and Brimſtone, and ſetting them on fire, ſhot them from his Engines into the Town, the violence wherewith they were darted, making them burn more vehemently, they flew through the Air like ſo many flaming Torches, ſetting on fire all that they fell upon, in ſomuch that the greateſt part of the City being burnt, *Figulus* returned to *Rome* Victorious. Some time after *Cecilius Metellus* having obtained the Conſulate, went by Decree of the Senate to make War upon the Dalmatians, who had given no occaſion, but he had only ſet this deſign on Foot, out of a deſire to Triumph. But thoſe people receiving him as a Friend, he ſpent the Winter at *Salone* one of their Cities, and at laſt returned to *Rome* in Triumph, though he had done nothing to deſerve it.

VI. Afterwards *Cæſar* marching againſt the *Gauls* who lay not far diſtant from *Illyria*, found that the Dalmatians with other people of *Illyria* had ſome advantage over the Liburnians, another Nation of the ſame Country, and took from them the City of *Promona*, wherefore the Liburnians ſubmitting themſelves to the Romans, fled towards *Cæſar*, then not far off, and *Cæſar* ſent to thoſe who had taken *Promona*, to exhort them to reſtore it, but they having no reſpect to this advertiſement he ſent a great Army which being defeated by the Illyrians, *Cæſar* diverted by other Affairs, for *Pompey*'s Party was now forming, and he who ſaw it of neceſſity to come to Arms with him, would attempt nothing more at that time againſt them: But though the Seaſon was troubleſome and inconvenient, paſſed from *Brunduſium* into *Ionia*, with the greateſt part of his Army to go thence into *Macedonia* to War with *Pompey*, leaving *Anthony* to bring the remainder. But afterwards *Gabinius* having likewiſe fifteen Cohorts and three thouſand Horſe to carry to him, attempted to go through *Illyria*, at which the Illyrians being allarm'd becauſe of thoſe things lately happened, and judging that *Cæſar*'s Victory would be their Ruine, ſlew them all; except only *Gabinius* and ſome Horſemen of his Guard, who eſcaped with him, gaining by this defeat vaſt Spoils and Treaſure. The Importance of this War wherein *Cæſar* was engaged with *Pompey*, obliged him at preſent to diſſemble this Affront. But after that *Pompey* was defeated, and that *Cæſar* had purſued the remains of his Party into divers places, and ſetled all things in good order and returned to *Rome*, he made preparations for an expedition he had determined

termined againſt the Getes and Parthians. Whereupon the Illyrians fearing, leſt *Cæſar* in his way ſhould revenge himſelf of the injury he had received, ſent Deputies to *Rome*, to ask pardon for what they had done, offering *Cæſar* their allyance and Friendſhip, which might be of great concern to him in his expedition againſt the Parthians, becauſe of the valour of the Illyrians, the reputation of which was ſpread through the whole Earth; but he anſwered them very ſharply that he would not entertain any correſpondence or friendſhip with people had ſo highly offended him, however he was content to pardon them if they ſubmitted to pay Tribute, and deliver up Hoſtages. After they had promiſed both the one and the other, he ſent *Atinius* with three Legions to impoſe ſome ſmall Tribute, and receive the promiſed Hoſtages. But *Cæſar* being in the mean time murdered, they thought the Roman Power muſt by his death, that was its chief ſupport, fall to ruine, wherefore they would no more obey *Atinius*'s orders nor either pay Tribute, or deliver up Hoſtages, and as he waſted the Country with five Cohorts, they ſurprized them, put them to rout, and ſlew *Bebius* who commanded the Party, and *Atinius* himſelf eſcaped hardly to *Epidamnum*, with his ſcattered Forces. After which the Senate gave that Army with all *Macedon* and *Illyria*, of which he was Governour, to *Marcus Brutus* who ſlew *Cæſar*, and *Syria* to *Caſſius* an aſſociate in that tragick action, ſo that during the War they maintained againſt *Anthony* and *Cæſar* ſurnamed *Auguſtus*, the Illyrians enjoyed not much repoſe.

VII. As for the Peonians they are a great Nation inhabiting along the * *Iſter*, and extending themſelves from the Japodes to the Dardanians. The Greeks call them Peonians, but the Romans name them * Pannonians, and reckon them among the people of *Illyria*. Wherefore being writing the Hiſtory of *Illyria*, I think it now very appoſite to ſpeak of their Affairs. They were already grown famous by the mighty actions done by the Agrians under *Philip* and *Alexander*, for the Agrians were Peonians, and inhabited the lower part of *Peonia*, but after they had ſo ſhamefully driven back *Cornelius*, who came with an Army to make War upon them, the mighty reputation of the Peonians filled all *Italy* with fear, and for a long time there was not any Roman Conſul found ſo brave as to attack them. And this is all I can find, great or memorable, concerning the Peonians and Illyrians, in any Hiſtory after diligent ſearch made, nor have in peruſal of the Commentaries of *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſeen any thing of more Antiquity concerning the *Peonian* Nation. Indeed I find there was a certain other Nation of *Illyria*, beſides thoſe by me mentioned that paid obedience to the Romans, but I can neither tell where it is ſcituate or how it is called, for *Auguſtus* writ not the Actions of others, but thoſe properly his own. In what manner he made the revolted Nations pay Tribute, ſubdued thoſe that were independent, and at laſt by force of Arms brought under ſubjection thoſe warlike people, who dwelling on the the tops of the *Alps*, becauſe of their bordering upon *Italy*, committed often Robberies, and made frequent inroads. And really it ſomewhat amazes me, that ſo many Roman Armies having paſſed the *Alpes*, to make War in *France* and *Spain*, ſhould take no notice of theſe people; and that *Cæſar* himſelf, who was ſo ſucceſful in War, and who for almoſt ten years together wintred about this Country whilſt he was reducing the *Gauls*, ſhould make ſo ſmall account of thoſe that lay behind him. But I believe theſe Generals principally intent upon thoſe places, whither they were deſigned, thought no farther then of paſſing

* Danube.
* Huns.

ſing the *Alpes*, and that *Cæſar* whilſt he was lodged on the Frontiers of *Gaul*, applyed himſelf wholly to the ruine of *Pompey*'s Party, who would have made his Conqueſts his own; beſides 'tis probable that when he took the Government of *Illyria* and the *Gauls*; it was meant only of what depended on the Romans. But *Auguſtus* at laſt made himſelf Maſter of all. Though not without great labour; for he that had formerly ſaid in the Senate that *Anthonies* eaſineſs had made the Illyrians tame and ſupple (though ſo warlike they were, they had often put him hard to it,) was forced to make uſe of all the experience he had, to bring under the Oxeans, the Perthenetes, the Bathiares, the Taulantians, the Cambians, the Cinambres, the Merromenians and the Pyriſſians: and found yet more difficulty in reducing the Docleates, the Carinians, the Interſrurians, the Nariſians, the Clintidiones and the Tauriſques, and obliging them by force to pay that Tribute they had for ſometime been exempted from. It's true the Victories he gained ſerved for Example to their Neighbours, and that the Hippaſſians and the Beſſians, fearful of his power ſubmitted. But the Melitinians and the Corcyrians, which inhabited the Iſles being revolted, he was conſtrained to imploy a great part of his Forces to reduce them, for they made Courſes, and committed Robberies on the Sea with their Ships, of which they had a great number. Wherefore *Cæſar* put to the Sword all he took above fourteen years of Age, and ſold the reſt at Outcry, he alſo took from the Liburnians their Ships, becauſe they likewiſe drove a trade of Pyracy. Of the Nation of the Japodes which inhabit in the *Alpes*, the Moentines and Edeates yielded themſelves upon the news of his coming, but the Aurupins who are eſteemed the moſt warlike of thoſe people as well as the moſt numerous, retired out of the Country into the City, and hearing he was at hand quitted it, and fled to the Woods for ſhelter. *Cæſar* having taken the City, would not let it be burnt, judging they would ſubmit themſelves to him as well as the others, and therefore not long after left it and permitted their return. But they of all theſe people that moſt perplexed *Cæſar* were the Salaſſians, the Japodes dwelling beyond the *Alpes*, the Segeſtains, the Dalmatians, the Daiſſans and the Peonians, who voluntarily engaged on the Salaſſians Party. Theſe laſt inhabited on the tops of the *Alpes*, in a place almoſt inacceſſible, and not to be approached but by one difficult and narrow paſſage. *Veterius* falling on them unawares, ſeiſed upon the Avenue, and beſieged them. The Siege laſted two Years, at the end of which for want of Salt, of which they ſtood moſt in need of, they received a Garriſon. At laſt being revolted they demoliſhed thoſe Fortifications raiſed by *Veterius* to keep them in awe, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the Crags and Streits, made a mock of thoſe ſent by *Cæſar* againſt them, who could not come to do them any hurt. Wherefore *Cæſar* being then upon the point to make War againſt *Anthony*, let them live at liberty, pardoning the attempt they had made upon *Veterius*. But they conceiving a wrong opinion of *Cæſar*'s facility, began to draw other Cities to their Party, and to ſpoil the Lands under the Romans obedience, till *Meſſala Carvinus* ſent by the Emperour to beſiege them, reduced them by Famine, and thus the Salaſſians fell under the Roman Empire.

VII. As for the Japodes beyond the *Alps*, who are a fierce and almoſt Salvage people, they repulſed twice in twenty years, the Romans that came to make War upon them, made inroads as far as *Aquileia*, and ſackt *Targia* a Roman Colony. *Cæſar* going in perſon againſt them, by rough and difficult Paſſages, they grew but the more furious, and to hinder his Paſſage, cut

cut down the Trees that grew by the way ſide, ſo as they fell acroſs the way. After which *Auguſtus* taking his march through another Forreſt they ſeemed to fly, but went and lay in Ambuſh for him, but he being doubtful of it, ſent ſome of his people over the tops of the Mountains to come and fall upon them on all ſides, and continued his march by the Vallies, cauſing the Wood to be cut down before him. The Japodes all upon a ſuddain ſallyed out of their Ambuſh, and wounded many of his men, but the moſt part of their Forces were cut in pieces by the Romans, who came down from the Mountains, and the reſt choſe rather to retreat in the Woods, than into one of their Cities called *Terpona*, which they had abandoned. *Cæſar* having taken it, would not burn it, for he thought as he had made trial in others, that would engage them to ſubmit, which they did; after which he marched towards another of their Cities called by the Inhabitants *Metulia*, and is eſteemed the Capital of the Country of the Japodes. It is ſcituate on a high Mountain covered with Wood, and built upon two Eminencies divided by a ſmall Valley. The beſt armed and braveſt young men that any one can imagine ever to have ſeen defended it, and with eaſe repulſed the Romans, as often as they approached the Wall. The Beſiegers would have raiſed Terraſſes, but the Metulians day and night ſallying out on all ſides upon the Labourers, hindred the Work, and by the means of certain Engines which they had taken, in the Battel fought not far from thence by *Brutus* againſt *Anthony*, and the ſame *Cæſar*, and now planted upon the Walls, forced the Beſiegers to fall off, yet the Romans made a breach in the Wall, but whilſt they fought, the Beſieged had raiſed other Fortifications within, over which they, though tyred with defending the breach, leaped into the City. The Beſiegers thus become Maſters of the Wall which the Inhabitants had quitted, ſet *fire on it, and to gain the reſt raiſed two Terraſſes from which they laid over four Planks to the Rampart newly raiſed. Things thus diſpoſed, *Cæſar* gave order to one party of his men to aſſault the other ſide of the City to draw the Inhabitants that way, whilſt the others forced their entrance over the Planks, and he in the mean time took a view of the Action from a high Tower. The Barbarians ran upon the Wall to oppoſe thoſe that paſſed, whilſt another Party behind them ſtrove to heave up the Planks with their Pikes, which much heightned their courage, for one Plank being overturned, and then another, and after it a third, fear ſo ſeiſed on the Romans that not a man durſt engage upon the fourth. *Cæſar* from the Tower ſharply reproves them, but ſeeing that all he could ſay, would not move them, he takes his Buckler and began himſelf to run upon the Plank. *Agrippa*, *Hieron* and *Lucius*, three of his Captains and *Folas* one of his Guards followed him with ſome Targetiers and got likewiſe on the Plank. *Cæſar* thus deeply engaged, ſhame made the Soldiers run on in ſuch Crouds that the Plank overcharged broke in the middle, and a great Number of people that were upon it fell one upon another, ſome were ſlain, others brought of ſorely bruiſed, and the Emperour himſelf was wounded in the Thigh and both the Arms. He again aſcended the Tower with ſome followers of Conſular dignity, that all might ſee he was well, leſt a rumour of his death might beget ſome Tumult, or the Enemy ſhould think he fled, and at the ſame inſtant ſet on work the laying of another Plank. This more daunted the Metulians then any thing before, ſeeing they had undertaken War againſt a man whoſe courage was invincible, whereupon on the morrow they ſent Deputies to treat with him, delivered him the fifty Hoſtages he demanded, and promiſed to receive a Garriſon, to whom they left the higher Eminence, retiring

* *Theſe walls were part of wood, and part of Stone.*

ring themſelves into the other. But when the Garriſon being entred required them to yield up their Arms, they entred into ſuch a fury, that ſhutting up their Wives and Children in the Town-houſe, and having likewiſe cauſed the Officers of the Garriſon to enter there, they told them that if they were ſo hardy to attempt againſt them any thing extraordinary, they would ſet fire on that building, and by one act of diſpair endeavor to wreak themſelves on the Romans. After this diſcourſe they drew together at the foot of the higher eminence, as if they had a deſign to mount up. The Garriſon ſet the Town-houſe on fire, many of the women kill'd themſelves with their Children, and ſome threw themſelves alive into the flames. Thus almoſt all the youth of *Metulia* being ſlain in the conflict, and moſt of the uſeleſs perſons burnt, all the buildings were likewiſe conſumed in the flames, ſo that there ſcarcely remained any mark of ſo great a City. The Metulians thus totally ruined, all the reſt of that Nation ſubmitted to *Cæſar* for fear of a like misfortune, and thus fell the Japodes under the Roman power. *Cæſar* being gone, the Poſſenians ſhook off their yoak: but *Marcus Elbius* being ſent againſt them, reduced them by force, puniſhed with death the authors of the Rebellion, and ſold the reſt by Outcry.

IX. The Romans having already made two Voyages into the Country of the Segeſtains, without taking Hoſtages or doing ought elſe to ſubject them, they grew inſolent and preſumptuous; Wherefore *Cæſar* reſolved to make war upon them, and to take his paſſage through the Territories of the Peonians not depending on the Roman Empire. *Peonia* is a woody Country, whoſe length extends from the Japodes to the Dardanians. The people inhabiting it have no Cities, but live in the Fields, and have Villages ſeparate, according to their Families; They have not among them either Judge or Prince that has Superiority over others. They had at preſent a hundred thouſand Men, but becauſe they knew no Command, could never form a Body. So when *Cæſar* came amongſt them they preſently fled into the woods, where if they found any Roman ſtragling from the reſt they cut him in pieces. As long as *Cæſar* thought they would could come in, he neither touched their Villages nor Towns, but when he ſaw they kept themſelves cloſe in the woods, he ſet all on fire making an ineſtimable ſpoil for eight days together, as he croſs'd the Country of the Segeſtains and Peonians as far as the *Sava*. *Cæſar* on the banks of this River found a City fortified on one ſide with the River which was very broad, and on the reſt with a large Ditch, deep and dug downright, ſo that it was as broad at bottom as top. Wherefore he made an attempt upon it as a place very convenient for his Stores in the War he deſigned againſt the Dacians and Baſternes, which inhabit beyond the *Iſter*, which in theſe places is called the *Danube*. But when a little lower it is enlarged with great quantity of waters, it takes the name of *Iſter*, inſtead of that of *Danube*. Now the *Sava* diſcharges it ſelf into the *Iſter*, and *Cæſar* had Veſſels upon that River, which might bring proviſions up the *Danube*, for the ſubſiſtance of his Army. He therefore inveſted this City, but ſcarce had made his firſt approaches when the inhabitants of *Segeſta*, for that was the name of the place, ſent Meſſengers to him to know what he demanded of them. Whereupon he ordered them to receive a Garriſon, and to deliver him one hundred Hoſtages for ſecurity of ſuch Proviſion and Ammunition as he ſhould ſtore up in that City for his Service in the War againſt the Dacians; and that they ſhould bring him in ſo much Corn; The Chief Men of the

Town

Town thought not theſe conditions unreaſonable, and had certainly granted them had not the People hindred them. The Commons were not troubled about the delivering the Hoſtages, for they were well aſſured none of their Children would be accepted but only thoſe of the beſt Families of the City; but when they ſaw the Garriſon approach, they could not endure to look on them, but in a fury ran to the Gates, ſhut them, and mounted afreſh upon the Walls to defend them. Wherefore *Cæſar* cauſed a Bridge to be built over the River, and began his Lines of Circumvallation. After which keeping the inhabitants incloſed, he began to raiſe two terraſſes, to hinder which the beſieged made ſeveral Sallies, which not ſucceeding they threw down abundance of firebrands; Exſpecting relief to come from *Peonia*. And indeed the Peonians came; but *Cæſar* having laid an Ambuſh in their way, kill'd a great party of them, and put the reſt to flight, ſo that they no more concerned themſelves in the relief of *Segeſta*. However the Segeſtains bravely ſuſtained the ſiege till the thirtieth day; but at length after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance their hearts failed, and they learnt to ask pardon. *Cæſar* admiring their Valour, and moved to compaſſion at their Prayers, would not put them to death, nor make them ſuffer any thing in their Perſons, but contenting himſelf to make them pay a ſum of Mony, ordered them to retire into one quarter of the City and placed there five and twenty Cohorts in Garriſon.

That done he went back to *Rome* with deſign to return into *Illyria*, And accordingly upon a Rumor that the Segeſtains had already defeated the Garriſon that was in their City, made haſt thither, though it was the Winter ſeaſon: he found the report was falſe, but that indeed ſomething had paſſed which gave occaſion to this diſcourſe, that the Garriſon had been in danger, having been aſſaulted at unawares by the Inhabitants, and ſome of them ſlain, but that the Roman Soldiers falling the next day upon the Citizens had made themſelves ſecure of the City. Wherefore he thence marched his Army againſt the Dalmatians another Nation Neighboring on the Taulantians; For ſince that in the time of *Gabinius* they had defeated five Roman Cohorts, whoſe Enſigns they had taken, their hearts were ſo puſt up, that for ten years together they had not laid down Arms, but were reſolved to come with the Segeſtains to Encounter *Cæſar*. They were in Number more then twelve thouſand, all men of courage, Commanded by a choſen General called *Verſus*, who aſſaulting once more the City of *Promona* in *Liburnia*, had Entrenched himſelf with a large ditch and a good Paliſado, and had ſieſed likewiſe on ſome places very ſtrongly ſituate, for it is a Mountainous Country full of ſharp and pointed Rocks. He therefore continued his ſiege of that City with the greater part of his Forces, the reſt he poſted on the Mountain tops, from whence they might with eaſe diſcover the Roman Camp. *Cæſar* made a ſhow as if he would incloſe them with a wall, but indeed ſent privately the moſt daring of his men to diſcover the paths that led up to the mountain tops. They marched through the woods and having without any noiſe gained the top of the Rocks, they fell upon thoſe that guarded them by night, while they yet ſlept, and made a great ſlaughter. At the ſame time they ſent to tell *Cæſar* that they had found the end of the way, but wanted more forces to perfect the reſt. In the mean time they let go from thoſe Rocks they had ſurpriſed by force, ſome Priſoners one after another, whoſe report ſo terrified thoſe were poſted on the other heights that they thought themſelves incloſed on all ſides, and eſpecially ſome who wanting water, in

ſome of the higheſt places fearing leſt all the retreats ſhould be ſieſed on, that they forthwith deſcended to *Promona*, *Cæſar* cauſed the City and two hills which the Enemy yet held to be environed with a wall of forty furlongs about, and in the mean time went to encounter *Teutinius* who was coming with another Army, to relieve the beſieged, defeats him, chaſes him among the Mountains, and in the very teeth of him takes *Promona*; for before the Circumvallation was finiſhed, the beſieged making a Salley were ſo vigorouſly beaten back by the Romans, that they entred Pell Mell with them into the City, where having ſlain one part of the Inhabitants, the reſt ſaved themſelves in the Cittadel, he preſently ſiezed on the Town Gates, and gave the Guard of one to a Roman Cohort, which was the fourth night aſſailed by the Barbarians and ſurpriſed with the ſudden fright quitted their Poſt, but *Cæſar* coming in encloſed the beſieged, who the next morning yielded to diſcretion, he pardoned them, but for the Regiment that had quitted their Poſt, he made them draw Lots, and put to death every tenth Soldier with two Captains, and for the reſt of that Company gave them only Barly, while the others had Wheat. Thus was *Promona* taken. As for *Teutinius* he had in his flight diſperſed his Army into ſeveral parties, wherefore the Romans purſued him not very far, for not knowing the Country, and ſeeing in the woods ſo many different paths, which anſwered not one to the other, they were fearful of dividing their Army into ſo many ſeveral bodies. There was in this wood a deep valley of a long extent between two Mountains, where formerly the Dalmatians had lain hid to ſurpriſe *Gabinius*. Here likewiſe they laid an Ambuſh for *Cæſar*, but he ſet the wood on fire, where the ways met, and dividing his Army into three parts, of which two took their march on both ſides, along the skirts of the Mountains, that they might at any time come in to his relief, and he with the third marched through the valley, cauſing the wood to be cut down before him, or ſetting all on fire, and ſtorming the Towns. He beſieged one called *Setovia*, whither the Barbarians flocked in great Numbers to caſt in ſome relief, but he being ready to receive them routed them, ſo that none could get into the City. Yet he was wounded in the Knee with a blow of a Stone, which made him for ſome time keep his Bed. Being ſomewhat recovered he returned to *Rome* to make himſelf Conſul with *Barbatius Tullus*, whom he took for Colleague, and in the mean time left *Statilius Taurus* to command the Army. After he had taken poſſeſſion of the Conſulate in the beginning of the Month, he quitted the ſame day the Government of the Commonwealth to *Anthony*, and departed to *Dalmatia* aſſuming again the quality of Triumvir though the laſt five years time was expired ſince *Auguſtus*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus* had uſurped the Sovereign Authority which was afterwards confirmed to them by the People. The Dalmatians therefore oppreſſed with famine, becauſe all paſſages for bringing them Proviſion were cut off, yielded at diſcretion, and delivered ſeven hundred Hoſtages of their own Children. He demanded of them the Roman Enſigns which *Gabinius* had loſt, and ordered them to pay the tributes formerly agreed upon by *C. Cæſar*, of which till now they had defer'd the payment. Thus for the future they became more obedient, and *Cæſar* ſent away the Enſigns in the Galley called the *Octavian*.

XI The Dalmatians brought under ſubjection. The Derbains upon the News that *Cæſar* marched towards them, ſent him likewiſe Deputies to implore his favor with offers to give Hoſtages, and pay thoſe tributes, they had

had for ſome time neglected, ſo that when he came nearer they delivered up their Hoſtages, and confirmed the Ancient Treaty, which they had refuſed to do whilſt he was farther from them, by reaſon of his wound. It ſeems to me that of all the people of *Illyria*, they were the laſt reduced by *Cæſar* under his obedience, either of thoſe revolted againſt the Romans or which had never been under their Dominion. Wherefore the Senate granted him the Honor of Triumph over the Illyrians, though he triumphed not till after the Defeat of *Anthony*. The reſt of the People of *Illyria* according to the opinion of the Romans, are the Rhetians ſituate before the Peonians, and after the Peonians the Noricks and the Myſians, who extend themſelves to the Euxine Sea, and I am of opinion that the Rhetians and the Noricks were either ſubdued by *C. Cæſar*, when he made War upon the Celtes, or by *Auguſtus* in his Expedition againſt the Peonians, for I find not that any Roman did particularly make War upon theſe Nations, which makes me the rather think they were made ſubject at the ſame time with their Neighbors. True it is that *Marcus Lucullus* brother to *Lucius Lucullus* that defeated *Mithridates*, overran all *Myſia* as far as the *Iſter*, near which there are four Greek Cities *Iſtros*, *Dionyſopolis*, *Odyſſa* and *Meſembria*, and that he brought out of *Gaul* that great Statue of *Apollo* which is to be ſeen in the Palace; but I do not remember to have read, that ever any Roman that had Command in the Commonwealth, ever had any thing farther to do with the Myſians, or ever forced them to pay tribute, no not *Auguſtus* himſelf. As for *Tiberius*, who was Emperor after *Auguſtus*, certain it is that the Myſians were under his obedience, but I have ſpoken of all theſe things in writing the actions of the Roman People before the Conqueſt of *Ægypt*. And as for the Countries poſſeſſed by the Emperors after the ſubduing of *Ægypt* as they relate to their particular Actions, ſo after having treated of general Affairs, I have wrote a particular Book wherein mention is made of the Myſians in divers places. But ſince the Romans reckon the Myſians among the people of *Illyria*, I was willing to make this mention of them in this Volume, Entitled the wars of *Illyria*, which I ſhould not have thought perfect, if I had not ſet down, that a long time before *Lucullus* commanding under the authority of the People, had made incurſions into *Myſia*, and that *Tiberius* had re-united it to the Empire.

The End of the Illyrian *War.*

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Wars
AGAINST THE
GAULS.

PART I.

BOOK VI.

The Argument of this Book.

I. *THE Gauls coming to invade* Italy, *are ſeveral times defeated.* II. Cæſar *going againſt the Gauls conquers them, and is the firſt of all the Roman Generals that paſſed into* England *or croſſed the* Rhine.

THE

THE Gauls were the firſt of any people in the World, that came to make War upon the Romans, they ſet the whole City on fire after they had taken it, ſaving only the Capitol. *Camillus* defeated them, and chaſed them from *Rome*, and ſometime after being returned in Arms to the Gates of the City, the ſame *Camillus* again defeated them, and triumphed at the age of fourſcore Years. They undertook a third expedition into *Italy*, but the Roman Army commanded by *T. Quintus*, encloſed them round, and made a horrible ſlaughter. After that the * Boiens the moſt valiant of all the Gauls, being entred in Arms into the Roman Territories, *Sulpitius* the Dictator, went againſt them and overcame them, by this way of fighting, he divided his Forces into four Battalions, of which the firſt went and diſcharged their piles upon the Enemy, and preſently retired; the ſecond did the like, and ſo the third, and fourth in their order, avoyding by this means the Darts thrown at them by the Enemy. And after they had all diſcharged they joyned their Bodies, and with terrible ſhouts ran deſperately with their Swords in their hands upon the groſs of their Enemies, for they thought the Gauls already maimed with ſhowers of Piles, would be abſolutely daunted, when they ſaw themſelves ſo furiouſly charged, by ſo many men together. And indeed all the Army of the Boiens were cut in pieces by the Romans, who with much bravery, put the Orders into Execution; now the Pile is a ſort of Arms differing from the Javelin; for the Shaft is ſquare, and the Iron of the ſame length with the Shaft, ſquare in like manner and only ſharp at the point. *Popilius* defeated likewiſe another Army of the Gauls, and after him *Camillus*, the Son of the firſt *Camillus* another. *Æmilius Probus* likewiſe erected Trophies for a Victory gained ore the ſame Nation, but ſometime before the conſulate of *Marius*, a prodigious multitude of Gauls, all valiant men, and in the Flower of their Age, made an Irruption into *Italy*, and into the Narboneſe Province; where having beaten ſome Roman Conſuls, and pillaged their very Camps, *Marius* was ſent againſt them, who cut them all in pieces.

* Barbouillé.

II.

The laſt and greateſt of all the Wars the Romans had againſt the Gauls, was under *Cæſar*, for in ten Years that he commanded in *Gallia*, he defeated four Millions of men, of which one Million were taken Priſoners in Fight, and as many ſlain, he reduced under his obedience four hundred Nations, and eight hundred Cities, reekoning as well thoſe who being revolted he forced to return to their duty, as thoſe he conquered. It is true that before *Marius*, *Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, having with a ſmall Power aſſailed a vaſt Army of Gauls, killed ſixſcore thouſand of them, in one only Battel; and though he was then afflicted with a Wound newly received, yet he performed this noble Action by going through the Ranks ſometimes in his Litter, and ſometimes on foot, ſuſtained only by two men on each ſide of him, encouraging his men, and teaching them how to deal with the Barbarians.

To proceed. *Cæſar* having began his War by the * Helvetians and * Tigurians put two hundred thouſand of them to the Rout; of whom the firſt were defeated by *Labienus* his Lieutenant, and the other with the Tricourians that aſſiſted them, by himſelf (theſe were the ſame Tigurians who formerly had cauſed the Army of *Piſo* and *Caſſius*, to paſs under the Yoak, as we read in the Chronicle of *Claudius Paulus*) After which he made

* Suiſſes.
* Canton of Zurick.

made War upon *Arioviſtus* and the *Germans*, the loweſt of whom was taller then the talleſt Roman. They were fierce and ſalvage, deſpiſers of death (being perſwaded they ſhould one day riſe again) equally patient of heat and cold, and upon a need could live themſelves on raw Herbs, and feed their Horſes with the green Sprouts of Trees. Yet they ſeemed to be people not addicted to labour, and who fought not ſo much with Reaſon and Diſcipline, as with fierce and brutiſh Violence, in which the Romans had the advantage of them, for they for their parts ran on all together with ſuch a fury that they made whole Legions recoyl, whilſt the Romans eaſily giving ground without breaking their Ranks, got the day by their Conduct, and at laſt cut in pieces fourſcore thouſand of them. After this Victory *Cæſar* having aſſailed the * Belgians at the Paſſage of a certain River, and killed ſuch numbers, that the heaps of dead Bodies ſerved for a Bridge to paſs over his Army, but he was hard put to it by the * Nervians who ſurpriſing him in his March, before he could put his Army in order, made a horrible ſlaughter. Moſt of his Tribunes and Centurions were ſlain in this conflict, and himſelf forced to retreat to a Hill with his Guards, where the Enemies kept him beſieged, till the tenth Legion falling into the Beſiegers Rear cut them all in pieces, though they were no leſs then ſixty thouſand men deſcended of the Cimbrians and the Teutons. The ſame *Cæſar* defeated the* *Allobroges*, and ſlew four hundred thouſand * Uſipetes and Tencterians, as well armed as diſarmed, but the Sicambres aſſaulting at unawares five thouſand of his Horſe only with five hundred put them to flight, yet they were afterwards defeated, and paid dear for their boldneſs. *Cæſar* was likewiſe the firſt of the Romans that croſſed the *Rhine*, or paſſed over into *Brittain*, an Iſland ſo great that it ſeems another Continent, and of which till then the Romans had no knowledge, He took his time when the Sea was low to embarque his men, and the Flood coming in, his Fleet was rayſed up by the Waves, at firſt inſenſibly, then a little faſter, till at laſt having Wind and Tide, he came over into *Brittain*.

* *Hollanders.*

* *Thoſe of the Dioceſs of* Cambray.

* *Savoyards.*

* *Dutchies of* Zupthen Cleves *and* Berg.

The end of the Gallick War.

APPIAN

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
IBERIAN,
OR
Spaniſh War.

PART I.

BOOK VII.

The Argument of this Book.

I. *Deſcription of* Spain. II. *The occaſions of the Wars in* Spain, *between the Romans and Carthaginians.* III. Hannibal *made General beſieges* Saguntum. IV. *War declared, and* Hannibal *marches to* Italy. V. Pub. *and* Cn. Scipio *ſlain in* Spain. VI. Scipio *the Son of* Publius *Proconſul into* Spain, *takes* Carthagena *by ſtorm.* VII. *He defeats* Aſdrubal *Son of*

of Giſco *at* Lerſa, *and at* Careo *totally routs him,* Mago *and* Maſſaniſſa. VIII. Aſdrubal *Son of* Amilcar *marches with his Army into* Italy *and* Scipio *goes himſelf to King* Syphax *in* Africa. IX. Scipio *and his Lieutenants take ſeveral Cities, the deſperate Courage of the Aſtapians.* X. *Mutiny in* Scipio's *Army puniſhed:* Indibilis *ſuppreſſed:* Maſſaniſſa *ſeeks* Scipio's *friendſhip.* Mago *goes for* Liguria, *and* Scipio *for* Rome, *where he triumphs.* XI. Cato *ſent into* Spain *defeats the Confederate Cities, his policy to diſmantle the Cities of* Spain. XII. *The ſucceſſes of* Flaccus *and* Gracchus *in* Spain. XIII. *A General Revolt of the Spaniards.* Nobilior *Wars againſt them with ill ſucceſs.* XIV. Marcellus *makes a peace with the Spaniards which is diſallowed by the Senate.* XV. Lucullus *Treachery, Cruelty and Covetouſneſs:* Cornelius Scipio's *ſingle Combat.* XVI. *The War carried into* Portugal, Manlius *proſecutes it firſt with ill, but afterwards with good ſucceſs.* XVII. Attilius *and* Galba *carry on the War:* Galba's *cruelty and covetouſneſs:* Viriatus *choſen General of the Barbarians.* XVIII. *The Viriatick War.* XIX. *The continuation of that War and* Viriatus *death.* XX. *The beginning of the Numantine War, with ill ſucceſs to the Romans.* XXI. Scipio *made Conſul and ſent into* Spain, *reforms and diſciplines the Army.* XXII. *He lays cloſe ſiege to* Numantia. XXIII. *The unexpreſſible miſeries endured by the Numantines; they ſurrender to* Scipio. XXIV. *The Actions of ſeveral other Generals in* Spain, *and the concluſion of this Hiſtory.*

I. THE Pyrenæan hills extend themſelves from the Tyrrhene Sea, to the Northern Ocean. On the Eaſt of which inhabit the *Celtæ* ſurnamed Galatians, or Gauls, and to the Weſt the *Celtiberi*, poſſeſſing all that circuit of ground, which is waſhed by the Tyrrhene Sea, and ſo round about by the Pillars of *Hercules* to the vaſt Septentrional Ocean; for all *Spain* ſave only what is incloſed by the Pyrenæan Mountains, which with a mighty and almoſt ſtreight line ſeparate it from the reſt of *Europe*, is embraced by the Sea. But though it may be ſailed round, yet the inhabitants only navigate the Tyrrhene Sea, as far as *Hercules* Pillars, forbearing the Weſt and Northern parts, unleſs when they are carried to *Brittain* with the tide which ſets that way only half the day. Beyond, neither the Romans, nor any of the Romans Subjects ever adventured. But *Iberia*, or (as ſome call it) *Spain*, is of too vaſt an extent to be imagined only one Region, for as well in length as breadth it reaches near * ten thouſand Furlongs, abounding with divers and ſundry Nations, and many Navigable Rivers. Who were the firſt and moſt ancient Inhabitants of *Spain* (being only to write a Roman Hiſtory) I think not very neceſſary to make any ſtrict inquiry into, but certainly the *Celtæ* at ſome time or other climbing over the Pyrenæans, and mixing their habitations with the Iberians, from thence gave them the Name of Celtiberians. 'Tis my Opinion likewiſe, that from very Ancient time, the Phenicians for Traffick ſake ſailing to and fro, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome parts of *Spain*. As alſo ſome Greeks brought to *Tarteſſus*, to King *Arganthonius* by Sea, might very probably ſeat themſelves in thoſe places (for *Arganthonius* then Reigned in *Spain*, and *Tarteſſus* was a Maritime Town which is now called *Carpeſſus*). But that Temple of *Hercules* which at this day ſtands near the Pillars, ſeems to be built by the *Phenicians*; from this ſole Argument, that even with in our memory, that God was there worſhipped with Phenician Ceremonies, and

* *One thouſand two hundred and fifty miles.*

and called the Tyrian, and not the Theban *Hercules*. But I willingly forbear writing of thoſe Antiquities. This fruitful Country abundant in all good things, the Carthaginians before the Romans attempted and invaded, and already were poſſeſſed of ſome parts, and ſpoiled and robbed others, until the Romans driving them out, ſoon became Maſters of all they poſſeſſed, and the Remainder likewiſe, after long time, much labour and frequent revolts, being by them brought under, they divided into three parts, to each of which they ſent Pretors. Now how they ſubdued them, and how firſt with the Carthaginians, and afterwards with the Celtiberians they waged War, ſhall be the ſubject of this Book; the firſt Part of which contains the Carthaginian Affairs: For their concerns in *Spain*, it was neceſſary for me to transfer to the Spaniſh Hiſtory, for the ſame Reaſons as I have in the Sicilian Hiſtory treated of ſuch things, as were acted between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*, from the time that the Romans firſt croſſed over into that Iſland, and began to uſurp the Dominion of it; for the Romans firſt waged a tedious War with the Carthaginians, in *Sicily* for *Sicily* it ſelf, and another in *Spain* for *Spain*, whilſt at the ſame both led mighty Forces into other of their Enemies Territories, and theſe waſted *Italy* and thoſe *Lybia*.

Now this War began in the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, principally after the breach of the League, made in the Sicilian War, upon this occaſion. *Amilcar*, ſirnamed *Barcas*, at ſuch time when he commanded as General the Carthaginian Army, had made promiſe of great rewards to the Mercenary Gauls, and Auxiliary Africans, which when they at his return into *Lybia* laid claim to, kindled the African War. In which beſides many damages ſuffered by the Carthaginians from the Africans themſelves, they yielded up *Sardinia* to the Romans, as a reprizal of thoſe loſſes the Roman Merchants had in this African War ſuſtained. Wherefore *Barcas* ſummoned by his Adverſaries to Judgement, as the Inſtrument of inflicting all theſe calamities upon his Country, having drawn to his party the Heads of the Commonwealth (by the means eſpecially of *Aſdrubal* his Son-in-law, who was very popular) not only evaded a Trial, but a War then happening with the Numidians, prevailed to be choſen General with *Hanno*, ſirnamed the Great, before he had given any account of former adminiſtration. This War ended, and *Hanno* for ſome Crimes recalled, he remaining ſole Commander of the Army, with his Son-in-Law *Aſdrubal*, croſſing the Strait, comes to *Cadiz*, and though he had received no injury from the Spaniards, waſts their Confines, ſeeking only an opportunity to continue abroad, do ſome great Actions, and be able to exerciſe his liberality to the people: For whatever he took by War he ſo divided, that the Soldier had one part; to oblige them to be the truſtier Aſſociates of his Rapines, one part he ſent to *Carthage*, and another diſtributed into Gifts, to ſuch of the Heads of the Commonwealth as favoured him; and this courſe he held till ſeveral petty Spaniſh Kings, and other powerful men, conſpiring againſt him by this means, cut him off. They yoked Oxen into Carts loaden with Wood, and driving them towards the Enemy, marched themſelves armed behind, which when the Africans perceived, not dreaming of any ſuch daring deceitful deſign, they burſt out into a laughter; but when they came ſo near as to engage, the Spaniards ſetting fire to the Wood, drove their Carts amongſt the Enemy, and the flame growing violent, the Oxen hurrying them hither and thither, diſordered the Africans, and breaking their main Body, the

II.

Spaniards ſlew *Barcas* himſelf, and many others coming in to their relief. But the Carthaginians having already taſted the ſweetneſs of Spaniſh plunder, would not ſo give over, but ſent again freſh Forces into *Spain*, whom they gave Commiſſion to *Aſdrubal*, *Amilcars* Son-in-Law, to Command: And he choſe *Hannibal* (ſoon after famous for warlike exploits) though now but a young man, yet very daring, and well beloved by the Soldiery, for his Lieutenant General. By whoſe labour and diligence in Warlike Affairs, together with his Curteſie and Eloquence (in which he excelled) he added to his Command a great part of *Spain*, extending the power of his Arms from the Weſtern Ocean to the River *Iberus*, which divides *Spain* in the midſt, and about five days journey from the Pyrenean Mountains runs into the Septentrional Ocean. But the Saguntines, which were a Colony of the people of *Zant*, and other Greeks, who inhabited the Mart-towns, and other places of *Spain*, growing jealous of their own ſafety, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*. The Senate, who were unwilling to have the power of the Carthaginians advanced or enlarged, diſpatched an Embaſſie to *Carthage*, where it was agreed, that the limits of the Carthaginian Empire ſhould be the River *Iberus*, beyond which neither ſhould it be lawful for the Carthaginians by Arms to provoke their Allies, nor for them to paſs over to make War upon the Carthaginians, but the Saguntines, and other Greeks ſhould enjoy their liberty. And to this end a ſolemn Inſtrument was ſigned on both ſides. In the mean time, while *Aſdrubal* governed that part of *Spain*, ſubject to the Carthaginians, a Slave (that he might offer an acceptable Sacrifice to the Ghoſt of his dead Maſter, cruelly murdered by *Aſdrubal*'s command) ſuddenly and privately aſſaulting him, as he was careleſly hunting, ſlew him, and being ſoon after convicted of the Fact, was with dreadful Torments put to death by *Hannibal*; who forthwith, though very young, yet dearly beloved by the Soldiers, was by the Army ſaluted General, and their Military Grant confirmed by conſent of the Senate. When the death of *Amilcar* and *Aſdrubal* was known among thoſe, who in ſeveral parts of the Commonwealth ſtood in fear of their Power, they began to deſpiſe *Hannibal*'s youth, and to tranſport the crimes of the dead on their Clients and Friends; the people conſenting with the Accuſers, and mindful of paſt injuries, making others guilty of the ſorrows they had under *Amilcar* and *Aſdrubal* patiently endured: even to the compelling thoſe that from them had received great preſents to reſtore them to the Publick, as part of the Prey gotten from the Enemy. They therefore ſent Letters to *Hannibal*, deſiring his aſſiſtance and ſupport, and warily adviſing him, that if he neglected thoſe, who ſhould be his aſſiſtants at home, he would become contemptible to all his Fathers Enemies: But he of himſelf fore-ſeeing all theſe things, and not being ignorant, but that by endangering his Friends, they laid Snares for him, as formerly they had done for his Father and Brother-in-Law, though it behoved him to be very careful of his Conduct, leſt always fearfully delaying and diſſembling his hate, he ſhould be tormented with continual debate, and perpetually expoſed to the luſt and will of the Carthaginian people, light and inconſtant, and ever ingrateful to thoſe deſerved beſt of them. Beſides Fame reported, that when yet a Boy, his Father had at the flaming Altars made him ſwear, That when ever he ſhould be called to Office in the Commonwealth, he ſhould be an eternal Enemy to the Romans. For this reaſon he imagined, that if he could involve his Country in laſting and difficult troubles, and diſtract them with high and doubtful undertakings, his Friends would be ſafe: He now beheld not only *A-*

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frica in Peace, but likewiſe the Carthaginian Dominion in *Spain*; but if he could ſtir up War with *Rome* (which he vehemently deſired) he thought his fellow Citizens would have their Heads filled with cares and fears, whilſt he, if this War had happy ſucceſs, ſhould gain immortal glory, having added to his Country the Empire of the World, which if taken from the Romans there were no other Competitors for it: Or if his hopes failed him, future Ages would at leaſt applaud his noble attempts.

III. To give a brave beginning to theſe Deſigns, he conſulted how to croſs the *Iberus*; and having commanded the *Torboletæ*, Neighbours to the Saguntines; whoſe Fields the Saguntines had waſted to come to him, ſends them to *Carthage*, and among other ſecrets, writes that the Roman Spaniards ſollicited the Carthaginian allies to revolt, charging herewith thoſe of *Saguntum*, and weaving all he did with craft, ſo often writes this, that at length the Senate decreed he ſhould deal with the Saguntines, as he thought fit. Laying hold on this occaſion, he contrived that the *Torboletæ* ſhould again come to him to complain againſt the Saguntines, who ſummoned to ſend to him their Deputies; when they were come, he commanding all matters of Controverſie, between both parties, ſhould be diſputed before him, they anſwered, That they referred all things to the Romans; whereat *Hannibal* enraged, commanded them forthwith to depart the Camp, and himſelf the ſame night, with all his Forces, croſſing the *Iberus*, began to waſte their Territories, and to bring his Engines before the City, which becauſe he ſaw he could not take by force, he begirt with a Trench and Palliſado, raiſing Towers at convenient diſtances, and reſolving to reduce it by Siege. The Saguntines oppreſſed with this ſudden and unexpected invaſion, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and the Senate with them diſpatched away others: Firſt, to admoniſh *Hannibal* of the League; and if he would not obey, then to go to *Carthage* to complain of him. Theſe arriving in *Spain* by Sea, were coming towards the Camp, when *Hannibal* forbid them to advance any farther. Wherefore they bent their courſe directly towards *Carthage*, where being arrived, and pleading the Solemn League and Contract, the Carthaginians accuſed the Saguntines of having wronged their Subjects: the Ambaſſadors propoſed, That the difference ſhould be decided by Roman Judges: they replyed, They uſed not to refer wrongs to judgement, which they could revenge themſelves of. This being reported at *Rome*, ſome voted the ſending preſent aſſiſtance to the Saguntines, but others judged it better to delay it, becauſe in the Articles of Peace they were not written Allies to the people of *Rome*, but free, and to enjoy their Liberty. This laſt opinion carried it: So that the Saguntines deſpairing of the Roman aid, all things growing ſcarce, by reaſon of the long Siege (for *Hannibal* finding it at firſt well ſtored, and abounding in all things, was the more induſtrious to ſtraiten them) they by Publick Proclamation commanded all the Gold and Silver, both Publick and Private, to be brought into the Market place, and there that it might be of no uſe to *Hannibal*, melted it down with Lead, Braſs, and other baſer Metals. Then thinking it more honourable to dye fighting, than be ſtarved with hunger; made a Sally by night, and with great fury fell into the Africans Quarters, yet ſleeping, and ſuſpecting no ſuch thing, killing ſome, as they roſe out of their Beds, and trembling, ſnatch'd at their Arms, and others, as they oppoſed them: but after a tedious conflict, many Africans, and all the Saguntines were ſlain. The Women from the Walls beholding the death of their Husbands, ſome threw themſelves

ſelves from the Roofs of their Houſes, others hanged themſelves, and others cut their Childrens Throats. This was the ſad end of a City, once rich and potent. *Hannibal* finding how they had cheated him of his Gold, in a rage cauſed all the Captives, and Youth remaining, to be ſlain. But the City being ſeated near the Sea, and not far from *Carthage*, in a fruitful Soil, he reſtored and repleniſhed with new Inhabitants, making it a Carthaginian Colony, which is now, as I think the ſame called * *Carthago Spartagena.*

* Cartagena.

IV. The Romans hereupon ſent Ambaſſadors to *Carthage*, whom they demanded to deliver up *Hannibal*, as having broken the League, unleſs they would by publick aſſent own whatever he had done, and if they refuſed to deliver him, forthwith to declare War. The Demand being made, becauſe they would not deliver up *Hannibal*, the War was in this manner denounced. The Ambaſſador ſmiling, and putting his hand into his boſom, told them, *I bring you here, O Carthaginians, either War or Peace, chuſe which you will have*: They cryed out, *Do thou then give us which thou pleaſe*: Whereupon he profering War, they all ſaid they accepted it, and forthwith ſent commands to *Hannibal*, that freely the League being now broken, he ſhould now overcome all *Spain*. He marching to the neighbouring people, either by perſwaſions, force or fear gained them; gathered together mighty Forces, but revealing to none the deſign he had, though his ſtrength were bent to the War in *Italy*, he had already ſent Agents into *Gaul*, and ſome to make diſcovery of the paſſages of the *Alpes*, and how he might beſt carry his Forces to *Italy*, leaving his Brother *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*, whilſt the Romans ſuppoſed they had only a War to manage againſt the Carthaginians in *Spain* and *Africa*, without the leaſt ſuſpicion that ever they would enter *Italy*: For they had ſent *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* with one hundred and ſixty Ships, and two Legions into *Africa*. But what *Longus*, or other Roman Generals did in *Africa*, is ſet down in the Punick War. Moreover, into *Spain* they ſent *P. Cornelius Scipio* with threeſcore Ship, ten thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe, and gave him *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* for Lieutenant. Of theſe *Publius* more certainly informed, by the Marſilian Merchants, that *Hannibal* had already paſſed the *Alpes* into *Italy*, fearful leſt finding the Italians unprepared, he ſhould oppreſs them, leaving the Army he had in *Spain* with *Cneus* his Brother, and embarking on a Galley, he landed in * *Hetruria*. But what as well he, as other Generals commanding in this War did, till ſuch time as after the expiration of ſixteen years, they then hardly forced *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, the next Book ſhall declare, wherein all *Hannibals* exploits performed in *Italy* are contained, wherefore it is intituled, *The Roman Wars with* Hannibal.

* Toſcany.

V. *Cneus* did nothing memorable in *Spain*, before his Brothers coming; But the time of his Magiſtracy expired, the Romans gave Commiſſion to the new Conſuls to proſecute the War in *Italy*, and againſt *Hannibal* in the room of *Publius*; and commanded him to go Proconſul into *Spain*: from which time both of the Brothers joyntly maintained the War againſt *Aſdrubal*, the African General till ſuch time as *Syphax* King of the Numidians making War upon the Carthaginians, they called him home with the greateſt part of his Forces, and in his abſence they eaſily overpowred the reſt, and as they were no leſs expert in the Duty of Generals then skilful in alluring, and pacifying the minds of men, they drew many Cities to their

their Party. But after Peace concluded with the Numidian King, the Carthaginians ſending *Aſdrubal* with a more powerful Army and thirty Elephants, joyning in Commiſſion with him two Colleagues, *Mago*, and another *Aſdrubal* the Son of *Gilco*, War lay heavier upon the *Scipio*'s, who yet oftentimes retired victorious with the ſlaughter of many *Africans* and Elephants. Till Winter coming on, the Africans retired among the *Turditani* and for the *Scipio*'s, *Cneus* went and wintred among the Orſonenſes, and *Publius* among the Caſtulovenſes; which laſt having advice of *Aſdrubal*'s advancing that way, going out of the City with a ſmall Party, only to diſcover the Enemies Camp, imprudently fell in with *Aſdrubal* and his Horſe, by whom both he and all that were with him were overpowred and cut in pieces. In the mean time *Cneus* Ignorant of this Calamity, had ſent ſome Soldiers to his Brother to receive Corn, who joyning Battel with another Party of Africans they unexpectedly met upon the way: news of it being brought to *Cneus*, he made haſt to their relief, with ſuch Soldiers as he had in readineſs, but the Carthaginians having before cut in pieces the other Party, fell upon *Cneus* likewiſe, and forced him to fly for ſhelter to a certain Tower, which ſetting on fire they burnt him and all his people. This misfortunate end had thoſe two brave men the *Scipio*'s, leaving the Spaniards, eſpecially thoſe gained by their Conduct, to the Roman alliance, in no ſmall regret for their loſs.

VI. The Fathers at *Rome* grievouſly afflicted at this diſtaſter, ſent *Marcellus* (newly come from *Sicily*) and with him *Claudius* into *Spain* with a thouſand Horſe, ten thouſand Foot, and ſtore of Proviſion, who whilſt they ſloathfully manage Affairs, the Carthaginian Power mightily increaſed in *Spain*, almoſt all the Province being poſſeſſed by them, and the Romans ſhut in the Pyrenean Mountains, which reported at *Rome*, more ſadly diſquieted the Fathers, fearful leſt whilſt *Hannibal* waſted thoſe parts of *Italy* next the *Alpes*, the Africans ſhould make a deſcent at the other end, wherefore though they willingly would have given over this Spaniſh War, yet they thought it not ſafe, apprehenſive leſt it likewiſe might be transferred to *Italy*; and therefore appointed a day of aſſembly, for the nominating a Proconſul for *Spain*, but when no man then ſtood for it, their fears revived, and a ſad ſilence ſeized all the aſſembly. Till *Cornelius Scipio* (the Son of *Publius* ſlain in *Spain*) a very young man (being not yet twenty four years of Age) but prudent and valiant, and of a ſtrong conſtitution, ſtept forth in the midſt of the people, and with a brave and noble boldneſs, diſcourſing firſt of his Father, and then of his Uncle, deploring both their misfortune, added that he alone was left of that Family to be the revenger of his Father, his Uncle, and his Country, and copiouſly and magnificently ſubjoyning many other things, as if inſpired by ſome Divine Spirit promiſing not only the recovery of *Spain*, but the Conqueſt of *Africa* and *Carthage* it ſelf, ſo that his diſcourſe ſeemed to ſome to proceed only from youthful Levity, but becauſe he cheared the peoples fainting minds with hope (for promiſes are Cordials to any that are in fear) thinking he had a heart fit for theſe great things, they choſe him General for *Spain*, but the Old men interpreted this rather a confident raſhneſs in him, then a ſetled bravery of mind; which when *Scipio* perceived he recalled the people to the Aſſembly, and with the ſame Gravity as before, ſpeaking of his Age, ſaid that it ought to be no objection to his undertakings, yet if any one of riper Years, would accept the command, he was ready to yield it to him. But none taking up the offer, he went with greater admiration and applauſe to this War, with ten thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe (for he was not permitted to

carry

carry greater Forces, whilſt *Hannibal* waſted *Italy*) with Mony and other warlike Proviſion, and twenty eight Ships, which carried him into *Spain*, where joyning the Remain of the old *Spaniſh* Army to thoſe he brought, and calling a Counſel, he confirmed the Soldiers minds, with a noble and eloquent Oration. And already the Fame was ſpread throughout all *Spain*, weary of the Carthaginian Government, and deſirous of *Scipio*'s Vertue, that *Scipio* the Son of *Scipio* was come, a General ſent to them by the Counſel of the Gods. And *Scipio* himſelf knowing the opinion conceived of him, much improved it, by pretending to do nothing but by advice from above. But when he had certain knowledge that the Enemy had four ſtanding Camps, at good diſtance from each other, and that their numbers were five and twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe, and that all their Stores, Money, Corn, Arms, Darts, Ships, Captives and Hoſtages for all *Spain*, were laid up in the City, called formerly *Saguntum*; but now *Carthagena*, where *Mago* commanded with ten thouſand Carthaginians; he reſolved, as thinking the Garriſon of no great ſtrength, firſt to inveſt this place, both becauſe he was deſirous to poſſeſs himſelf of ſuch Stores, and becauſe he underſtood, if he took this City, abounding in Silver, Gold, and all Riches, and whence it was but a ſhort paſſage into *Africa*, it would be a ſecure retreat for him both from Sea and Land. Encouraged by theſe hopes, all men knowing whither he deſigned, about Sun-ſet he Diſcamped, and all night long marched towards *Carthagena*, and about break of day, began to open his Trenches, to the great terrour of the Enemy, who dream'd not of his coming; the next day he prepared for the aſſault, and diſpoſed his Engines and Scaling Ladders, about all parts of the Town, ſave only in that place, where the Walls are low, by reaſon of the Seas waſhing them; for which reaſon likewiſe they are the leſs vigilantly defended. Then at night, when all were armed with Darts and Stones, the Fleet likewiſe lying before the Haven, leſt the Enemies Ships ſhould ſlip out (for this brave ſpirited man had conceived a certain hope of taking the Town) before day he advanced with his Machines, commanding thoſe on the Machines to charge: *Mago* at the Gates inſtructs his ten thouſand, that when they ſaw it convenient, they ſhould ruſh forth only with their Swords, for that Spears would be of little uſe in thoſe narrow places; the reſt of his Soldiers he poſted upon Towers, diſpoſing many Engines, Stones, Darts, and Catapults upon the Walls, and with great diligence attending the Affair: At length the ſhot being given, the charge was ſtoutly made and received, Stones, Darts, aud other ſorts of miſſile Arms, flew about with great violence, ſome from hands, ſome from Machines, and ſome from Slings; and if there were any other device, it was made uſe off. But *Scipio*'s men were hard put to it, for thoſe ten thouſand men that were at the Gates, ruſhing out with their Swords in their hands, upon thoſe that thruſt forward the Engines, and giving and taking many wounds, the diſpute was a long time equal: till at length by unwearied courage, and fixed reſolution, the Romans got the the better; and then Fortune changing, thoſe who ſtood upon the Walls began to be afflicted: but when the Scaling Ladders were applied; the Carthaginians, who had ſallied only with their ſhort Swords ſpeedily returning into the City, ſhut the Gates, and leap'd upon the Walls: So that now new work and labour was cut out for the Romans. Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Scipio*, who was no where abſent, encouraging and chearing up his men; obſerving about noon that the water was fallen away, from that part where the Bay waſhed the lower

ower Wall (for at certain hours the Sea Eb'd and Flow'd) and was now ſo ſhoal, ſome places it was not above breſt, and in others ſcarce midleg high; and knowing the Nature of the Bay, that it would continue thus ſhallow all the remainder of the day, until the accuſtomed return of the Tide, he cryed out with a loud voice, *Now Soldiers, now is the time, now God our helper comes, now ſtorm that Wall, where the Sea of its own accord withdrawing opens you a way: Now with ſpeed bring your Ladders, I my ſelf will ſhow you the way.* This ſaid, ſnatching a Ladder, he ſets it to the Wall, and would himſelf firſt have mounted, if his Eſquires and other Soldiers had not hindred him; but they therewith clapping many Ladders at once to the Wall, and both ſides meeting with great noiſe and fury, made a mighty ſlaughter of each other, till the Romans having poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome of the higher Towers. *Scipio* filling them with Trumpets and Cornets, commanded them to ſound as loud as poſſibly they could, according to the cuſtom when a City is taken; whilſt in the mean time others running about, fill'd all places with tumult and confuſion; and ſome in this diſorder of their Enemies leaping over the Walls, and let in *Scipio*'s whole Army, whereupon the Townſmen run to their Houſes, and *Mago* with his ten thouſand drew up into the Market place, where being moſt at the firſt charge ſlain, and he only with a few fled to the Caſtle; *Scipio* preſently following, and *Mago* perceiving no hopes of ſafety left, his Soldiers being all utterly diſmay'd and aſtoniſhed, yielded himſelf. Thus by his Gallantry and good Fortune, a rich and powerful City in one day (the fourth of his ſetting down before it) reduced under *Scipio*'s power; he began to conceive hopes of mighty things, and now the common Fame ſpread concerning him, that he acted nothing but by Divine Counſel, was more and more confirmed, and himſelf had the ſame opinion, believing henceforward all his undertakings directed from above; and whenever he went into the Capitol, having cauſed the Gates to be ſhut, he often ſtaid there a long time, as if he had been conferring with ſome God: whence now in ſolemn Pomps a Statue of *Scipio*'s is only brought out of the Capitol, and all the reſt out of the place of Aſſemblies. This City thus taken, furniſhed with all things neceſſary for Peace or War: *Scipio* found there vaſt quantities of all ſorts of ſpoil, ſtore of Arms, Darts, Engines, Rigging, and thirty three Gallies, Corn and ſundry ſorts of Proviſions; Ivory, Gold and Silver, as well wrought into Veſſels and coined, as uncoined in abundance, together with all the Spaniſh Hoſtages and Priſoners, and ſuch as had before been taken from the Romans. The next day having ſacrificed, celebrated the Victory, and applauded the Soldiers Valour; he likewiſe aſſembled the Townſmen, and in an Oration admoniſhed them to keep in memory the Name of the *Scipio*'s. Then he ſent the Captives every one to their homes, hoping by this kindneſs to bring over their Cities to his party. He likewiſe diſtributed rewards to the Soldiers; to him who firſt mounted the Walls, a very large one, to the ſecond half ſo much, to the third a third part, and to the reſt according to their Deſerts and Valour. What Gold, Silver or Ivory he found, he ſent upon the Enemies Ships to *Rome*, where they decreed three days Supplication, becauſe after ſo many Miſeries the Publick Happineſs began to take breath: but the greatneſs and celerity of this bold attempt, ſorely terrified both the Spaniards, and the Carthaginians that were in *Spain*. *Scipio* leaving a Garriſon in *Carthagena*, and giving orders for raiſing higher the Wall to the Sea ſide, went himſelf about the reſt of the Province, or ſent Friends into ſeveral parts to renew an alliance with them, and thoſe who would not comply, he reduced by force of Arms.

Aſdrubal

VII. *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, one of the Carthaginian Generals had far diſtant in *Celtiberia*, a choſen Army of Mercenary Soldiers, and the other the Son of *Giſco*, ſending Agents to thoſe Cities, who had hitherto continued faithful to the Carthaginians, to perſwade them ſtill to continue their fidelity, in a ſhort time hoped to ſee innumerable Forces in *Spain*; and *Mago* he ſent into all the adjacent parts to liſt men under pay, whilſt in the mean time himſelf in *Lerſa* entring in hoſtile manner into their Territories, who had fallen off; prepared to lay Siege to ſome Towns, but frightned with *Scipio*'s ſudden approach, he retreated to *Bætica*, and fortified both the City and his Camp, where few days after he was overcome by *Scipio*, who poſſeſſed himſelf both of Camp and City: whereupon he iſſued out Orders for all the Carthaginian Forces throughout *Spain*, to come to the City of *Careo*, reſolving with his whole united Power to fall upon *Scipio*. And already, there were come in to him no ſmall number of Spaniards under *Mago*'s Conduct, and Numidians under the Command of *Maſſaniſſa*. *Aſdrubal* with his Foot lay entrenched, *Maſſaniſſa* and *Mago* with his Horſe in Quarters: *Scipio* had ſo divided his Foot as to ſend *Lælius* with one part againſt *Mago*, whilſt himſelf with the other fell upon *Maſſaniſſa*. This fight was ſomewhat doubtful and dangerous to the Romans; for the Numidians at a diſtance threw their Darts, and ſo wheeling off, returned again to the charge at pleaſure; but when *Scipio* commanded his men, that after throwing their Piles with all their force, they ſhould preſs in as hard as they could upon the Enemy, then the Numidians not having room to wheel, were worſted, and fled away to their Camp: *Scipio* in a ſtrong and ſafe place, as he could wiſh for, pitched his Camp, within ten furlongs of his Enemy. In the Carthaginian Army were ſeventy thouſand Foot, fifteen hundred Horſe, and thirty ſix Elephants. *Scipio* had not a part of that number, wherefore he for ſome time forbore fighting, ſave only for ſome light skirmiſhes; but when through want of Proviſions, hunger began to afflict his Army, thinking it diſhonourable to retreat, having firſt ſacrificed; ſuddenly (though otherwiſe his Army were both willing and ready enough) he affirmed, God had according to cuſtom appeared to him, and exhorted him to engage the Enemy, that they ſhould rather relye upon the Divine Conduct, then upon force and multitude; for the greateſt Victories were not gained by numbers of Men, but by the grace and favour of the Gods. And whilſt they gave credit to his words, he commanded the Diviners to bring forth the Entrails; and as he was ſpeaking, ſeeing ſome Birds fly to and again, with great rejoycing and earneſtneſs he ſhowed them, as a certain ſign of Victory, given him from above; and as if at the ſight of them, he had been poſſeſſed by ſome ſpirit, now viewing them, and now crying out, turned about after them, the whole Army imitating their General in his ſeveral poſtures; and he turning this and that way towards the Soldiers, ſtirred them up as to a Victory already prepared for them, till now having wrought them up to his wiſhes, he thought not convenient to let their Courage cool by any delay; but whilſt they were perſwaded, all he yet ſpoke was by Divine Inſtinct, not in the heat of that perſwaſion, after ſuch lucky ſigns, protract the fight: Wherefore, as ſoon as they had eaten, he commanded his Soldiers to Arms, and giving the charge of the Horſe to *Syllanus*, and of the Foot to *Lælius*, and *Martius* ruſhed unexſpectedly upon the Enemy, for the Camps being but ten furlongs diſtant from each other, *Scipio* was upon them before *Aſdrubal*'s, *Mago*'s or *Maſſaniſſa*'s men

men could take any food to refreſh them, forcing them haſtily to ſnatch up their Arms, not without great Conſternation and Tumult. Both Horſe and Foot being then engaged, the Roman Horſe got the better; for as they had done in the former fight, charging home, and with great fury upon the Numidians, ſo that they could not make a retreat, and then again wheel about upon the Enemy, they ſoon made their Darts ineffectual. But the Foot much inferiour in number, were oppreſſed by the Africans, and were now yielding up the honour of the day, nor would by any of *Scipio*'s encouragements or exhortations be perſwaded to ſtand, till the General himſelf giving his Horſe to his Boy, and ſnatching a Shield, runs alone between both Battels, and with a loud voice crying out, *Now or never Romans reſcue your* Scipio *from danger.* At that voice, both thoſe thoſe who ſtood next and ſaw, and thoſe farther off who heard what danger he was in, altogether moved, as well with reſpect as fear for their General, with great outcrys ran violently upon the Enemy, whoſe charge the Africans not able to ſuſtain, (for towards evening their ſtrength failed them for want of Food) began to give ground. Then in a ſhort time was made a moſt horrible ſlaughter; ſuch ſucceſs had *Scipio* at the Battel of *Careo*, which long time ſeemed doubtful and dangerous, there were ſlain about eight hundred of the Romans, and about fifteen thouſand of the Enemy. *Scipio* purſued the Africans, who made a haſty retreat, infeſting and charging them in Flank or Rear, where-ever he could reach them, till they having gained a certain Poſt, fortified by Nature, commodious for Water and Proviſions, and inexpugnable by any means, but a tedious Siege, called upon by other Affairs, he left *Syllanus* to block them up, and went himſelf through the reſt of *Spain*, reducing the Cities to obedience. The Africans beſieged by *Syllanus*, by little and little made their retreat towards the Sea ſide, that they might get over into *Cadiz*, followed in their March by *Syllanus*, who incommoded them to the utmoſt of his power, and returned to *Scipio* to *Carthagena*.

VIII. Now *Aſdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, having towards the Northern Ocean leavied new Forces, being called by his Brother *Hannibal* into *Italy*, taking his March along the Coaſts of the North Sea, that he might ſecure himſelf from *Scipio*; and croſſing over the Pyrenean Mountains, he got down in *Gaul* with a numerous Army of Celtiberian Mercenaries; and thus unknown to the Romans made haſte into *Italy*. Mean while *Lucius* returning from *Rome*, told *Scipio* that the Romans had ſome thoughts of ſending him to command in *Africa*; which being what he himſelf had often before hoped and wiſhed for, he diſpatched away *Lælius* in five Ships to *Africa*, with preſents to King *Syphax*, to put him in mind of *Scipio*'s Friendſhip, and to entreat him to enter into a League offenſive and defenſive with him, if the Romans ſhould ſend any Forces into *Africa*: *Syphax* having accepted the preſents, and returned others, promiſed to do as he deſired; which when the Carthaginians heard, they likewiſe ſent Ambaſſadors to *Syphax*, to treat an Alliance with him, whereof *Scipio* having certain intelligence, and judging wiſely, that if the Carthaginians ſhould rob him of *Syphax* friendſhip, it would be a thing of no ſmall importance, he reſolved to go in perſon to him, and accompanied with *Lælius*, embarked on two Gallies, and ſteered his courſe towards *Africa*, when he came nigh the ſhore, and was upon the point of entring the Harbour, the Carthaginian Ambaſſadors (unknown to the King) armed out thoſe long Ships they had, and in hoſtile manner went to meet him,

but *Scipio* ſetting his Sails was too ſwift for them, and got ſafely into Port. *Syphax* invited both parties to be his gueſts but privately made a league with *Scipio*, and having engaged himſelf by faithful promiſe diſmiſſed him, and leſt the Carthaginians ſhould have any deſign to intercept him, detained them ſomewhat longer with him, till he had reached ſo far off to Sea, that he was out of danger, this hazard *Scipio* run both in the Voyage and in Port. 'Tis reported that at a Banquet made by that King, *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal* being placed upon the ſame bed, *Aſdrubal* diſcourſed with him about many things, and admiring his gravity, ſaid afterwards among his Friends. *That he was a man not only formidable in War but even in the midſt of jollity and feaſting.*

IX. At the ſame time it hapned that not a few of the Celtiberians and Spaniards, whoſe Cities had revolted to the Romans, took pay under *Mago* the Carthaginian, whom *Martius* falling upon, ſlew about fifteen hundred of, and putting the reſt to flight, diſperſed them among the Cities, beſides having driven another body of an Army commanded by *Hanno*, conſiſting of ſeven hundred Horſe and ſix thouſand Foot, to a certain eminence, he reduced them to ſuch ſcarcity, that they ſent Agents to him for peace, he commanded them to deliver up *Hanno* and the Fugitives, and then he would treat with them; Whereupon preſently laying hold upon *Hanno* (who ſtood by and heard all this) they delivered him up with all the Fugitives. *Martius* then demands the Priſoners, whom having alſo received he orders them to bring down the ſum of mony promiſed and agreed upon, into the Plain and Champian Fields, for high places, ſaid he, not well ſuit with puniſhment; when they were come into the plain, *You are the Ring-leaders*, ſaid he, *of thoſe who when their Countries have ſubmitted to us, yet continue to bear Arms under the Enemy againſt them, however laying down your weapons I permit you to depart unpuniſhed.* Hereat the Celtiberians grievouſly incenſed cryed all out with one voice they would not lay down their Arms, whereupon followed a ſharp engagement: wherein ſome of them (not unrevenged) being ſlain, the reſt got ſafe to *Mago* who ſometime before was advancing towards *Hanno*'s Camp, but hearing of his loſs croſſed over into *Cadiz*, where he lay idle in great want, expecting the Iſſue of things. But *Scipio* having ſent *Syllanus* before to the City of *Caſtace* to receive them into Friendſhip, they not hearkning to peace he prepared to beſiege them, and communicated his reſolutions to *Scipio*, who diſpatching away ſome Engins for the aſſault, himſelf followed, but in his march reſolved to force the City of *Illyrgis*. This Town had been confederate with the Romans in the time of the former *Scipio*'s, who being ſlain, the Romans that eſcaped the ſlaughter flying hither they received them, but (though at that time in alliance with them) delivered them up to the Carthaginians. *Scipio* enraged at this treachery, in four hours time overcame them, and though himſelf received a wound in the neck, gave not over the fight till he ſaw the Victory certain, the Soldiers at their own inſtance, without any command, neglecting the ſpoil and plunder (ſo much did their Generals wound, wound their very ſouls) ſpared neither Sex nor age, not ſuffering their rage to cool till they levelled the whole City with the ground. *Scipio* being from thence come to *Caſtace*, dividing his Forces into three parts, laid ſiege to it, but forbore the aſſault to give the inhabitants time to repent, which he had intelligence they were already diſpoſed to, and not long after having ſlain thoſe of the Garriſon, that oppoſed their intentions, the Conquerors yielded themſelves to *Scipio*, who

who placing there a new Garriſon, and committing the care of the City to one of the inhabitants, a man of good fame and reputation, he returned himſelf to *Carthagena*, ſending *Syllanus* and *Martius* towards the Sea-coaſts, that as far as they could they might waſt and ſpoil the whole Country. There was a certain town called *Aſtapa*, which had ever ſided with the Carthaginians, the inhabitants whereof being beſieged by *Martius*, and well forſeeing if they were overcome by the Romans they ſhould be ſubjected to perpetual ſlavery, brought all things they had of value into the Market-place, and piling up wood about them, placed their Wives and Children on the top of all, then fifty of their ſtouteſt men compelled by oath promiſed, that when they ſaw the City in ſuch diſtreſs, that it muſt needs be taken, they would firſt kill the Women and Children, and then ſetting fire to the pile ſlay themſelves. And ſo invoking the Gods againſt *Martius*, with great Noiſe and Clamor they ſallied out, when nothing was leſs feared by the Enemy, then that they durſt appear without their Walls, wherefore they eaſily repulſed the light Armed Foot, and Horſe, which firſt engaged them, and when an Armed Legion advanced, the deſperate Aſtapians ſtill fought moſt couragiouſly, but at length were forced to fall under their multitudes, whom they did yield to in valor; being all ſlain with their Arms in their hands, thoſe fifty left in the City ſlew the Women and Children, and then ſetting fire to the Pile caſt themſelves into it, leaving no fruits of the Victory to the Conquerors. *Martius* admiring the Aſtapians, ſpared the buildings.

After theſe things *Scipio* fell ſick, and while *Martius* commanded the Army, ſome Soldiers who had ſpent their means in luxury and riot, ſuppoſing becauſe they had nothing, they ſhould have no rewards, for all their labors, but both the Advantage and Honor of all was done, would redound to *Scipio*, openly deſerted *Martius*, and encamped by themſelves, to whom many in like manner flocked from the Garriſons, *Mago* hereupon ſent ſome with Mony to encourage them to a revolt: the Mony they received, and created among themſelves new Leaders and Centurions, who managed all things as they pleaſed, and had their own Councils; when *Scipio* heard hereof, he ſent Letters apart to theſe deſerters telling them, that being prevented by ſickneſs he could not yet reward them. Others he ſent to thoſe not yet infected with this Contagion, adviſing them to recal their mad fellow Souldiers to their duty, and others again, to all together, as if they were reconciled, wherein he wrote that he ſhould be ready to pardon any that had ſlipt aſide, commanding them all to come to *Carthagena*, and receive their pay; while theſe letters were reading, ſome thought they were not to be truſted, others gave full credit to them, At laſt they agreed among themſelves to go all together to *Carthagena*. In the mean time *Scipio* gives directions to thoſe Senators, that were with him, that as ſoon as any of the heads of this conſpiracy came, they ſhould accoſt them in a friendly manner, pleaſantly admoniſhing them, and inviting them to be their gueſts, privately ſecure them: he likewiſe gave Order to his Tribunes, that at dawn of day they ſhould get together the moſt faithful of their Souldiers, with their Swords by their ſides, and poſting them in the moſt convenient places of the Aſſembly, if any tumult ſhould begin they ſhould preſently fall on, and kill without expecting a ſignal. Not long after day light, the General getting up was brought to the Tribunal, and the Cryers were commanded to call the Soldiers to the Aſſembly. They not expecting the Cryers call, thinking it would be very

rude if they ſhould make their General, who had not yet fully recovered his ſtrength, wait longer for them (imagining withal that they were called to come and receive rewards) ran in haſt from all parts, ſome without Swords and others for haſt, only with a looſe Coat about them, not ſtaying to put on other Cloaths, *Scipio* (the appointed guards keeping cloſe) firſt reproved them ſharply for their Villanous Action, but *Yet*, ſaid he, *puniſhment is only to be inflicted on thoſe were Authors of the crime, in doing which I will uſe your help*; Scarce had he ſpoke theſe words but the Croud dividing as if he had given them a ſign to do it, the heads of the mutiny were by the Senators ſet forth in the midſt, exclaming as they were led along, and imploring their fellow Soldiers help, but whoever at their Outcrys did but murmur, were preſently ſlain by the Tribunes. The reſt of the Croud perceiving the whole place of Aſſembly beſet with Armed Men in a ſad ſilence hung down their heads, whilſt thoſe brought into the midſt of them, were by *Scipio's* command firſt ſcourged with Rods, and then faſtned to the ſtake, had their heads ſtruck off with Axes; which done he made the Cryers to proclaim pardon to the reſt. In this Condition ſtood *Scipio*'s Army. There wasone *Indibilis* a little King, and one of thoſe who had made a League and Confederacy with *Scipio*, who at the ſame time that the mutiny was in *Scipio*'s Army, in hoſtile maner invaded the Territories of ſome of *Scipio*'s Allies, and when *Scipio* led the Army againſt him, maintained ſo ſtout a fight, that he ſlew twelve hundred of the Romans, but having loſt twenty thouſand of his own, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Scipio* to crave peace, which for a conſiderable ſum of Mony was granted him. *Maſſaniſſa* likewiſe croſſing the Sea unknown to *Aſdrubal*, came to a conference with *Scipio*, and giving him his right hand promiſed, that if he could come over into *Africa*, he would give him all the aſſiſtance he could. This was a man in all things conſtant to his Faith, but he for this reaſon fell off from the Carthaginians, *Maſſaniſſa* was betrothed to the Daughter of *Aſdrubal*, the General under whom he now made War, and *Syphax* almoſt died for this Ladies Love, wherefore the Carthaginians judging of what importance it would be to them, in this preſent War if they could joyn to their party againſt the Romans ſo Potent a King, without conſulting the Father, gave him the Daughter in Marriage, and and this *Aſdrubal* out of reſpect to him, kept ſecret from *Maſſaniſſa*, but he finding it out ſome other way, ſought thereupon *Scipio*'s friendſhip. *Mago*, having ſtill a fleet to command, ſeeing the affairs of *Spain* grown deſperate, ſailed among the Ligurians and Gauls, there to raiſe Mercenary Soldiers. After his departure thoſe of *Cadiz*, as if betrayed by *Mago*, yielded themſelves to the *Romans*, from which time firſt began the Roman Cuſtom to ſend Annual Magiſtrates into *Spain* as to a Conquered People, to keep in Peace and Govern the Province, which hapned in the hundred forty fourth Olympiad. But *Scipio* leaving the whole Country in Peace, with no very ſtrong Garriſons (placed all the Soldiers weakned with wounds, together in one City, which from *Italy* he called the Italian, famous for the birth of *Trajan* and *Adrian*, who after in ſucceeding times came to be Roman Emperors) and himſelf building a Magnificent Fleet, with a great Number of Captives, and loaden with Mony, Arms and other ſpoils, returned to *Rome*, where he was received with mighty Pomp to his great and incredible glory, as well becauſe of his youth, as becauſe of the Expedition wherewith he had done ſo many Noble exploits, inſomuch that thoſe who envyed him, confeſſed that his actions had far exceeded his Rich Promiſes, wherefore to the admiration of all Men he received the Honor of Triumph.

umph. *Indibilis* who as ſoon as *Scipio* was gone rebelled, was by thoſe who Commanded in *Spain*, gathering together Forces out of the Garriſons, and Auxiliaries from their Allies, fought with and ſlain, the ſtirrers up of the Rebellion were brought to tryal, their goods confiſcate, and they condignly puniſhed. The People their confederates condemned to pay fines, diſarmed, and forced to give Hoſtages, and receive ſtronger Garriſons. This Iſſue had the Romans firſt Attempts in *Spain*.

XI. In ſucceeding times the Romans being employed in War againſt the Gauls, the inhabitants about *Po*, and *Philip* of *Macedon*, the Spaniards laying hold of the opportunity, began to form new deſigns. To ſuppreſs which were ſent Generals from *Rome*, *Sempronius Tudertinus* and *M. Helvidius*, and after them *Minucius*, to whom, becauſe the troubles grew greater, *Cato*, with larger Forces was ſent for Succeſſor, a young Man indeed but ſolid, patient in labor, and ſo fam'd for Prudence and Eloquence, that he was among the Romans called *Demoſthenes*, by way of comparing him with that moſt Excellent of all the Græcian Orators, He arriving in *Spain*, when he came among the Mart Towns, there gathered about him from all parts above forty thouſand Enemies. Having taken a little time to Exerciſe his Soldiers, when the ſignals on both ſides were hung out, and the Armies ready to Engage, he ſent away his fleet to *Marſilia*, telling the Soldiers the preſent danger was not ſo great, in their Enemies being ſuperior to them in Numbers (for that nothing was difficult which ſtedfaſt courage could not overcome) as in their want of ſhipping, ſo that they had no way of refuge or ſafety left but in being victorious, And having thus ſpoken led his Soldiers to the fight, not filled with hopes according to the cuſtom of other Generals, but with the terror of their danger. The Battels being joyned he went every where intreating, preſſing forward, and incouraging his Men, and when the fight had continued doubtful till evening, not a few falling on both ſides, he with three Cohorts of the reſerve went to the top of a high hill, from whence he had a clear proſpect of the whole Action, where obſerving his Main Body much oppreſſed, running down with great ſhouts and fury upon the Enemy, and firſt expoſing himſelf to danger, he gave a beginning to the Victory. All Night he gave the Enemy chaſe ſlaying Multitudes, and poſſeſſing himſelf of their Camp: at his return he congratulated his Soldiers embracing them as the Authors of the Victory, then giving them that time to refreſh their bodies by repoſe, which their labors required, he afterwards ſold the prey. But when Deputies came to him from all parts to crave Peace, he firſt demanded Hoſtages, and afterwards ſigning Letters, ſent them to all the People ſeverally, giving order to thoſe that carried them, to take care, that they might be delivered in one day, which he had appointed, having before computed in how long time a Meſſenger might be going to the remoteſt City, and accordingly to the reſt. By theſe Letters he Commanded the Magiſtrates of every particular City, that the ſame day on which they received his Orders, they ſhould demoliſh the Walls of their City, which if they delayed, he denounced their ſlavery. They newly overcome in battel, and ignorant, whether theſe Commands were ſent to the reſt, or to them only, were tormented with great fears, for if this Command were to them alone, they knew themſelves not able to withſtand the Romans, and if the Command were general, they were no leſs fearful leſt they ſhould be the only City delay'd it's execution. Therefore, and

becauſe

becauſe they had not time to ſend mutual Meſſengers to each other, and were likewiſe urged to diſpatch by thoſe who brought the Orders, every one having their own ſafety only in proſpect, they all diligently ſet themſelves about throwing down their Walls, for when they had once decreed obedience, they thought their Celerity would prove to their advantage, and thoſe whoſe Walls were firſt demoliſhed ſhould have the Honor of it. Thus all the Cities about the River *Iberus* by the policy of the General, in one day levelled their own Walls, the conſequence of which was, that by reaſon of their weakneſs, they continued longer in Peace.

XII. Some years after, about the hundred and fiftieth Olympiad the inhabitants about the River *Iberus*, and the Luſones with many Spaniſh Exiles and Fugitives revolted from the Romans. Theſe being defeated by *Fulvius Flaccus* fled to their ſeveral Cities, but the greateſt part having no land, and only laboring for their bread, choſe *Complega* for their habitation, a City newly built, and ſtrangely and ſuddenly become powerful; from hence ſending to *Flaccus*, they commanded that the * Cloaks, Horſes and Swords of ſeveral Men by name ſlain in the late War, might be given up to them, and that he would ſuddenly, before any thing worſe befel him, depart from *Spain*. Anſwer being returned that he would bring them many of thoſe Cloaks, *Flaccus* with the Army following their Deputies, pitcht his Camp before the City. But they having Souls too mean to maintain ſo lofty a Command, betook themſelves to flight waſting the lands of the Barbarians their Neighbors. Now the Spaniards went doubly clad, their upper garment being looſe and faſtned together with buttons which they called a Saga, or Cloak.

* σαγον.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus ſucceeded *Flaccus* in Command at the ſame time when twenty thouſand Celtiberians beſieged *Carabis* a City in Alliance with the Romans. Which becauſe ſtrong reports were raiſed of it's being taken, *Gracchus* haſtned the more to relieve. But when he found it ſo encompaſſed with Enemies that he could not give the beſieged any notice of his coming. *Cominius* Captain of a Troop of Horſe having firſt well weighed the matter, and acquainted *Gracchus* with it, puts himſelf in the Spaniſh dreſs, and cunningly mixing with the Enemies Forragers, paſſed through their Camp for a Spaniard, and thence by running reached the City, telling the Townſmen, that *Gracchus* was at hand, whereupon they with courage underwent all difficulties till the third day, when the Enemies retreating at *Gracchus* approach, they were delivered from the ſiege. About the ſame time near twenty thouſand Men coming out of *Complega* towards *Gracchus* Camp, with boughs in their hands after the manner of ſuppliants, when they drew near, as if upon a ſudden they had changed their minds they made an aſſault, filling the whole Army with fear and terror, but *Gracchus* by ſingular policy diſſembling a flight, deſerted his Tents and preſently after facing about, and ſetting upon them intent on the Plunder, ſlew a great number, and taking the City ſubdued likewiſe the Confines. After which dividing the Lands among thoſe wanted, and giving them ſeats to inhabit in he made a League with all the People that inhabited thoſe quarters, chiefly on condition that they ſhould be friends to the people of *Rome*, and to that end mutual Oaths being given and taken, they in future Wars proved very ſerviceable to the Romans, for theſe things *Gracchus* name grew famous both in *Spain* and at *Rome*, which he Magnificently entred in Triumph.

Not

Not many years after, a new and general War was kindled in *Spain* upon this occaſion: *Segada*, a large and powerful City of thoſe Celtiberians called *Belli*, received into the League by *Sempronius Gracchus*, inviting the Citizens of leſſer Towns to joyn with them, began to build a Wall four hundred furlongs about; and compelling the *Titthi*, a neighbouring people to do the ſame. The Senate having certain intelligence hereof; firſt forbid the building of the Wall, next demanded the Tribute impoſed by *Gracchus*: And laſtly, (for this was an Article in *Gracchus* League) commanded they ſhould attend the Romans in War. As to what concerned the Wall, the Celtiberians anſwered, That indeed they were forbid by *Gracchus* to build any new Cities, but about reſtoring or fortifying old ones, there was not a word ſpoken; and for the Tribute, and Service, it was ſince *Gracchus* time, remitted by the Romans themſelves. And indeed ſo it was; but when the Senate diſpenſes with any ſuch priviledges, they always add this exception, ſo long as it ſhall be to theirs, and the people of *Romes* good liking. *Nobilior* was therefore ſent againſt them with an Army of near thirty thouſand; whoſe coming the Segedians foreſeeing, becauſe their Wall was not yet perfect, fled with their Wives and Children to the *Arvacci*, beſeeching them to receive them, who not only entertained them, but choſe likewiſe *Carus* a Segedian, a man qualified for War, for General; who the third day after entrance into his command, with twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, takes his Poſt in a place fit for Ambuſhes, being quite covered over with Trees. There as the Romans paſſed by, he charged them, and fought a long time without advantage: but at length, with the death of ſix thouſand Roman Citizens (as that time no ſmall loſs to the City) he bravely overcame them; but after the Victory, with too much eagerneſs and diſorder, purſuing thoſe that fled; the Roman Horſe left in guard of the Carriage, falling on, firſt ſlew *Carus*, bravely oppoſing them, and with him no fewer than ſix thouſand men. Night coming on, ended this diſpute. This ſlaughter happened on a day by the Romans conſecrated to *Vulcan*, wherefore unleſs forced to it, they will not on this day engage an Enemy. The very ſame night the *Arvacci* met together at *Numantia*, a very ſtrong City; and created two new Generals, *Ambo* and *Leuco*. Three days after *Nobilior* following them, encamps within four and twenty Furlongs of the City, whither came to him three hundred Horſe, and ten Elephants ſent from *Maſſaniſſa*, with which he advances towards the Enemy, placing the Elephants behind the firſt Battel, that they might not at firſt be diſcovered by the Enemy. The Fight beginning, his Front falling off, the ſuddain ſight of thoſe Beaſts ſo terrified both the Celtiberians and their Horſes, who never before had ſeen Elephants, that turning their backs they fled to the Town. The Roman General purſuing, the Flyers turns the Elephants to the Wall, there maintaining a ſharp conflict, one of the Elephants wounded in the head with a great Stone, grew angry, and ſetting up a horrible roaring, turns upon his own Party, and without diſtinguiſhing Friend from Enemy, began to rage againſt all he met. The reſt ſet on by his roaring began to do the ſame, and in all places to trample under foot, overturn and diſorder the Romans, for it is uſual for Elephants when they are once vexed, to take all they meet for Enemies; for which perfidiouſneſs, they are by ſome called the common Enemy. A general flight hereupon began among the Romans, which the Numantines from the Walls beholding, made a ſally, and falling in upon them, diſperſed and trampled down, ſlew four thouſand XIII.

ſand of them, and three Elephants, and took many Arms, and ſome Enſigns: Of the Celtiberians there were about two thouſand ſlain: *Nobilior* a little recruited after the loſs, endeavouring in vain to force the City of *Auxenium*, where the Enemy had ſtored up their Proviſions, with the loſs of no few men retreated into his Camp. Thence he ſent *Biaſius*, who commanded his Horſe, to certain neighbouring people, that joyning friendſhip with him, they might aſſiſt him with ſome Horſemen. He returning, and bringing ſome Horſe with him, the Celtiberians lay in Ambuſh for him, who being diſcovered, his aſſociates fled; but *Biaſius*, and many of the Romans with him were ſlain: So many loſſes and diſaſters began to turn their Allies hearts from them. *Ocylis*, a City in which were the Magazines of Proviſions and Treaſure, revolted to the Celtiberians. *Nobilior* diſtruſting all things in the preſent neceſſity, wintred in his Tents, covered and cloſe ſtopped: but his want of Corn (for he had his ſtore with him) was very great; beſides the violent hail, and bitter cold cruelly afflicted the Soldiers, ſo that many of them going to fetch in Wood, and others in their hard Winter Lodgings dyed with Diſtempers, cauſed by the extremity of the weather.

XIV. The next year *Claudius Marcellus* ſucceded *Nobilior* in his command, bringing with him eight thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe. At his firſt coming the Enemy in vain laid ambuſhes for him, for proceeding circumſpectly and cautiouſly, he brought the Army in ſafety, and pitch'd Camp before *Ocylis*, which City (being a General fortunate in War) he preſently ſubdued, and taking Hoſtages, and thirty Talents of Silver, pardoned them. The Nergobriges hearing of this clemency, asked what they ſhould do to obtain Peace likewiſe with him, he demanded a hundred Horſe to go to the War with him. Thoſe they promiſed, but in the mean time, ſome of them falling in the skirts of the Roman Army, plundered ſome of the Baggage; ſoon after the Horſe they had covenanted to ſend coming, and being demanded concerning the Baggage, they made anſwer, that ſome ignorant of the agreement made had done it; but *Marcellus* commanded them to be diſmounted, and their Horſes ſold; and afterwards dividing among his Soldiers the prey he had gathered, waſting their Fields, he beſieged the City. The Nergobriges, when they ſaw that the Engines brought cloſe to the Trench, had ſhaken their Walls, ſent a Herald, who inſtead of a *Caduceus*, was cloathed in a Wolves skin, to ask pardon for their faults: the General refuſed it, unleſs with them all the *Arvani*, *Belli* and *Titthi* would ask it likewiſe, which when they ſignified to them, they forthwith ſent all of them Deputies to *Marcellus*, to entreat him that content with a moderate puniſhment, he would again receive them into the Conditions of *Gracchus* League. This Petition ſome people a little before by them provoked to War oppoſed; wherefore *Marcellus* commanded the Legates of both parties to diſpute it before the Senate; but by private Letters he adviſed the Fathers to decide all Controverſies; for he was very deſirous in the time of his Government, to put an end to this War, ſuppoſing he ſhould thereby get Renown and Honour. Now Ambaſſadors ſent from confederate and aſſociate Cities, were wont to be admitted into the City, and treated as Gueſts; but theſe, as coming from Enemies, were according to Cuſtom commanded to lodge in the Suburbs; the Senate taking it ill that they, though *Nobilior*, who was in *Spain*, before *Marcellus* had given his opinion for them, had not permitted it to the Romans, ſo they diſallowed the Peace, and gave the

Legates

Legates no other anſwer, then that *Marcellus* ſhould declare to them the Senates pleaſure. Then decreeing an Army for *Spain*, they choſe the Soldiers by Lot, which formerly they uſed to enrol by Centuries; but becauſe many had complained to the Conſuls, that they had hard meaſure, while others were employed and taken up for eaſier ſervice, they thought it beſt to chuſe the Army by Lot. *Licinius Lucullus* Conſul was made General, and *Cornelius Scipio* his Lieutenant. Whilſt he is going to this War, *Marcellus* adviſes the Celtiberians of the approaching War, and reſtores the Hoſtages to thoſe redemanded them. After which privately ſending for the Chief of the Ambaſſadors, ſent to *Rome* in the name of the Celtiberians, and keeping him a long time with him, he gave occaſion to a ſuſpicion (which he afterwards much more increaſed) that he was indeavouring to perſwade the Celtiberians to leave all things to his Arbitrement, he endeavouring by all means poſſible to put an end to the War, before *Lucullus* coming: For preſently after this Conference, five thouſand *Arvacci* got into the City of *Nertobriga*. And *Marcellus* leading his Army againſt *Numantia*, and their Camps lying within five furlongs of the City, when he drove the Numantines into their Walls, *Litennus* their Prince ſtopping their courſe, cryed out he deſired conference with *Marcellus*. This *Marcellus* heard with joyful ears, and receiving the Hoſtages and Money he demanded, ſent them all home in peace. By this means, before *Lucullus* came, the War with the *Belli*, *Arvacci* and *Titthi* was brought to an end.

XV. But *Lucullus*, as covetous of Glory, as of adding to his private Fortune, which was but very ſlender, preſently with his Army enters the Confines of the *Vaccæi*, a Nation of the Celtiberians, bordering upon the *Arvacci*, though he neither had command from the Senate, nor had they made any War upon the Romans, or any other way offended him; and croſſing the River, called *Tagus*, comes to the City *Cauca*, and ſets down before it: The Citizens inquiring wherefore he came, and what occaſion there was for War; he anſwered, He came to the aſſiſtance of the *Carpitani*, whom they had wronged, whereupon they retreated into their City; from whence, not long after, making a ſally upon *Lucullus* men, gone to provide Wood and Corn, they ſlew many, and drove the reſt to their Tents. And whenever they came to an Engagement, the *Caucæi*, who were almoſt all Light Armed Men, were at the firſt for a while ſuperiours; but when their Darts were ſpent, then they turned their backs, unskilful, and unaccuſtomed to a ſtanding Fight; ſo that once flying to their City, by reaſon of the croud at their Gates, near three thouſand of them periſhed. The next day all the graveſt of the Citizens came out to *Lucullus*, with Crowns and Olive Branches to know of him upon what Conditions they might buy his friendſhip; they were anſwered by Hoſtages, an hundred Talents in Silver, and their Horſemen going to the Wars with the Romans; which being preſently agreed to, *Lucullus* deſired he might place a Garriſon in the City, which the *Caucæi* likewiſe yielded to; he brings in two thouſand of his choſen men, whom he commanded, as ſoon as they were got in to poſſeſs themſelves of the Wall. This done, he lets in all his Army, and at the Signal given by ſound of Trumpet, commands them to fall on, and kill all the *Caucæi*, without any diſtinction; who invoking the Gods, preſiding over Oaths and Covenants, and bitterly curſing the Roman perfidiouſneſs, were cruelly murdered, of twenty thouſand very few eſcaped, by breaking open the Gates: *Lucullus*

having ſack'd the City, caſt thereby a great infamy on the Roman Name. The reſt of the Barbarians flying out of the plain Country, fled among the Precipices and places inacceſſible, others carried all they could into fortified Towns, and what they were forced to leave they burnt, that nothing might be left for *Lucullus* to plunder. He therefore having wandred long enough in that Deſert Country, came to the Town of *Intercatia*, where were drawn together twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; whom when *Lucullus*, with imprudence enough, would have perſwaded to enter into a treaty of Peace, they reproached him with the ſlaughter of the *Caucæi*, asking whether it were not with the ſame Right Hand, and the ſame Faith he had already pawned to the *Caucæi*: With which revilings (as it is ordinary for thoſe whoſe conſciences accuſe them of guilt) being extreamly galled, he laid waſte their Country. And then beſieging the City, and intrenching himſelf, he often drew out his Army in Battel, to try if by any means he could draw the Enemy to a Battel: but as they, by all means avoided a ſet Fight, ſo by continual skirmiſhes of Light Armed Foot they annoyed him. But among the Barbarians there was often ſeen a man remarkable, for the brightneſs of his Armour, who often coming on horſeback between the two parties, dared any of the Romans to engage him in ſingle Combat, and when none offered themſelves, ſcoffing at the Romans with many poſtures of ſcorn and deriſion, he returned among his own people. When he had often done this, *Scipio*, though yet but young, much afflicted at it, himſelf advancing out, and undertaking the Duel, though but a middly ſiz'd man, overcame this Barbarian of a Gigantick ſtature. This Victory much raiſed the Spirits of the Romans; but the next night ſundry terrours ſeiſed them, which ſprung from this occaſion. The Barbarian Horſe before *Lucullus* approach, being gone to Forrage, at their return, finding the City beſieged, went about, calling out, and filling all the places with their clamours, which being anſwered by thoſe within the Town, the Romans were poſſeſſed with doubtful fears, knowing their poſts not over ſtrong, and the Soldiers by continual watchings, and unuſual food extremely weakned, and feeding only on Wheat and Barly, with the Fleſh of Stags and Hares, boiled without Salt, they fell into Fluxes, which ſwept many of them away. At length having filled the Ditch, and by often playing their Engines, ſhook the Wall, ſo that part of it fell, they broke into the City; whence violently repulſed, they upon their retreat, not knowing the ground, fell into the Common Sewer, where many of them periſhed. The next night the Barbarians repaired their Walls. After which neither party able any longer to diſſemble their miſeries and loſſes, the famine growing violent upon them; *Scipio* freely promiſed the Barbarians, that if they would enter into League, they ſhould be treated without any Fraud or Treachery. The opinion of this mans Virtue was ſo great among the Barbarians, that to his Faith they committed themſelves, and the War upon theſe conditions was removed, that the Intercations ſhould give *Lucullus* ſix thouſand Sagas or Cloaks, a certain number of Cattel, and fifty Hoſtages, for as for Gold and Silver, (the thirſt after which, believing *Spain* every where abounded with it, had begot this War) none was given, for it not being of any eſteem among theſe people, they had it not. From hence *Lucullus* went to *Palantia*, a City much renowned for the Valour of its people, and whither many others were fled. Wherefore ſome adviſed the General to paſs by without making any attempt upon it; but a covetous man could not be drawn away from a City he had been told was rich; till after

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ter being by many Excurſions of the Palantine Horſe, cut off from going to Forrage, through want of Proviſions he was forced to divide his Army into four Bodies, and ſo make his retreat, purſued by the Palantines in the Rear, till he came to the River *Dorium*, where they gave over following him. *Lucullus* wintred in *Turdetania*: Theſe were the Actions of the War with the *Vaccæi*, which though *Lucullus* undertook, and carried on without any command from the people of *Rome*, yet he was never called to queſtion for it.

XVI. Much about the ſame time the Luſitanians (another people of *Spain*, and living under the ſame Laws) commanded by a Carthaginian, waſted the Lands of the Romans aſſociates; and putting to flight the Roman Generals, *Manlius* and *Calphurnius*, ſlew ſix thouſand men, and among them *Terentius Varro* the Queſtor; with which Victory the Carthaginians puft up, marched as far as the Ocean, and taking with them the Vetones, beſieged the Roman Subjects, called the *Blaſtophænicæ*. Theſe as fame goes, were brought out of *Lybia* by *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, and from thence took that name. Here the Punick General wounded in the head with a ſtone dyed. In his place they ſubſtituted a man, called *Cæſaras*, who engaged in fight with *Mummius* (lately come from *Rome* with an Army) was routed and fled; but when *Mummius*'s men ſcattered and diſperſed purſued the Victory, rallying, he ſlew nine thouſand of them, recovered all the plunder of his Camp, and got all that of the Romans, with many Colours and Arms, which the Barbarians in deriſion carried throughout all *Celtiberia*. *Mummius* with the five thouſand he had left intrenched himſelf, not daring to take the Field, till he had ſomewhat confirmed the minds of his Soldiers, terrified with the laſt ſlaughter. Whence obſerving the Barbarians, carrying by part of their Booty, ſetting upon them unawares, they ſlew many, and recovered the Spoil and the Enſigns. The Luſitanians inhabiting the other Banks of the *Tagus*, incenſed againſt the Romans, of their own accord declared War, and under the Conduct of *Caucænus* their General, invaded the *Cunæi*, a people ſubject to the Romans, taking from them the large City of *Coniſtergis*; and thence croſſing over the Straits at the Pillars of *Hercules*, ſome of them went to people *Africa*, others went and beſieged the City of *Ocylis*. Theſe *Mummius* following with nine thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, ſlew fifteen thouſand of them, that were over-running the Country, and as many more at raiſing the Siege of *Ocylis*, meeting likewiſe thoſe who were conveying away the Spoil, he cut them off ſo clearly, that there was not a Meſſenger to tell the news. Now all the prey that he could carry along with him, he divided among the Soldiers, and the reſt, (conſecrated to the Deities, preſiding over the War) he burnt, and for theſe things at his return to *Rome* Triumphed.

XVII. *M. Attilius*, Succeſſor to *Mummius* making an inrode into *Luſitania*, killed ſeven hundred men, and taking from them a great City, called *Oxthracas*, ſo terrified all the neigbouring places, that they ſurrendred on conditions, among which were ſome of the Vetones, the fartheſt people of *Luſitania*. But *Attilius* being gone, in Winter they all revolted, and beſieged ſome of the Roman Subjects, whom, whilſt he was haſting to receive *Seroclius Galba* (who came to ſucceed *Attilius*) marching in a day and a night five hundred furlongs, comes within ſight of the Enemy, and without any ſtay, or giving the Soldiers any time to refreſh themſelves,

after ſuch tedious travel, falls on, and after having fortunately broken and put them to flight, he very imprudently purſued them; for his men through wearineſs following ſloathfully, and in diſorder: The Barbarians perceiving them thus diſperſed to lye down by the way ſide to reſt themſelves, gathering again into a Body, fell upon them, and ſlew ſeven thouſand. *Galba*, with the Horſe whom he had kept about his perſon, got by flight to the City of *Carmelis*, whither many others likewiſe fled for ſafety, whom drawing into a Body, and raiſing twenty thouſand men among the Aſſociates, he went among the *Cunæi*, and there wintred.

Lucullus, who without any orders from the people of *Rome*, had made War upon the *Vaccæi*, wintring in *Turdetania*, having intelligence that the Luſitanians had invaded the Neighbours, ſending out ſome of his beſt Captains, ſlew about four thouſand of them; and they making a new irruption with other Forces, he about *Cadiz* killed fifteen hundred more, and purſuing the reſt to a Hill, where they had poſted themſelves, beſieged them, and took a multitude of men, and at laſt entring *Luſitania*, he by parcels depopulated the Country. The ſame did *Galba* on the other ſide; and when Deputies came to him and deſired they might again renew the League, which agreed upon before with *Attilius*, then General, had been violated, he received them kindly, and gave them his word, ſeeming grieved for them, that through meer want, they had been forced to uſe Robbery, make War, and break Articles of Peace: *But under me*, ſaid he, *be no longer in doubt, that your poverty, and the barrenneſs of your Country ſhall force you to theſe things; for if you will henceforward be friends, I will give to ſuch of you, as are in want, good Land, and dividing you into three parts, appoint you fruitful ſeats to dwell in.* Allured by theſe promiſes, they forſook their old Seat, and aſſembled in great numbers where *Galba* had commanded, whom dividing into three parties, he ordered each to march down into the Plains he aſſigned them, and there for a while wait till he returned to them. Then coming to the firſt, as already friends, he commanded them to lay down their Arms, and thus diſarmed, drew a Ditch about them, and then ſending in ſome with Swords, ſlew them all, crying out, and invoking the Faith of Gods and Men. Thus with all imaginable ſpeed, he ſerved the ſecond and third party, before they could have any notice of their Companions Calamity. Thus was Treachery revenged, not as became Romans or Roman Clemency, but incitating the Barbarians ſavegneſs and cruelty: yet ſome of them eſcaped, among whom was *Viriatus*, who not long after commanded the Luſitanians, and performing many worthy Exploits, killed a multitude of Romans; but of thoſe things, as done afterwards, we ſhall ſpeak in due time. *Galba* ſurpaſſing *Lucullus* for covetouſneſs, diſtributed but little of the prey to the Soldiers, leſs to his Friends, and the reſt converted to his own uſe. And though he were one of the richeſt of all the Romans, yet as is reported in time of Peace, he never ſcrupled at lye nor perjury, ſo it turned to profit, hated therefore by all, and cited to judgement; yet by force of Money he got off. Not long after thoſe that remained after *Lucullus* and *Galba*'s Treachery, being gathered together to about ten thouſand men, with incurſions waſted the Country of the *Turdetani*. Againſt whom *C. Vetelius* come from *Rome* with new Forces, and joyning with thoſe before in *Spain*, marched with about ten thouſand men, who firſt falling in among their Forragers ſlew many of them, and forced the reſt to a certain place, where if they ſtaid, they periſhed by Famine, and if they removed, were in imminent danger of falling under the Roman Swords. So great a ſtrait they

they were in, wherefore ſending Legates to *Vetilius* with Olive Branches, they deſired a place to dwell in, promiſing thenceforward to live under the Roman Power. *Vetilius* gave his word to perform their requeſt, and already Conditions were agreed on, when *Viriatus* (who eſcaped from *Galba*'s wicked cruelty, and by chance at that time ſojourned among them) began to admoniſh them of all the Romans Treachery, who after having ſo often pawned their Faith to them, had perfidiouſly aſſaulted them, telling them their preſent Army was only the Relicks of *Lucullus* and *Galba*'s perjury. Adding, if they would obey him, he would ſhow them a ſafe way to retreat out of that place. By which words forewarned, and their hearts quickned by ſome hope, they choſe him General, whereupon he firſt of all draws them up, as if preparing them to fight, then gave orders, that as ſoon as they ſaw him mount his Horſe, diſperſing themſelves all over the Country, they ſhould by divers ways get to the City of *Tribola*, and there ſtaid for him. In the mean time a thouſand choſen Horſe he kept with him in a Body: and things thus diſpoſed, at one inſtant *Viriatus* mounts his Horſe, and they all took their flight. *Vetilius* afraid to purſue men ſo diſperſed; ſeeing *Viriatus* ſtanding, turned towards him, thinking to provoke him to fight, who ſeemed to offer the occaſion: but *Viriatus* by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe, eluding all his endeavours, ſometimes retreating, and ſometimes advancing, but keeping in continual motion, ſpent all that day, and the next upon the ſame ground. Till conjecturing that by this time, his fellows fled before might be in ſafety; he ſet forward by night, and through by-ways, and on nimble Horſe ſoon got to *Tribola*. The Romans, both becauſe of their heavy Armour, ignorance of the ways, and withal being mounted on other kind of Horſes, not being able to follow him. Thus *Viriatus* ſaved the Army, when themſelves were in utter deſpair, and loſt to all hopes. The bravery of which Exploit being ſpread among the Barbarians, added to him both Honour and Power, many joyning with him, by whoſe aſſiſtance he held out three whole years againſt the Romans. I have therefore deſigned to write here at once all this Viriatick War, which gave no ſmall trouble to the Romans; and if any thing happened in the mean time in *Spain*, to relate it afterward.

Vetilius therefore purſuing *Viriatus*, came to *Tribola*, but in the way as XVIII.
he was paſſing over a certain woody Hill, *Viriatus* having got behind with his Horſe, and an Ambuſh riſing in Front both at once, ſet upon the Romans, whereof they ſlew many, threw others down into the Vallies, and many fell into their hands alive, among whom was *Vetilius* whom he that took, ſeeing old and fat, thinking him good for nothing, ſlew him. Of ten thouſand Romans ſcarce ſix thouſand eſcaped to *Carpeſſus*, which I ſuppoſe was once by the Greeks called *Tarteſſus*, where King *Arganthonius* (who is reported to have lived one hundred and fifty years) once reigned. The Soldiers eſcape by flight, and yet trembling, *Vetilius* his Queſtor diſpoſes upon the Walls, and five thouſand aſſociates, which he had deſired from the *Belli* and *Titthi*, he ſent out to meet *Viriatus*, who made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that not a Meſſenger was left to bring back the news. So thenceforward the Queſtor lay quiet in the City, expecting aſſiſtance from *Rome*. In the mean time *Viriatus*, without controul, waſtes the Country of the *Carpeti*, which was ſufficiently fertile, till *C. Plautius* comes from *Rome* with ten thouſand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horſe; when diſſembling a flight, *Plautius* ſent four

thouſand

thouſand men to purſue him, whom turning upon, he cut off all but a very few; and croſſing the *Tagus*, went and incamped among the Olive Mountains, upon that which is called *Venus* Hill, whither *Plautius* following out of an earneſt deſire to repair his former loſs, fights a ſet Battel with him, and being with a mighty ſlaughter overcome, flees without any order to the Towns for refuge, and in the midſt of Summer takes up his Winter Quarters, not daring look abroad. Wherefore *Viriatus* freely ranged over the whole Country, forcing the owners of the Ground to pay a value for the Crop, then almoſt ready for their Sickle, or elſe he deſtroyed or burnt it. Theſe things being underſtood at *Rome*, the Fathers ſent *Fabius Æmilianus Maximus* (Son to *Æmilius Paulus*, who ſubdued *Perſeus*, King of *Macedon*) with Power to raiſe an Army; who becauſe the ſtrength of the City was in a manner exhauſted, firſt by the ſubverſion of *Carthage*, then by ſubduing the Greeks, and laſtly by bringing to a happy iſſue the Macedonian War, that he might ſpare thoſe had out-lived ſo many Engagements, enrolled two Legions of raw young Men; and having procured ſome further aſſiſtance from the Aſſociates, with an Army of about fifteen thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, came to *Orſo*, a City of *Spain*; from thence that he might not throw himſelf upon the Enemy, with an undiſciplined and unexperienced Force that had never yet ſeen any fighting, he croſſed over into *Cadiz*, to ſacrifice to *Hercules*. *Viriatus* met with a party of his men going to wood, ſlew a great many, and put the reſt to flight; and his Lieutenant again bringing them out to engage, *Viriatus* again defeated them, and took a great booty; but when *Maximus* himſelf came, bringing armed Soldiers to try if he could entice him to a Battel, and daily provoking him, ſeeing *Viriatus* avoided a general Engagement, ſending out parties by frequent skirmiſhes, he made trial of the Enemies ſtrength, and increaſed his own mens courage and confidence: aed whenever he ſent out to Forrage, he gave a Convoy of Legionary Soldiers and Horſe to the light armed Foot, for this Diſcipline he had learn'd from his Father in the Macedonian War. Winter being paſt, and his Army well exerciſed and confirmed, he made a ſharp War upon *Viriatus*, and putting himſelf to flight, took two of his Cities, and burnt another. *Viriatus* himſelf flying to a place called *Bæcor*, he followed, and ſlew many of his men, and then went and wintred at *Corduba*. *Viriatus* being now no longer ſecure as formerly, drew off from the Roman Alliance the *Arvacci*, *Titthi* and *Belli*, warlike people, who waged another long and laborious War by themſelves, which from *Numantia*, one of their Cities, was called the *Numantine*, which immediately after the Viriatick, we ſhall proceed to treat of. *Viriatus* therefore, in another part of *Spain*, coming to a ſet Battel with *Quintius*, another Roman General, and being overcome, retreated to the Mountains of *Venus*; from whence turning again upon the Enemy, he ſlew ſome of *Quintius* men, took ſome Colours, and forced the reſt into their Camp. He likewiſe by force drove out the Garriſon at *Ituca*, and waſted the Country of the *Baſitani*, whilſt *Quintius*, out of weakneſs, and want of Military knowledge, lay ſhut up in *Corduba* (where in the midſt of Autumn, he took up his Winter Quarters) and only now and then ſent out *C. Martius*, a Spaniard of the Italian City againſt the Enemy. That year being expired ſo, *Quintius Æmilianus* ſucceeded his Brother *Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, bringing with him two Roman Legions, and ſome Allies, ſo that all his Forces might be about ſixteen thouſand Foot, and ſixteen hundred Horſe. He wrote likewiſe to *Micipſa*, King of *Numidia*, to ſend him with all ſpeed ſome Elephants: but

haſtning

haſtning to *Ituca*, and leading with him only part of his Army; *Viriatus* met with ſix thouſand men, coming on with great noiſe and clamour, and with long hair, which the Barbarians uſed to wear and ſhake in time of fight to terrifie their Enemies; yet he bore his charge with ſo much courage, that the Enemy was repulſed without effecting any thing. But when the other part of the Army, with ten thouſand Elephants, and three hundred Horſe from *Lybia* were come to him, enlarging his Camp, he firſt drew out his Army againſt *Viriatus*, and over-powring him, routed and put him to flight: but when breaking their Ranks in the purſuit, *Viriatus* obſerved the confuſion, rallying, he ſlew about three thouſand men, and drove the reſt to the Camp: He likewiſe aſſaulted their Camp, while ſcarce any would ſhut the Gates again the invading Enemy, but moſt ſtruck with pannick fear, hid themſelves in their Huts, and neither by the General nor Military Tribunes could be got out to fight, yet above all *Fannius*, the Brother-in-Law of *Lælius*, did in this Battel, in a ſingular manner make his courage manifeſt. Night coming on, favoured and ſaved the Romans. But *Viriatus* night and day omitted no opportunity, ſometimes with light armed Foot, and ſometimes with nimble Horſe to weary out the Romans, till at laſt he forced *Servilianus* to raiſe his Siege from *Ituca*. And himſelf beginning to be pinched with hunger, and having but ſlender Forces, ſetting on fire his Tents by night, marched towards *Luſitania*, *Servilianus* in his going off, not being followed, tranſlated the ſeat of War into *Bæturia*, where he ſeiſed upon five Cities, that bore good will to *Viriatus*: Thence led his Forces among the *Cunei*, from whence he again marched into *Luſitania* againſt *Viriatus* himſelf. In this way meeting with two Captains of Thieves, *Curius* and *Apuleius*, with ten thouſand men, they very much vexed the Romans, acd joyning Battel wherein *Curius* was killed, they yet got ſome booty, all which *Servilianus* not long after recovered, and likewiſe took by force the Cities *Eſcadia*, *Gemella* and *Obolcola*, in all which *Viriatus* had placed Garriſons, ſome of which he made Captains, and others he let go. Of ten thouſand Priſoners he had, five hundred he made paſs under the Ax, and ſold the reſt. After this he went to Winter Quarters, leaving the War to him that was to Command next year, and theſe things done, returned to *Rome*. *Quintius Pompeius Aulus* ſucceeded him in Command.

Mean while his Brother *Maximus Æmilianus*, having received upon ſubmiſſion one *Connoba*, a Captain of Thieves, did indeed pardon him, but cut of all his Companions hands: but when purſuing *Viriatus*, he was about to incloſe *Eriſane*, one of his Cities, with a Trench and Paliſado. *Viriatus* entring the City by night, and making a Sally by break of day, not only drove thoſe that were working upon the Lines from their labour, making them throw away their Spades and Mattocks, but likewiſe forced all the reſt of *Æmilianus* Forces ready drawn up, and in a poſture to engage him, to flee among the Rocks and Precipices, from whence there was no way to eſcape; yet here ſucceſs made not *Viriatus* inſolent; but ſuppoſing he now might upon fair Conditions lay down Arms, and enter into friendſhip with the Romans; he contracted a League, which the people of *Rome* afterwards confirmed, and called *Viriatus* friend, giving Orders his Aſſociates ſhould enjoy the Lands they poſſeſſed. Thus a War heavy to the Romans ſeemed on eaſie Conditions quite extinct; but this Peace proved not laſting, for *Cepio*, brother to *Æmilianus*, Author of this League, and his Succeſſor in Command, finding fault with the Conditi- XIX.

ons, as diſhonourable to the Roman people, prevailed with the Senate to have leave privately to incommode *Viriatus*, as he thought fit, and continually urging them, and plying them with Letters, at length procured a Decree to declare open War againſt *Viriatus*, fortified with which Decree he received upon ſurrender the City of *Arſa*, *Viriatus* looking on; and purſued *Viriatus* himſelf, flying and waſting all as he went to *Carpetane*; bringing with him greater Forces than *Viriatus*, who by reaſon of the paucity of his men, not thinking fit to engage, ſending away the greateſt part of his Forces, by an obſcure Valley, drew up the reſt upon a certain Hill, making a ſhow, as if he were willing to fight the Enemy, but when he thought thoſe ſent before were out of danger, he flew after with ſo much ſcorn of the Enemy, and ſo much celerity, that thoſe who followed him, knew not which way to take. *Cepio* turning his Arms againſt the Vetones and Callaici waſted their Country: but now following *Viriatus* Example, many other Bands of Rovers, by their incurſions waſted *Luſitania*. Againſt whom *Sex. Junius Brutus* being ſent, he conſidering the diſtance of places (being all that ground between the four Navigable Rivers of *Tagus*, * *Lethe*, *Dorius* and *Bætis*) gave them a hard chaſe, they running hither and thither, after the manner of Thieves, and now following, and then flying, diſpairing to catch them, and yet thinking the not taking of them would be diſhonourable, though on the other ſide the taking of them would be no great Triumph; he led his Army into the Thieves own Country, thinking with the ſame trouble to take revenge of them (for he thought they would all come home to defend their own) and withal enrich his Soldiers by the ſpoil. Led on with theſe thoughts and imaginations, he ſeiſed upon all ſtood in his way. The Barbarians coming out to oppoſe him, and the Women aſſiſting and bearing Arms with ſuch courage and eagerneſs, that even in the midſt of ſlaughter their voices were not to be heard. Some indeed there were, who taking what they could, fled up to the Mountains, to whom, becauſe they asked pardon, *Brutus* gave whatever remained of theirs. Thence croſſing the River *Dorius*, carrying Fire and Sword through all parts far and near, and receiving Hoſtages of all that yielded, at length he came to the River of * *Oblivion*, and firſt of any Roman croſſed it. Thence going to *Nimis* another River, he made War upon the *Bracari*, becauſe they had ſtopped, and taken the Proviſions, bringing to the Roman Camp. 'Twas the Cuſtom likewiſe of theſe people to bring their Women armed into the Field, who would rather die than turn their backs, or utter any unworthy cry; nay, theſe very Women, when led away Captives, would ſome kill themſelves, and others cut their Childrens Throats, thinking Death much better than Slavery, yet ſome Towns yielded to *Brutus*, who not long after revolting, he again reduced to obedience; among others *Talabriga* often accepting Conditions, often rebelled. Thither *Brutus* coming, the Townſmen imploring mercy, and referring themſelves to diſcretion, he firſt commanded them to deliver all Roman Fugitives, Captives and Arms, then that with their Wives and Children they ſhould leave the City, which when readily they ſubmitted to, incloſing them with his Army, he began to let them underſtand how often they had revolted, and how often renewed the War; poſſeſſing them with an extreme fear and opinion, how grievouſly he was offended with them, and ending all in reproaches of their Treachery; but yet taking away their Horſes, Proviſions, and publick Money, beyond their own hopes, he reſtored them their Town to dwell in. After doing all theſe things, *Brutus* returned to *Rome*. Theſe attempts

* Oblivio *or* Limia.

* Lethe *or* Limia.

tempts of other Bands of Thieves happening in the ſame time, and after the Example of *Viriatus*, I thought convenient to place with that War. But now *Viriatus* ſent *Audax Ditalco*, and *Minurus*, the moſt faithful of his Friends to *Cepio* to make Peace. Theſe *Cepio* engaged by great Gifts, and large hopes, to make him a promiſe to kill *Viriatus*, which at length they in this manner performed: *Viriatus* was a man given little to ſleep, as well becauſe of the ſundry cares diſtracted him, as becauſe of his continual employs, wherefore likewiſe he often ſlept in Armour, that he might be ready upon all ſervices, and to that end by night the entrance to him was always open to his Friends, being by this means free to be called at all ſeaſons. *Audax*, and the Conſorts of his villany, obſerving his firſt lying down, as if they had ſome earneſt buſineſs, went into his Tent, and wounding him in his Throat, for that part only of his Body was naked, ſlew him as he lay; then without any noiſe, no one thinking they had given him his deadly wound, they went out and fled to *Cepio*, and demanded their reward. He only granted them the enjoyment of what then they had, and referred them to the Senate for rewards. The Day coming on, *Viriatus* Clients, and indeed the whole Army thinking him ſtill at reſt, wondered what ſhould make him ſleep more than ordinary, till ſome going in, let them underſtand he lay ſlain in his Arms. Then preſently a general lamentation and mourning was heard throughout the whole Camp, all afflicting themſelves for his death; and beginning to be doubtful of their own ſafety, for ſo they reputed themſelves, having loſt a General, who had been converſant in, and had freed them from ſo many dangers. But that which moſt of all tormented them was, that they could not find the Authors of this Villany. Therefore covering the Body with moſt magnificent Habits, they burnt it upon a very high Pile, then Horſe and Foot marching in Troops, and Companies round about in Arms, after a barbarous manner, celebrated *Viriatus* Memory; nor departed they from the Pile, till the fire of it ſelf went out. The Funeral Rites performed, they ſet forth rewards for *Gladiators*. So great a deſire of him did *Viriatus* leave behind him, a man (as among the Barbarians) moſt worthy of Command, behind none in encountring dangers, and the moſt exact man living in dividing the Prey, for he never took nor offered his friends more than their ſhare, and himſelf diſtributed it to the Valiant, whereof this was the conſequence (which is very rare, and I know not whether ever it happened to any other General) that though he had an Army compoſed of many divers Nations; yet in eight years, which he waged War, no Mutiny every happened amongſt them, but he had always his Soldiers in a ready obedience, and forward in the encountring of danger. Having created *Tantalus* General in the room of *Viriatus*, they undertook the Expedition againſt *Saguntum*. This City *Hannibal* having ſubverſed, reſtored, and from his Countries name, called *Carthagena*. The Spaniards repulſed thence, as they croſſed over the River *Bætis*, *Cepio* following preſſed ſo hard upon them, that *Tantalus* diſtruſting his Affairs, delivered up himſelf and his Army, upon Condition they ſhould be treated no worſe than Subjects. So being diſarmed, that they might no more live like Thieves, they had ſufficient Lands ſet out to them: And thus ended the Viriatick War.

Now let us return to the War with the *Vaccæi*, or Numantines, whom *Viriatus* had engaged to a revolt, *Cæcilius Metellus* ſent againſt theſe with larger Forces, terrified and oppreſſed by his Expedition (for in the height of their fear, he ſet upon them unawares) they were ſoon reduced. XX.

There remained only two Towns, *Termantia* and *Numantia*, of which the latter, by reaſon of its being ſurrounded, as it were, with two Rivers, Valleys and extreme thick Woods, was of very difficult approach, there was only one way to it by the Plain, and that fortified with Ditches and Turn-pikes. The Numantines themſelves excellent Soldiers, both on Horſeback and Foot, but not more than eight thouſand, with which number, though ſmall, yet by reaſon of their ſignal Valour, they for a long time vexed and tired the Romans. But Winter being paſt, *Metellus* delivered over the Army admirably well exerciſed to *Q. Pompeius Aulus*, being then thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. *Pompey* raiſing his Camp from *Numantia*, whither to go I know not; the Numantines making a Sally, oppreſſed ſome of his ſtragling Horſe, whereupon he returning, drew up his Army in the Plain; the Numantines half flying, by little and little retreated. At length *Pompey* ſeeing, that by reaſon of the difficulties of the Turn-pikes, and Ditches, and the continual Execution of light armed Numantines, his Army began to diminiſh, and waſte inſenſibly, removed his Camp to *Termantia*, where he thought there was leſs to do. Here likewiſe engaging with the Enemy, he loſt ſeven hundred Soldiers, and the Military Tribunes bringing Proviſions to the Camp, were by the Numantines put flight, the ſame day in a third conflict, many Roman Footmen and Horſemen, with their Horſes being driven into rough and craggy places, the reſt ſtood in Arms all night without any ſleep, then at break of day the Enemy ſallying out, they fought all day with equal Fortune till night coming on parted them. Thence *Pompey* marched towards a little Town, called *Malia*, held by a Garriſon of the Numantines. The Malians having by treachery ſlain the Garriſon, delivered the Town to *Pompey*, who diſarming them, and taking their Hoſtages, he marched to *Sedetania*, to deliver thoſe people from the robberies of *Tanginus*, a Captain of Thieves, him he overcame, and took many of his people, but ſo much gallantry of Spirit was found among Thieves, that none of the Captains would ſubmit to ſlavery, but ſome ſlew themſelves, others, thoſe that bought, and ſome ſunk the Ships, in which they were tranſported: *Pompey* returning to the Siege of *Numantia*, endeavoured to divert the courſe of a certain River, that ſo he might ſubdue the City by Famine; the Inhabitants making a ſilent Sally without Trumpets, hindred the work, and forcing the River upon thoſe would have turned its courſe, effectually did their buſineſs, repulſing all that came without their Lines; and in ſhort, confining the Romans to their Tents, whom again engaging as they went out to Forrage, they ſlew many, and among others *Oppius*, a Tribune of the Soldiers. And another party of the Romans being throwing up a certain Ditch, they ſet upon them, and ſlew forty with their Over-ſeer. About the ſame time came certain Counſellors from *Rome*, and a freſh Army of new raiſed men, who the old being diſmiſſed (for they had ſerved ſix years in this War) ſupplyed their places. *Pompey* aſhamed of ſo many defeats, deſirous to waſh away the ſtain, lay all Winter in his Tents. The Soldiers thus quartered under the open Firmament, in a bitter cold Seaſon, and having never before experieneed inclemency of Air and Water, fell into Fluxes, of which ſeveral dyed. And another part going out to Forrage, the Numantines having laid an Ambuſh cloſe to the Roman Camp, provoked the Romans to skirmiſh, who not enduring to be dared, threw themſelves without the Lines. Then thoſe in Ambuſh ſuddenly riſing, many both of the Commons and Nobility fell, and the Forragers coming in at the ſame time, they laid a

good

good parcel of them on the ground. *Pompey* grieved at ſo many loſſes, retreats with his Counſellors into Towns, there to paſs away the reſt of the Winter, till his Succeſſor expected with the firſt of the Spring came: but fearing to be called to account for the ill management of the War, he had ſome private Conferences with the Numantines about putting an end to it: The Numantines being themſelves broken by the death of many gallant Men, by their Fields lying fallow, by want of Proviſion, and the unexpected durance of the War, were eaſily perſwaded to ſend Agents to *Pompey* to treat of Peace. He indeed publickly adviſed them to ſubmit themſelves to the Romans diſcretion, (nor could he contrive any other Conditions Honourable for the Roman People) but privately he taught them what was to be done; when they were come to terms, and they had yielded to the Romans, he demanded Hoſtages, Captives and Runaways, and had them delivered, and of thirty Talents of Silver, which was agreed to be paid, the Numantines counted part to him, and part he was to give time for. But it happened that when they had got together the reſt of the Money, and brought it to *Pompey*, his Succeſſor *M. Popilius Læna* was come. Wherefore being no more in fear of War now, he had one to ſucceed him, knowing well that he had made a diſhonourable Peace, and that without any Orders from the People, he began to deny he had any dealings with the Numantines; but they by the Teſtimony of many Senators, Commanders of Horſe, and Military Tribunes, eaſily convinced him. *Popilius* referred them to *Rome*, there to come to a Trial with *Pompey*; the report being made to the Senate, they left *Pompey* and the Numantines to conteſt with each other. Mean while the Senate gave Orders to continue the War, and *Popilius* having done nothing elſe (till the coming of his Succeſſor *Attilius Mancinus*) ſave leading the Army into the Territory of the Luſones, neighbours to the Numantines, returned to *Rome*. *Mancinus* often engaging with the Numantines, was always overcome; at length, with the loſs of many, flying into his Camp, upon a falſe rumour caſt abroad, that the *Cantabri* and *Vaccæi* were coming to the relief of the Numantines; growing fearful in the dead of the night (all which he had ſpent without any Fires) flees into a Deſert place, where once was a Trench of *Nobilior*'s, in which place, neither prepared nor fortified, being incloſed by break of day by the Numantines, ſtanding round about, and threatning death to all, unleſs he made Peace, he granted Conditions equal to the Numantines and Romans, and bound himſelf to the performance, which when it was brought to *Rome*, all men were exceedingly enraged at ſo baſe and ignominious a League, and ſent one of the Conſuls, *Æmilius Lepidus* into *Spain*, recalling *Mancinus* (whom likewiſe the Numantine Legates followed) to ſhow reaſons for his Conduct. *Æmilius* while he ſtays for an anſwer from the City, impatient of idleneſs, (for in theſe times men ſought not after Command for the Publick good, but either out of ambition of Glory, or private gains, or hopes of the Honour of Triumph) he falſly accuſed the *Vaccæi*, that in this War they had ſupplyed the Numantines with Proviſions. Whereupon he ſpoiled their Country, and laid Siege to *Palantia* their chief City, which had not in the leaſt title violated their Covenants. Calling to him, and joyning with him in this work, *Brutus* his Son-in-Law, who, as we have before mentioned, was ſent into the other part of *Spain*. To them *Cinna* and *Cæcilius* coming Legates from *Rome*, declared that the Senate was doubtful, whether after ſo many loſſes it was convenient for *Æmilius* to engage in a new War, and to that end

they produced a Decree of the Senate, whereby *Æmilius* was forewarned not to make War with the *Vaccæi*. But he having already begun the War, thinking the Senate were ignorant of many things, as firſt, that he had joyned Forces with *Brutus*, then that the *Vaccæi* had aſſiſted the Numantines with Men, Money and Proviſion, beſides his retreat now might make a ſtrange alteration in Affairs, there being danger, leſt thereupon the Enemy contemning the Romans as fearful, all *Spain* ſhould rebel. So *Cinna* returned without doing any thing, only wrote thus much to *Rome*. After theſe things, *Æmilius* took care in a well-fortified place, to cauſe Machines to be built, and to lay in ſtores of Corn. *Flaccus*, who was for that year Commiſſary General of Proviſions, as he brought Victuals to the Camp, fell into a manifeſt Ambuſh, from whence he freed himſelf by this cunning, he ſpread a rumour among the Soldiers, that *Æmilius* had taken *Palantia*; at the news of which his party beginning to ſhout and rejoyce, the Barbarians hearing them, and believing it to be ſo indeed, of their own accord drew off: by this policy *Flaccus* ſaved his Proviſion from the Enemy. But the Siege of *Palantia* being ſtill prolonged, and food failing, Famine began ſorely to afflict the Romans, for not only all the Cattel, but many men died. Indeed the Generals, *Æmilius* and *Brutus* long bore out againſt theſe misfortunes, bravely and conſtantly; but at length compelled to yield to them, about the laſt watch of the night, they gave Orders to Diſcamp; and the Military Tribunes and Primipiles running up and down, urged every one to get ready to march by the firſt Light, ſo that doing all things in a hurry, they forſook their ſick and wounded men, hanging upon them, and beſeeching them not to betray them: In ſuch confuſion they marched away, that it could only be ſaid, they did not flee; the Palantines ſeveral times falling on them, and keeping cloſe up to them from morning till it was night, and doing them much detriment. As ſoon as it was dark, the Romans ſpent by hunger and travel, diſperſed themſelves by Companies about the Fields, and the Palantines, ſome Deity turning them back, went home. The Romans, for this ill management, depriving *Æmilius* of his Conſulate and Command, fined him beſides in a ſum of Money. The cauſe likewiſe between *Mancinus*, and the Numantine Legates was heard in Senate; theſe alledging their League with *Mancinus*, he transferring the fault upon *Pompey*, the former General, who had delivered over to him a vicious and unwarlike Army, which was therefore often overcome, and that he himſelf had likewiſe made Peace with the Numantines; he likewiſe added, that it was no wonder, if this War had no good ſucceſs, which they had againſt all Juſtice decreed. Though the Fathers were equally angry with them both, yet *Pompey*, againſt whom there had been a former ſentence given, came off: But *Mancinus*, for being Author of ſo baſe a Peace without their Orders, they condemned to be delivered up to the Numantines, after the Example of thoſe Fathers, who once gave up naked to the Samnites twenty Generals, who without their Command had concluded a League. *Mancinus* being brought to *Spain*, was by *Furius*, in like manner, yielded up naked to the Numantines, but they refuſed to accept him. Againſt them *Calphurnius Piſo* was next choſen General, who brought not his Army againſt *Numantia*; but entring the confines of the Palantines, returned thence with an inconſiderable booty, and the reſt of the time of his Government, ſpent in Winters Quarters in *Capertania*.

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The People of *Rome* offended at this Numantine War, which in all Mens judgement was yet like to be more tedious, and difficult, decreed the other Conſulate to *Cornelius Scipio* newly come from *Carthage*, for they believed him the only Man by whom the Numantines could be ſubdued. But being under the Conſulary Age, appointed by the Law made in the Carthaginian War, by the Tribunes of the People, they now repealed that Law, and the next year again confirmed it. Thus *Scipio* being again declared Conſul haſtned to *Numantia* with no Army, the City Forces being waſted by ſo many Wars, and there being ſtrength enough in *Spain*. Yet by the Senates permiſſion he carried ſome Voluntiers from other Cities, and Kings, who out of particular Friendſhip went with him, to whom he added about five hundred Clients and Friends out of the City, whom liſting in one Band he called φίλων ἴλω, that is, the Band of Friends, all theſe amounting to about four thouſand he committed to the leading of *Buteo* his Nephew, he himſelf ſlenderly accompanied went before to the Army in *Spain*, whom he was informed were debauched with all manner of Idleneſs, Diſcord and Luxury. Wherefore knowing well enough he could never overcome his Enemies, unleſs he firſt throughly purged and ſuppreſſed the Vices of his Army, as ſoon as he came to the Camp, he thought nothing more fitting then to expel thence all Huckſters, Whores, and Southſaying Prieſts, to which laſt the Soldiers, diſmayed with ſo many unfortunate Engagements, were but too much addicted, forbidding for the future, the bringing any thing not abſolutely neceſſary into the Camp, and ſtrictly prohibiting all Sacrifices for Divination, ſending away all Waggons of uſeleſs Baggage, and all Cattle, but ſuch as they could by no means be without. Nor was any one to have more Utenſils for dreſſing meat then a Spit, a Braſs Pot, and one Cup. Meats likewiſe were preſcribed Boild and Roaſted, Beds forbidden, and for Example himſelf firſt lay in a Hamock, he forbid the Riding upon Mules upon a March, for what hopes was there of their ſervice in War who could not walk on Foot; he likewiſe reproved thoſe had ſervants to anoint and bath them, jeſtingly telling them that Mules which had no hands wanted others to ſcrub and ſcratch them: by theſe means he reclaimed them all to temperance. He accuſtomed them likewiſe to a Fear and Reverence of his Perſon, making the acceſs to him, difficult in any unjuſt Petitions, having always theſe ſayings in his mouth, *That thoſe Generals who were ſtrict and ſevere obſervers of Laws, were ſerviceable to their friends, but thoſe who were eaſie and greedy of gain, only profitable to their enemies. That the Armies of theſe might indeed be more merry, but ignorant of order and obedience; but thoſe more grave, and withal more dutiful and ready upon all occaſion of ſervice.* Nor would he at all engage the Enemy till he had firſt exceriſed his Soldiers in a thouſand ſundry labors, daily removing about the Country, he cauſed to be fortified new Camps, and then demoliſhed them, deep ditches to be dug, and then filled up, mighty Walls to be Built, and then pulled down again, himſelf from Morning till Evening, going about and overſeeing what was done. And that none upon a march (as had formerly been uſed) might ſtraggle from the Army, he alway drew up in a ſquare body, and when it moved, kept himſelf in continual motion from Front to Rear, nor was it lawful for any to ſhift the place aſſigned him by the General. In the midſt, as in the moſt proper place, he poſted the ſick and weak, commanding the Horſemen to diſmount, and ſet them upon their Horſes: the beaſts of burthen that were heavieſt laden he divided among the Foot: And where he intended to lodge thoſe

XXI.

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deſigned for the guard of the Lines that night he commanded to ſtay without at their Arms, and kept a party of Horſe ſcouting abroad for diſcovery, but to the reſt of the Soldiers he appointed every one their task, theſe to dig in the Trench, thoſe to raiſe the Rampire, and others to pitch the Tents, and ſet a certain and definitive ſpace of time, in which every thing was to be done. And when he had brought his Army into a due poſture of obedience, and made them patient of labor, then he removed his Camp nearer to *Numantia*. Where, according as ſome had uſed to do, he poſted them not in Caſtles, for he would not preſently divide his Army, nor run the hazard of a loſs at firſt, thereby to make them run more into Contempt, with the Enemy, who contemned them enough already. Nor did he think it convenient to engage them in Battel, till he ſaw both good reaſon and opportunity for the doing it, and had throughly ſearched into the Numantines Counſels and Deſigns. In the mean time he waſted all the fields behind his Camp, and from thence fetcht in all his Forrage and cut down the ſtanding Corn, which done, and that he was in a readineſs to proceed farther, his Friends adviſing him, that by a nearer way through the Field he might go forward to *Numantia*, *but I*, ſaid he, *fear my return, the Enemy naked, and nimble Sallying out of the City have again into the City a retreat, but ours returning from forrage are laden with prey, and tyred, beſides they bring with them Loaden Cattle, Carriages and Baggage; and that would be a hard and unequal fight, where being overcome they muſt run much danger and being Victorious yet, but little praiſe or profit, it being the height of madneſs to run into danger, for things of no moment. Nor was he worth the Name of a General, who unleſs compelled would throw the Dice of War, but he on the contrary who when neceſſity required and opportunity offered, would undantedly throw himſelf upon all dangers*; Adding hereunto this ſimilitude, *that Chirurgions uſed not to inciſe or cauterize before they applyed Medicaments*. Theſe things ſaid, he Commanded his Colonels to lead the Army the farther way about, then making ſome Excurſions beyond the Camp, he came among the *Vaccæi*, from whom the Numantines bought their Proviſions, there preying upon all whatever was uſeful for the ſubſiſtence of the Camp, they gathered and brought away, the reſt heaped together and burnt. In the Country of the Palantines was a place called *Caplanium*; there the *Palatini*, upon a certain hill laid Ambuſh, and with another party openly provoked *Scipio*'s Forragers. *Scipio* Commands *Rutilius Rufus*, who was then Military Tribune (and hath likewiſe writ a Hiſtory of theſe things) that taking four Troops of Horſe he ſhould break the Enemies charge. *Rufus*, they giving ground, preſſed on too immoderately, ſo that mixing with the flyers, they were got together to the hill, where when he diſcovered the Ambuſh, he gave advice to his Horſemen not to think of following or preſſing forward, but keeping their ground and order with their Lances at full length to keep off the Enemy: But *Scipio* who yet a great way off, had perceived that *Rufus* had already run beyond his Orders, ſollicitous of the event, immediately followed and found himſelf likewiſe taken in the ſnare; wherefore he commanded they ſhould both ways charge the Enemy, and having thrown their Javelins, make their retreat not all in a huddle, but by degrees and keeping their Ranks, and by this means he brought his Horſe off ſafely into the plain. Afterwards knowing for certain that near the paſſage of a River whoſe Ford was troubleſome and Muddy they had laid another trap for him, he drew off, by a way farther indeed about, but not ſo fit for Ambuſhes. And becauſe of the heat of the weather marching by night,

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ſinking ſeveral Wells, he found the waters of many of them bitter, ſo that thence though very hardly the Men got ſafely off, but ſome of the Horſes and Cattel died with thirſt. As he paſſed through the Country of the *Caucæi*, whom *Lucullus* had with ſo much treachery abuſed, he cauſed Proclamation to be made that the *Caucæi* might with all ſafety return to their habitations, thence he went and wintred on the Confines of the Numantines, whither *Jugurtha* Nephew to *Maſſaniſſa* came to him out of *Africa* with twelve Elephants, fitted with Archers and Slingers to gaul the Enemy in Front. In theſe places by frequent incurſions, waſting and forraging the Country the Enemy laid cloſe Ambuſh for him. The conveniency of the place prompted them to the deſign. There was a Town almoſt quite encompaſſed round with a ſlimy Marſh, but only on one ſide where there was a Valley, and in that Valley the Ambuſh lay hid; *Scipio's* Soldiers were ſo divided that part entred the Town, began to Plunder, others kept about on horſe back, whom thoſe from the Ambuſh riſing upon eaſily routed. *Scipio* who by chance ſtood without the Village near the Colours, commanded back by ſound of Trumpet thoſe got into the houſes, and firſt with about a thouſand running in to the relief of the baggage horſes, and many out of the Town coming to joyn with him, he forced the Enemy to turn their backs but not following at all the chaſe, retreated himſelf into his Trenches with the loſs but of few on both ſides.

Not long after having pitched two Camps near *Numantia* (one of which he committed to the care of his brother *Maximus*, and the other commanded himſelf) when the Numantines drawing out, often provoked the Romans to fight, he ſcorned and laughed at them, ſaying, it would redound much to his diſhonor if he ſhould chuſe rather to fight then reduce by famine men made furious by utter deſpair, therefore to beſiege them the cloſer he drew ſeven Ditches round the City, and ſent Letters to his Friends ſignifying how many and what forces they ſhould ſend to him, which when they came he divided into ſeveral parts, and ſoon after divided his whole Forces into ſeveral bodies, appointing each their Leaders, and Commanding them to incloſe the City with a Trench and Palliſadoes. The Circuit of *Numantia* was twenty four Furlongs, but that of his Trench above twice as much. Now every party had their diſtinct work ſet out to them, with orders that if the Enemy made any onſet, they ſhould give the ſignal by day a red cloth hanging on a long ſpear, and by night fire, that forthwith he or *Maximus* his brother might run in to their help. The work being brought to that forwardneſs that if the Enemy attempted any thing they might repulſe him, he dug another ditch without that, and faſtning thereon Paliſadoes, built a Wall eight foot thick, and ten foot high below the battlements round which he raiſed Towers, at one hundred and twenty foot diſtance from each other, and becauſe he could not run the Wall over the marſh, he threw up a bank in height and breadth equal to it, which ſerved inſtead of a Wall, and *Scipio* is in my Judgment, the firſt that ever begirt a City, not refuſing to fight him, with a Wall. But beſides all this the River *Durius* running through his Fortifications was very convenient for the Townſmen, as well to bring them what they wanted, as for the tranſporting of Men, whether by ſwimming, or in little Boats, in which they privately ſtole by the Romans, either with Sails, the wind blowing freſh; or which Oars down the Stream. When therefore by reaſon of the larg-

XXII.

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neſs and violence of the Waters no way could be found to make a Bridge over, inſtead thereof he built two Caſtles, from which he drew over * Beams of Timber faſtned together with Cordage, quite athwart the River, there were likewiſe very thick upon the Timbers, faſtned very ſharp Irons like Spear-heads, which moved about by the force of the Water ſuffered none to paſs, who either by Swimming or Diving, or Boat had deſign to deceive the Enemy: For it was *Scipio*'s chief deſire that none coming to them from abroad they might be ignorant of all was done, and want both intelligence and ſupplies. After all the works were perfected, and the Catapults, Croſsbows and other Engins raiſed upon the Towers and the Bulwarks, well ſtored with Stones, Darts and Javelins, and the Archers and Slingers placed in the Towers, he diſpoſed meſſengers quite round the Lines, who taking the word from one another might give it about, as any thing hapned, he gave order likewiſe, that the firſt Tower that was aſſaulted by the Enemy ſhould firſt ſhow their Colours, and then others by the ſame Example do the like, that by the moving of this ſign, and the word going about by the meſſengers he might know the certain cauſe of every thing; Then Muſtring his forces and finding he had ſixty thouſand men, he ſo divided them, that one half had charge of the guard of the wall, and if need were might be ready for other ſervice, twenty thouſand upon occaſion to fight for the wall, and ten thouſand for their reſerve, who had likewiſe their poſt aſſigned them; but none without the Generals Command was to change his Poſt, ſo that upon any ſignal given, every man was ready at his ſtand: with ſo much diligence did *Scipio* order all things. In the mean time the Numantines made ſeveral aſſaults upon the guards of the Wall, but then immediately, not without horror, they beheld aſſiſtance come from all parts, the ſignals made, the meſſengers running, thoſe appointed for defence of the Walls leaping up, the Trumpets from the Towers ſounding a charge, ſo that in an inſtant, all that whole circuit of fifty furlongs was put into a formidable poſture. The whole round of which *Scipio* continually went both day and night believing his Enemies thus incloſed and wanting both Proviſions, Arms and Men, could not very long make oppoſition. In the mean time *Retogenes* a moſt valiant Numantine, whoſe Surname was *Cauraunius*, taking with him five friends whom he had wrought his parties in the enterpriſe, as many ſervants, and a like number of Horſes in a cloudy and very dark night paſſing cloſely over the ſpace between the Town and the Trenches, with a little Bridge to be ſet together, that he brought with him, gets with his friends upon the Enemies Works, and having ſlain the Sentinels, drew over the Horſes by the ſame Bridge, and ſending back the ſervants, they forthwith diſperſed themſelves among the Towns of the *Arvacci*, and in the manner of ſuppliants with Olive-branches in their hands, beſought them to aſſiſt their kinsfolks the Numantines; but many out of fear of the Romans, without hearing them commanded them to depart their Territories. But the youth of *Lutia* (a rich Town about three hundred furlongs diſtant from *Numantia*) pittying the Numantines condition, urged their City to ſend them aid, whereof *Scipio* having certain intelligence from the Seniors of the City, taking with him a nimble party, in eight hours time flies to *Lutia*, and by break of day begirting the City commanded the heads and ringleaders of the youth to be delivered up to him, and when they made anſwer, that they were broken out and fled, threatned by a Herald to Sack the City unleſs they were delivered up, wherewith terrified they brought out about forty to him, whoſe hands having cut off he march-

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* Scipio's Boom.

ed away with his Forces, and by the next morning again recovered his Camp.

XXIII. Hereupon the Numantines oppreſſed with hunger, ſent five men to *Scipio*, to try whether if they yielded, they might be received with favour and clemency; the chief of this Deputation called *Avarus*, began to diſcourſe in a brave and lofty manner, of the Inſtitutions and Valour of the Numantines; adding, they had not been guilty of any delinquency, ſince only for their Wives and Childrens ſakes, and the Liberty of their Country, they were fallen into theſe miſeries. *Wherefore it would be an action worthy thee, O* Scipio (ſaid he) *who art famed for a man of admirable generoſity, to ſpare a brave and worthy people like ours, and not impoſe harder Conditions than humanity is able to bear on men, who ſadly experienced the change of Fortune; for it is no more in our powers, but thine, by propoſing moderate Conditions to ſave our City, by accepting our ſurrender, or elſe by fighting to ſuffer us utterly to periſh.* *Avarus* having thus ſpoken, *Scipio* (before well aſſured of the Cities diſtreſs by the Captives) made no other anſwer, but that they muſt deliver up the City and their Arms; which being told to the Numantines, the Citizens already enough enraged (as men that were reſolute to enjoy their Liberty, and ſubmit to no others Empire) now by theſe provoking miſeries made more violent and fierce, ſlew *Avarus*, and his fellow Deputies, as the Meſſengers of ill News, and perhaps, as ſuſpecting them to have made ſome private bargain for their own ſafety. Not long after all manner of food being ſpent, and neither Corn, nor Cattel, nor Herbs left, firſt (as in cloſe ſieges has often happened) they fed upon boiled Hides; which being likewiſe conſumed, they minced ſmall the fleſh of dying men, and devoured it, but their ſtomach ſoon loathing the fleſh of theſe ſick men, the ſtronger began to lay hands upon the weaker. In ſhort, there was no miſery to be imagined which they did not endure; their minds made fierce and bloody by this food, and their bodies oppreſſed with hunger and plague; having long time neglected themſelves, they grew rough and ſhaggy, and in all points reſembled wild Beaſts. In this lamentable condition they delivered themſelves up to *Scipio*; by whoſe Command they one day brought all their Arms into one place, and were appointed on the next day to aſſemble themſelves in another; but they thought that day long; many yet out of deſire of Liberty, profeſſing they wiſhed for death, and on that day only asking for ſome kind of death to be appointed them; ſo much Love of Liberty was there in a ſmall and a barbarous City; for when before the War they were but eight thouſand, with how frequent ſlaughters did they afflict the Romans? How often upon good terms did they enter into Leagues, which the Romans would not afterwards ratifie or maintain? How often did they provoke to Battel this laſt Roman General, beſieging them with threeſcore thouſand men? But he had ſo much knowledge in Military Affairs, that he would not engage in fight with wild Beaſts, but choſe rather to reduce them by Famine, the only way to tame thoſe creatures, and by which they at laſt were tamed and broken. Wherefore when I conſidered, that the Numantines with ſo few Soldiers, ſo conſtantly held out ſo laſting a Siege, I thought it would have been a crime to have paſt by the particulars of it in ſilence. Surrendry being therefore made, many of them ſlew themſelves in what manner they beſt thought fit; the reſt aſſembled on the third day in the place appointed, with Bodies like Carcaſes, a bruitiſh kind of Countenance, their Bodies covered with filth and

naſtineſs, their Hair ſhaggy, their Garments foul, tattered and loathſomely ſtinking; ſo that in that condition they appeared miſerable to their very Enemies, though the ſick ſtruck horror into all that looked upon them; for with anger, grief and labour, and a mutual conſciouſneſs of having fed on Humane Fleſh, their very Eyes looked fiery and bloody. Fifty of them only reſerved for his Triumph, *Scipio* ſold the reſt under the yoke. The Town he levelled with the ground. Thus this Roman General ſubverted two famous Cities. *Carthage* by Decree of the Senate (leſt the power and ſtrength of the City and Empire, and conveniency of its Situation, ſhould invite them to War) and *Numantia*, a ſmall one, and not very populous, without ſo much as the peoples knowledge; whether he believed it the ſenſe of the Commonwealth, whether out of a ſudden rage and anger againſt thoſe people; or rather (as many think) to gain himſelf two Illuſtrious Sirnames from the ruines of the two Cities; for even to this day the Romans call him, the African and the Numantine, from the deſtruction and ruine of thoſe two Cities. Having divided the Lands of the Numantines among the Neighbours, and gone a progreſs through the other Cities to adminiſter Juſtice, and threatned or fined thoſe which had any way been their Aſſociates, he returned home.

XXIV. The Romans according to Cuſtom ſent ten Senators to thoſe people, whom either *Scipio* now, or *Brutus* before, had ſubdued either by ſurrendry, or force of Arms, to eſtabliſh Order, and ſettle all Affairs in Peace. In ſucceeding times, new ſtirs ariſing, *Calphurnius Piſo* was ſent thither General, whom *Servilius Galba* ſucceeded. But when *Italy* was oppreſſed with the Cimbrian War, and *Sicily* again with that of the Slaves; they ſent no Forces into *Spain*, but only Lieutenants, who as far as they were able, kept all things in quiet. The Cimbrians being driven out of *Italy*, *T. Didius* coming thither, ſlew twenty thouſand of the *Vaccæi*, and tranſplanted the Town of *Tremiſum*, always unfaithful to the Romans, from a ſtrong ſituation unto the Plain, commanding the Inhabitants to live without any Fortifications. Then after ſeven Months Siege he took the City *Colenda* by ſurrendry, and ſold all the Citizens with their Wives and Children. Not far from *Colenda* dwelt a mixture of ſeveral people of the Celtiberians, whom *Marius*, five years before, when he had made uſe of them againſt the Luſitanians, had by conſent of the Senate there appointed Habitations. Theſe through want, living on thievery, *Didius*, by conſent of the ten Commiſſioners, who were not yet gone, approved the ſettlement and ſignified to their Leaders, that he would to thoſe wanted, aſſign the Lands of the Inhabitants of *Colenda*, which propoſition they eagerly accepting, he preſently commanded them with their Wives and Children to come to the diviſion of the Land: when they were come, he commanded his Soldiers to come out of his Camp, and them to go in, the men apart from the Women and Children, for that he would take a Roll of their Names, to compute how much Land was to be divided. They being all gone within the Lines; the Soldiers ſurrounding them, put them all to the Sword, for which things he likewiſe triumphed. The Celtiberians again rebelling: *Flaccus* was ſent againſt them, who with the ſlaughter of twenty thouſand ſuppreſſed them. But in the City of *Belgeda*, the people inclining to a defection, and the Senate demurring upon it, and refuſing, the people burnt them all in their Seats, of which Villany, *Flaccus* at his coming finding out the Authors puniſhed them. Theſe are the Actions of the Romans againſt the Spaniards, which I have found moſt worthy of Memory.

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In latter time when *Sylla* and *Cinna*, being at variance raiſed Arms and conſpired againſt their Country, *Q. Sertorius* being of *Cinna*'s party and choſen General of *Spain*, ſtirred up that whole Province againſt the Romans, and having got together a mighty Army, and formed a kind of a Senate out of his Friends, with great courage and confidence was about to march towards the City. At which the Fathers terrified, they ſent two Excellent and famous Generals of their own order *Cæcilius Metellus*, with one ſtrong Army, and *Cn. Pompey* with another, to divert him from *Italy*; yet laboring for ſtrength after the late Civil War. But *Perpenna* one of *Sertorius* party ſlew him and made himſelf General of the Faction, who being by *Pompey* overcome in battel and ſlain, that War which had ſtruck a great terror among the Romans, was ended: but of this we have written more accurately in *Sylla*'s Civil Wars. After *Sylla*'s death, *C. Cæſar* was created General in *Spain* with power to make War as he ſhould think fit againſt any that ſeemed to ſtagger, or were never yet ſubdued to the Roman Power. After him *Octavius Cæſar* Son of *Caius*, Surnamed *Auguſtus*, reduced ſome people which had again rebelled, from which time the Romans (as I ſuppoſe) divided *Iberia* which they now call *Spain* into * three parts, ſending Prætors into each of them, two of which are nominated by the Senate, and the third appointed by the Emperor.

* Terraconenſis, Bœtica, Luſitania.

The end of the ſeventh Book of the Spaniſh War.

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Roman Wars
WITH
HANNIBAL.

PART I.

BOOK VIII.

The Argument of this Book.

I. *The occasion of this War briefly rehearsed.* II. Hannibal *passes the* Alpes, *takes* Turine, *twice defeats* Scipio, *slay's* Flaminius, *and destroys his whole Army.* III. Centenius *defeated by him: the City in great fear make* Fabius *Dictator.* IV. *The Battel at* Cannæ, Varro's *Cowardise.* V. *The Peoples fear after the defeat at* Cannæ: *The Senates Courage*

Courage, and Hannibal's *cruelty.* VI. *Several Roman Allies revolt to* Hannibal. Gracchus *the Proconsul slain.* VII. Capua *besieged by the Romans.* Hannibal *to divert that Siege, marches directly to* Rome, *the Cities fears: Nevertheless he returns, having only viewed it.* VIII. Hannibal's *Stratagem defeated by* Claudius, Capua *taken by the Romans.* IX. Titia *taken and recovered*: Salatia *revolts from* Hannibal. X. *The Consuls* Fulvius *and* Marcellus *slain; yet* Hannibal's *Affairs grow worse and worse.* XI. Asdrubal, Hannibal's *brother, with the Army he brought out of* Spain *totally routed.* XII. Hannibal *quitting all the rest of* Italy, *retires among the Brutians, and in vain expects aid from* Carthage. XII. Scipio *sails with an Army into* Africa: *several of the Brutians fall off from* Hannibal. XIII. *He is recalled home, his cruelty at his departure, and the end of this War.*

NOw what was done by *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, when out of *Spain* he led his Forces into *Italy*, during the full sixteen years that he there continued in Arms, acting, and in his turn suffering all the extremities of War; till by his fellow Citizens (his own Country being in jeopardy) he was recalled, and by the Romans driven out of *Italy*, shall be the Subject of this Book; and though the causes, both of the breaking out, and of the carrying on this War into *Italy*, as well what in reality they were, as what was openly pretended, be in the Spanish History most accurately declared; yet it will not be amiss for the refreshing the Readers Memory, to make some short rehearsal. *Amilcar*, sirnamed *Barcas*, Father of this *Hannibal*, in that War waged between the Romans and Carthaginians in *Sicily*, was General of the Carthaginian Forces; and being for his ill Conduct accused by his Enemies, and thereof doubtful, he so managed Affairs, that before rendring any account of his former charge, he was created General against the Numidians. In which War, because he much advanced the Commonwealth, and by Gifts and Rapines pleased that Army, he was first sent by the Carthaginian people to *Cadiz*, whence crossing over that Strait into *Spain*, by sending many rich Presents out of the Spoil of that Country into *Carthage*, he reconciled himself to the people, striving by all means to wipe off the Memory of the Sicilian Ignominy. At length having subdued many People, and got great Glory, he drew on the Carthaginians, with a hope and desire of possessing all *Spain*, as a thing easily effected; whereupon the Saguntines, and other Greeks, inhabiting *Spain*, sought for refuge to the Romans: Whereupon it was agreed between the Romans and Carthaginians, and ratified by Writings, that the Bounds of the Carthaginian Dominion should be the River *Iberus*. After which *Barcas* setling in *Spain* the Affairs of the subdued People, was in a certain Battel slain; and *Asdrubal*, the Son-in-Law of *Barcas*, substituted in his place, who being likewise (as he was hunting) killed by a Slave, whose Master he had put to death; the third from them, who for his skill in, and love of warlike Affairs, was chosen General by the Army; was this *Hannibal*, the Son of *Barcas*, and Brother to *Asdrubal*'s Wife, a young man indeed: but who had lived all his time with his Father or Brother-in-Law; and having now the Command given by the Soldiery, the Carthaginian people approved it; and so this *Hannibal*, of whom I am about to write, was declared General for the Carthaginians against the Spaniards; who perceiving his Fathers friends

exposed

expoſed to the deſigns and malice of their Enemies, who deſpiſing his Youth, began to ſet things on foot againſt them, not being ignorant, but their dangers would one day fall upon his own head. That out of the publick fear he might acquire and eſtabliſh freedom and ſecurity for himſelf; he deviſed how to embroil his Country in a War, and thinking none more fit for his purpoſe, more laſting, nor likely to be more for his Glory, than a War with the Romans; the very attempting which, though he ſucceeded ill, would get him no ſmall Renown (to omit the report ſpread abroad, that when a Boy, his Father made him ſwear at the Altar, never to be at peace with the Romans) he reſolved, notwithſtanding the League, to croſs over the *Iberus*, which he thus found occaſion to effect: He ſet on ſome to accuſe the Saguntines, and plied the Senate with frequent Letters; alledging that the Romans ſolicited all *Spain* to revolt; till at length he obtained leave to deal with the Saguntines, as he himſelf thought fit: ſo he croſſed the *Iberus*, and utterly raſed the City of the Saguntines. Thus were all the Leagues made between the Romans and Carthaginians, ſince the Sicilian War, utterly broken.

II. But what *Hannibal* and others, either Carthaginian or Roman Generals, did in *Spain*, the Spaniſh Hiſtory declares: He gathering together vaſt multitudes of Africans, Celtiberians, and many other Nations, delivering over *Spain* to his Brother *Aſdrubal*, and climbing over the Pyrenean Hills, came into *Celtica*, which is now called *Gallica*, leading with him ninety thouſand Footmen, twelve thouſand Horſe, and ſeven and thirty Elephants, and joyning to him ſome Gauls, partly gained by Gold, partly by Promiſes, and partly by Force, lead them along with him: whence proceeding on his March, when he came to the *Alpes*, though he ſaw no aſcent nor paſſage (for all before him ſeemed craggy and inacceſſible) yet with a ſtrange confidence of mind, which no labour could make bend, he ſetled himſelf to go forward; and finding all the paſſages ſtop'd with deep Snow, and Ice congealed together, thawing it by kindling mighty Fires, and quenching the Aſhes with Water and Vinegar, and then breaking the ſcorched and cleaving Rocks with Iron Hammers and Wedges, by little and little leſſened them, and opened himſelf a way, which to this day lyes ſo, and is called *Hannibals* paſſage. But when hunger began to afflict his Army, he with more ſpeed lead them on, whilſt none yet knew of his coming into *Italy*. After ſix Months ſpent after his departure from *Spain*, with great difficulty and the loſs of many men, he in the end got down from the Mountains into the Plain; where giving his Army ſome ſhort reſt, he went and took *Turine*, a City of the Gauls, which being gained by ſtorm, and the Captives (to ſtrike a terrour into the reſt of the Gauls) all ſlain, he marched his Army to the *Eridanus* (now called *Po*) whereabouts the Romans, at that time waged War againſt the Boian Gauls. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the Roman Conſul, then ſent to wage War againſt the Carthaginians in *Spain*, hearing of *Hannibal*'s being gone into *Italy*; leaving *Spain*, and the Command of that Army to his Brother *Cn. Scipio*, ſailed into * *Hetruria*; from whence making haſte, and gathering together all the force he could, he got to the *Po* before *Hannibal* paſſed it; and ſending *Manlius* and *Attilius*, who commanded in the War againſt the Boians to *Rome* (for the Conſuls being preſent, their Commiſſion was at an end) and joyning their Forces with his, drew up his Army to give Battel to *Hannibal*. The Fight being begun by the light armed Darters and Horſemen, the Romans circumvented by the Africans, fled

* Tuſcany.

to

to their Tents, and next night having firſt broke down the Bridge over the *Po*, retreated to *Placentia*, a place well fortified; but *Hannibal* making a new Bridge, brought his Army likewiſe over. Theſe brave Exploits, after his coming down from the *Alpes* into the Plain, ſtood him not in little ſtead among the Tranſalpine Gauls, who thought him an invincible Leader, and a man to all whoſe attempts Fortune ſhowed her ſelf favourable and propitious; which Renown to increaſe among theſe Barbarians already aſtoniſhed, with admiration of him, and therefore eaſily to be deceived; he often changed his Habit and Hair, which daily was by ſome new Artifice prepared and coloured, ſo that paſſing through their Country, he ſometimes appeared like an old, ſometimes like a young, and ſometimes like a middle aged man; ſo that ſeeing him continually varying from himſelf, they forthwith judged Divine Nature to be in him. *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, who was then in *Sicily*, having certain intelligence of theſe things, came to *Scipio* by Sea, and ſets down within forty Furlongs of his Colleague; and now all things were prepared for the next days Battel. Only the River *Trebia* ran between, which the Romans before it was light on a cold and mizling Winters Morning, paſſed over almoſt up to the breaſt in Water, whilſt *Hannibal* till the ſecond hour refreſhed his Solders in their Tents. The two Conſuls ſo drew up their Army, that they might be on the Wings, placing the ſtouteſt of their Foot in the main Body. *Hannibal* oppoſed his Elephants to the Horſe, and his Foot to the Phalanx, and commanded his Horſe to ſtand ſtill behind the Elephants, till he gave them the Signal. The Battels being joyned, the Roman Horſe affrighted with the ſight and ſmell of the Elephants, to which they were unaccuſtomed, diſperſed all abroad and fled; but the Foot, though ſtiff with cold, ſoaked in Water, and tired and broken with continual watchings, yet with couragious hearts flew upon thoſe Monſters, and cutting them croſs the Nerves, wounded them, and had doubtleſs put to flight his Foot, had not *Hannibal*, giving his Signal to his Horſemen, ſent them to flank the Enemy: For then the Roman Foot left naked by their Horſe, whom the terrour of the Elephants had ſcattered, and oppreſſed by multitudes, fearing to be incloſed by their Enemies, took a ſpeedy flight towards their Camp. Then were many of the Foot intercepted by the Horſe, and others that reached the River, (which was not a little ſwell'd with the Snow melted by the heat of the Sun) were ſwallowed in the Stream, the depth of the Water not giving them foothold, nor their heavy Armour ſuffering them to ſwim. *Scipio* following them, and ſtill encouraging his Soldiers, was very near ſlain, and deſperately wounded, brought with much difficulty to *Cremona*. Near *Placentia* was a little Caſtle, which *Hannibal* going to ſtorm, with the loſs of forty of his men, went off himſelf wounded. After which both Armies betook themſelves to Winter Quarters, *Scipio* in *Cremona* and *Palantia*, and *Hannibal* about the *Po*. The Romans hearing of this defeat given near the *Po* (for before *Hannibals* coming they had been worſted by the Boians) enrolled a new Army in the City, which accounting thoſe at the *Po*, compleated thirteen Legions, and twice as many they commanded from their Allies. Some of theſe they thought fit to ſend into *Spain*, ſome to *Sardinia* (for there they were at War too) and ſome into *Sicily* the greater part which were left behind the Conſuls *Cn. Servilius*, and *Flaminius* (who ſucceeded *Scipio* and *Sempronius*) led againſt *Hannibal*, and *Scipio* as Proconſul ſailed into *Spain*. *Flaminius* with thirty thouſand

ſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe had the Guard of *Italy*, within the *Appennine*, which alone is properly called *Italy*; for the *Appennine* from the middle of the *Alpes* ſtretches it ſelf to the Sea; on the right hand of which lyes that part, which is truly called *Italy*; that on the left hand towards the Ionian Sea now indeed is *Italy* (for *Hetruria* is now likewiſe *Italy*) but part of it towards the Ionian Sea Coaſts is inhabited by Greeks, and part by Gauls, who once making War upon the Romans, burnt the City; and whom *Camillus* purſuing to the *Appennine*; I am of the opinion, that croſſing thoſe Hills, they then ſeated themſelves upon the Ionian Sea, and made that their Country, whence part of that Region is to this day called the Italian Gaul. But to proceed, the Romans having now at the ſame time many powerful Armies in ſeveral places, *Hannibal* having thereof intelligence, very ſecretly upon the firſt approach of the Spring, entred *Hetruria*, waſting that whole Country, and drawing towards the City, ſtruck a mighty terrour in the Romans, who had now no Army there to oppoſe him; yet of thoſe that remained, they levyed eight thouſand men, whom for want of other Magiſtrates, they gave *Centenius* the Command of, a private man indeed, but of the Patritian Race, and ſent him into *Umbria* to the *Pleſtine* Marſh to guard that paſſage, which was the neareſt way to the City. In the mean time *Flaminius*, who with thirty thouſand men kept the interior *Italy*, hearing of *Hannibal*'s celerity; and being afraid of the City, forthwith removes his Camp; and giving his Army no reſt, being a man ignorant of Warlike Affairs; and who by pride and popular boaſting came to be choſen to this Command, by great journies haſtens towards *Hannibal*, with reſolution to fight him as ſoon as poſſible. *Hannibal*, who knew the mans furious temper, and unskilfulneſs in War, pitch'd his Tents behind a certain Mountain and Marſh, and hid all his Horſe and Light Armed Men in the Valley. In the Morning at break of day, *Flaminius* ſeeing the Enemies Tents, ſtayed there a ſmall while to refreſh his Army, and threw up a Trench; which done, he drew up his Army in Battel, before they had yet recovered ſtrength, after ſo much labour and watching: but when the Ambuſhes roſe upon them on all ſides, then penn'd in between the Mountains and the Lake, and on both ſides charged by their Enemies; the Conſul himſelf, and twenty thouſand with him were ſlain. The remaining ten thouſand, who had fled to a certain Village, fortified by Nature, *Maharbal*, one of *Hannibal*'s Commanders, who had himſelf gained great Renown in War, ſeeing he could not eaſily vanquiſh them by force, and thinking it not prudence to engage with deſperate men, perſwaded them to lay down their Arms, engaging upon his Honour, they ſhould all have free leave to go whither they pleaſed. They having thereupon laid down their Arms, he carried them naked to *Hannibal*, who denying that *Maharbal* had any power without his Orders to promiſe any thing, ſuch of the Aſſociates as he found, he treated with all kindneſs, and diſmiſſed without any ranſom, by this Clemency, enticing and alluring the Cities to his party, but all the Romans he kept Priſoners. Among the Auxiliary Gauls, that by gain he might ſweeten them, he likewiſe divided part of the prey, and then began to march on.

III. The Fame of theſe things coming to *Servilius* the Conſul, who lay in his ſtanding Camp near the *Po*, he with forty thouſand men made haſte towards *Hetruria*. *Centenius* ſtill with his eight thouſand men kept his Poſt.

Poſt. *Hannibal* viewing the Pleſtine Marſh, and the Mountain hanging over it, and *Centenius* guarding the Paſſage, diligently enquired of the Chief of his Guards, if there were any way to go about the Mountain; and though they told him they were no way paſſible, but all was rough and craggy; yet he commanded *Maharbal*, with ſome Light Armed Men to fetch a compaſs about the Mountain, and about the ſame time that he conjectured he might have recovered the tops of the Hills, charged *Centenius* in Front; and whilſt they were diſputing it, *Maharbal* having ſtoutly recovered the tops of the Hills, with great ſhouts and clamour ſhows himſelf. Then the flight of the Romans, and the ſlaughter of them was great, three thouſand were ſlain, and eight hundred taken Priſoners, the reſt hardly eſcaping. The news of this ſlaughter being brought to *Rome*, they were in a dreadful fear leſt *Hannibal* ſhould now march directly to the City, wherefore they mann'd their Walls, and furniſhed them with Darts, and the Old Men armed, and for want of Arms, they took out of the Temples ſuch, as being taken in former Wars, had been there hung up for Trophies; and according to their Cuſtom in all extremities, they created *Fabius Maximus* Dictator. But *Hannibal*, God averting him, turned off toward the Ionian Sea, and waſting all their Coaſts, got a vaſt prey. *Servilius* the Conſul oppoſing himſelf to *Hannibal*, came to *Arminium*, and that he might keep thoſe Gauls, not yet alienated in their fidelity, ſtaid with his Army one days march from thence, till *Fabius* the Dictator coming, ſent *Servilius*, who after the creation of a Dictator, had no more power either as Conſul or General, to *Rome*; and himſelf followed *Hannibal* cloſe at the heels; but yet forbearing to engage him, though often provoked to it, thinking it enough, if warily watching him, he prevented him from beſieging any Towns. *Hannibal*, the whole Country being waſted, began to be in want, wherefore ranging it over once more, and for many days drawing up his Forces, he endeavoured to tempt *Fabius* to fight. But the Dictator made no ſhow of having any thoughts to engage him, though *Minutius Rufus*, General of his Horſe, diſallowed this proceeding, and wrote to his Friends at *Rome*, that *Fabius* through fear and cowardiſe declined Battel. But it happened that *Fabius* going to *Rome* to perform the uſual Sacrifices, *Minutius* fought a ſet Battel with *Hannibal*, wherein he ſeemed to have the better; whereupon grown more furious, he wrote to the Senate, accuſing *Fabius*, that he had no mind to overcome. The Senate at *Fabius* return to the Army, thereupon made the Power equal between the Dictator and Maſter of the Horſe: So they divided the Forces between them, and pitch'd their Camps apart, each ſtedfaſt in his own opinion. *Fabius*, that *Hannibal* was to be dealt with by temporizing, ſtill vexing him, and taking care that he did no miſchief. *Minutius*, that he was preſently to be fought with: But when he a while after engaging *Hannibal*, *Fabius*, who lay ſtill with his Forces, well foreſeeing what after hapned, received *Minutius*'s Soldiers put to flight and repulſed, *Hannibal* purſuing them, thereby ſecuring *Minutius* from a very great ſlaughter; and being nothing leſs kind to him, notwithſtanding all his falſe accuſations; then, I ſay, *Minutius* of his own accord condemning his own want of knowledge, reſigning his Command, delivered his part of the Army up to *Fabius*: Which paſſages *Auguſtus* in after times often remembred, who was himſelf wary of fighting, and choſe rather to prevail by Policy than Power. *Fabius* no leſs diligently than before watch'd *Hannibal*'s motions, hindring him from foraging;

raging; and though declining a general Engagement, ſtill falling upon all ſtragling parties, not doubting in a ſhort time to reduce *Hannibal* to want of Proviſions. Till both Armies drawing nigh to certain ſtraits, which *Hannibal* foreſaw not, *Fabius* ſent before four thouſand men, who forthwith poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſtraits, he himſelf pitch'd his Camp upon a certain Hill on the other ſide, where he lay ſecure. *Hannibal* ſeeing himſelf thus beſieged, being ſhut in one ſide by *Fabius*'s Army, and on the other by thoſe guarded the paſſes, was ſtruck with ſuch a violent fear, as he never had been before; for he could perceive no way of eſcape, all other places being craggy and inacceſſible: So that deſpairing how to get looſe from *Fabius*, being ſo cloſe block'd up, in this fear and trouble of mind, he cauſed five thouſand Priſoners (leſt taking the opportunity of this preſent danger, they might raiſe ſome Tumult and diſorder) to be killed in cold blood. Then he commanded Torches to be tyed to the Horns of all the Cattle he had in the Camp, whereof there were abundance; and the next night ſetting on flame the Torches, and putting out all other Fires in the Camp, committed it to the care of the ſtouteſt young men in his Army, to drive them up the craggy ways, between the ſtraits and *Fabius*'s Camp, with all the violence they could. The Oxen pricked forward by their Drivers, and ſcorched with the Flame of the Torches, run up with great fury among the Craggs and Precipices, and when any of them fell down, with greater violence they ſtrove to clamber up again. The Romans, who were on both ſides, when they ſaw a general ſilence and darkneſs in *Hannibal*'s Camp, and perceived many lights ſhining in ſeveral places among the Mountains, could not plainly, eſpecially being in the night, diſcover what the buſineſs ſhould be. *Fabius* indeed ſuſpected ſome device of *Hannibals*, but being certain of nothing, kept within his Trenches. But thoſe ſet for the Guard of the ſtraits, thinking (which was all he wiſhed they would do) that *Hannibal* fled, and was making his eſcape over the tops of the Mountains, ran to the places whither the lights guided them, imagining to oppreſs *Hannibal*'s men, labouring to get up. They were ſcarce moved from their Poſt, when *Hannibal* with deep ſilence, and without any light to keep the cloſer, runs in with his ſwifteſt men, and poſſeſſing himſelf of, and placing a good Guard in the ſtraits, by ſound of Trumpet gave notice thereof to the reſt; at the ſound of which the whole Camp anſwered them with acclamations, and forthwith blew up their Fires. Then the Romans knew the cheat; ſo the reſt of *Hannibal*'s Army, and thoſe that drove the Cattel, got ſafe to the paſſage; and he with his whole Army having thus beyond his own hopes got the Victory, and brought all his men ſafe off; he marched forward till he came to *Gerione*; a City of *Apulia*, ſtored with Corn, which making himſelf Maſter of, he ſpent the Winter in the midſt of plenty and abundance. *Fabius* with the ſame reſolutions and conſtancy ſtill following him, pitch'd his Camp within ten Furlongs of *Gerione*, the River *Aufidus* running between both Armies, but the ſix Months being expired (which is the time eſtabliſhed for the Dictatorſhip at *Rome*) the Conſuls *Servilius Attilius*, again entring into their Magiſtracy, came to the Army, and *Fabius* returned to *Rome*. This Winter many skirmiſhes and engagements of Parties happened betwixt both Armies, in which always the Romans came off with the greater Honour and Glory; wherefore *Hannibal*, who till that time writing to his friends, uſed to adorn and ſet out his Letters with his own praiſes, now began to diſtruſt his Affairs, and require Supplies of Men and Money.

But

But his Enemies who from the very firſt condemned his undertakings, then eſpecially feigned not to underſtand him, for Conquerors, ſaid they, did not uſe to ask, but freely to ſend Mony to their own Country, which *Hannibal* proud with ſo many victories yet demands. At which words the Carthaginians moved ſent him neither men nor money, which *Hannibal* deploring ſent Letters into *Spain* to *Aſdrubal* his brother commanding him, that with the firſt of the Summer with all the force he had, and what quantity of gold he could raiſe, he ſhould make an irruption into *Italy*, and waſt the utter parts thereof, that both ſides burning, the Romans might be afflicted with a doubtful War : in this Poſture ſtood *Hannibals* affairs.

IV. The Fathers ſorely grieved for the defeat of *Flaminius* and *Centenius* and ſo many other cruel miſchiefs, which they daily, as they thought diſhonorably ſuffered, not being able to endure the War to continue ſo long at their own doors, and as it were in their very Seats, once more raiſed and ſent an Army into *Apulia* conſiſting of four Legions, enrolled not without great regret in the City, and a mighty power of their Allies. Withal they created two Conſuls one famous for Warlike Proweſs *L. Æmilius*, who had made War in *Illyria*, the other of the Popular Faction *Terentius Varro*, a man who only with lofty promiſes ſoothed the minds of the Common people, whom when they ſent out armed to the War, they beſought as ſoon as they could to engage the Enemy, and not by longer Protracting the War exhauſt the City by ſo many recruits, of Men, Mony, and Proviſions, and through Idleneſs ſuffer the Country to burn. The Conſuls receiving the Army that was in *Apulia*, and being now in all ſeventy thouſand Foot and ſix thouſand Horſe, pitch their Camp in *Cannæ* a Town of *Apulia* directly oppoſite to the Carthaginians. *Hannibal* who had always been deſirous to fight, and impatient of lying idle, at this time more eſpecially did not decline an Engagement, being preſſed to it by his own neceſſities, and a fear leſt the Mercenary Soldiers not having their wages paid, ſhould either run away from him or be ſcattered about the Country to get in Forrage. Wherefore he daily provoked the Enemy, whilſt the Conſuls were of quite different, and diſagreeing judgments, *Æmilius* thought that *Hannibal* was to be defeated by Temporizing and patience, for that having only ſuch Proviſions as he day by day fetcht in, he could not long ſubſiſt; whilſt it was hazardous fighting an Army and a General ſo long verſed in Battels and accuſtomed to Victory: but *Terentius* (raiſed by the people and therefore remembring the Peoples Commands) was for preſent fight. None ſave only *Servilius* Conſul the year preceding were of *Æmilius* mind, but all the Senators and thoſe of the Order of Knights, who had any Office in the Army, were of *Terentius* opinion. Whilſt the Romans lay in this manner, *Hannibal* who having a party ſent out either to Wood or Forrage, ſet upon by them; firſt overcome, about the laſt watch of the night diſcamped, and feigned a flight as if he had ſought to return to his own Country; which *Varro* beholding he drew out the Army as if he had been to purſue a flying Enemy, *Æmilius* in the mean time earneſtly forbidding it, and calling them back, which when he ſaw did nothing avail, he went himſelf according to the Roman Cuſtome, to take the uſual ſigns, and he ſeing the Chicken peckt not, Commanded to let *Varro* know the ill Auſpices. He indeed yielded to Religion, but being returned into the Camp before all the Army tore his Hair, crying out, that his Colleague had out of envy rob'd

him of the victory, the whole croud aſſenting to what he ſaid, and making the like complaints. But when *Hannibal* ſaw his deceit had little profited him, he forthwith returned into his Camp, and diſcovered his diſſembled flight, yet all this would not prevail with *Varro*, thence forward to ſuſpect *Hannibal*, but on the Contrary going into the *Prætorium* before all the Senators, Centurions, and Military Tribunes, he grievouſly inveighed againſt *Æmilius*, who either by falſely repreſenting the Religious auſpices, had rob'd the City of a Certain Victory, or through Fear and Cowardiſe, not daring to fight himſelf, had envyed him the glory of the day; in Raving manner uttering theſe ſpeeches, the Soldiers who ſtood about the Tent greedily receiving, and gladly hearing theſe words with bitter reproaches blaſted *Æmilius*, who yet forbore not though in vain to adviſe many uſeful things, but when all ſave only *Servilius* were furiouſly carried away by *Varro*'s perſwaſion, the next day which was almoſt the laſt of his Command (for he after yielded it to *Varro*) he drew out his Army to fight: *Hannibal* perceived it, but becauſe he was not that day ſufficiently prepared, drew not out his Army. The next day both Generals drew into the field. The Romans in a triple Battel, ſo as that the main body conſiſted of Armed Foot and the two Wings of light Armed Foot and Horſe. *Æmilius* commanded the main body, *Servilius* the left Wing, and *Varro* the Right, and each had with them a body of about a thouſand choſen Horſe to run up and down upon all occaſions, and give aſſiſtance where it was needful. This was the Order of the Roman battel. *Hannibal* not ignorant, that a certain ſtormy wind (which they call *Vulturnus*, and is the North Eaſt) blew uſually about Noon in thoſe parts, made it his firſt care to take poſſeſſion of the ground ſo, that he might have the wind upon his back, Then upon a certain hill covered over with trees, and broken in ſunder by ſeveral cloſe Valleys, he placed ſome Horſe and nimble Soldiers in Ambuſh, to whom he gave orders, that in the heat of the battel, and when the wind was riſen they ſhould charge the Enemy in the Rear, to theſe he added five hundred Celtiberians, who beſides their long Swords, wherewith they were girt, had under their Coat Armors or Jacks, ſhort Daggers, to ſtand in a readineſs till he had occaſion for them, and quietly to wait for the ſignal to be given them. Then having likewiſe drawn his Army into a Triple Battel, and extended his Horſe as far as he could upon the Wings, to incloſe the Enemy, he gave the right Wing to *Mago* his brother, the left to *Hanno* his Nephew, and kept the main Battel himſelf to be oppoſite to *Æmilius*, who had the greateſt Fame and knowledge in War, he had likewiſe two thouſand Horſe beſides a thouſand commanded by *Maharbal* whom he appointed to keep continually moving, with orders upon occaſion to aſſiſt any that were oppreſſed. And doing theſe things delay'd the battel till the ſecond hour, at what time the wind began to riſe, when all things were put in good order, the Generals began to incourage their reſpective Soldiers, the Romans by putting them in mind of their Parents, Wives and Children, and withal by remembring them of former defeats, let them know they fought this battel for the laſt ſtake, and their own general and particular preſervation. *Hannibal* on the other ſide remembring his Men of their many famous Exploits, and the ſeveral Victories they had already gained againſt this very Enemy, told them diſhonorable it would be, ſhould they now be vanquiſhed by thoſe they had ſo often overcome. And now the Trumpets ſounding a charge and the Foot giving a ſhout, the light Armed Men firſt began, and then forthwith the Legions advanced to the Battel, then the

ſlaughter

ſlaughter was great, and the labour mighty, both ſides couragiouſly maintaining the ground. In the mean time *Hannibal* gave Orders to his Horſe to incloſe the Enemies Wings, whom the Roman Horſe, though far inferiour in number, yet being drawn out in length, and extended as far as poſſible, with noble and undaunted courage received, eſpecially thoſe in the left Wing toward the Sea. Wherefore *Hannibal* and *Maharbal* taking along thoſe Horſe they had with them, with a violent ſhock, and a ſavage and barbarous howling, fell in upon the Romans, as if by one fierce onſet they would break through, and overſet them; but the Romans received their charge without amazement, or giving the leaſt ground. *Hannibal* ſeeing all theſe endeavours fruitleſs, lifted up the Signal for thoſe five hundred Celtiberians, who ſoon after going out of the Body, as if they had deſerted their party, delivered up to the Enemy their Shields, Darts and Swords, which were all the Arms that appeared about them. *Servilius* praiſing them, and ſoon diſarming them, having, as he thought no other Armour but their Coats of Male, commanded them to ſet down behind the Army, not thinking it honourable in the Enemies ſight to caſt Revolters into Bonds; and ſeeing them diſarmed all to their Coats, he feared no hurt from them; beſides the Army being in all parts ingaged, it was a time very unſeaſonable to do any thing more to them. About the ſame inſtant, ſome Regiments of the Africans diſſembling a flight, began with great cryes to run towards the Mountains, that warned by the Signal (for ſo it was agreed on) thoſe who lay in the clefts of the Hill, might fall upon ſuch as purſued them. So at one inſtant all the Horſe and light armed Foot riſing out of their Ambuſhes, and at the ſame time a great and violent ſtorm of wind blowing the duſt into the Romans faces, and blinding them, beſides the force of the wind driving back the Roman Darts, and making them flee faintly and uncertain, whilſt the Carthaginians coming with it, flew more ſure and ſtrong; the Romans not able any way to avoid theſe things, fell foul of one another, and the whole Army began to ſtagger; when thoſe Celtiberians laying hold of this occaſion to act their deſign, unſheathing their Daggers, firſt ſlew thoſe at whoſe backs they ſtood; and ſieſing on their Shields, Darts and Swords, fell more freely upon the whole Body, and being behind them, made a horrible ſlaughter. The Romans, (having their Enemies before them, and being incloſed by Ambuſhes, and withal ſlain by theſe mixed amongſt them, upon whom they could not turn, being ſo preſſed by the Carthaginians in Front, and being likewiſe deceived by the likeneſs of the Arms, for the Celtiberians having got Roman Shields, they were ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from their own men) were diſtracted with various and doubtful dangers; but among theſe misfortunes, the duſt raiſed by the wind, did moſt of all afflict the Romans, for they could neither underſtand their own loſs; but (as is uſual in all frights and tumults) believed every thing worſe than it was, and thought the Ambuſhes greater, and thoſe five hundred much more numerous; wherefore at length believing their Camps already encompaſſed by the Horſe and Fugitives, they began to make a diſorderly flight, firſt on the right Wing, *Varro* himſelf leading the way, and afterwards on the left, whoſe Commander *Servilius* running in to *Æmilius*, and about ten thouſaud ſtout Horſe and Foot gathering about theſe two Commanders, they firſt, and by their Example, the reſt of the Horſemen ſoon after alighting, though they were on all ſides encompaſſed round, yet on foot renewed the fight againſt *Hannibal*'s Horſe. There might be beheld all that men skilful in War,

and

and reduced to utter deſpair, could in that rage and fury act againſt an Enemy; yet they were ſlain on all ſides, and now *Hannibal* himſelf incloſing them, encouraged his men, ſometimes with exhortations to perfect the relicks of the Victory, and ſometimes reproaching their cowardiſe, that when the whole Army was ſcattered and fled, they could not overcome ſo ſmall a number: Yet the Romans, as long as *Servilius* and *Æmilius* ſtood, kept their Orders, giving and receiving multitudes of wounds: but when thoſe two Generals fell, ſtoutly forcing their way through the midſt of their Enemies, and then diſperſing themſelves, they fled, and many of them eſcaped to ſeveral Quarters. There were about fifteen thouſand, who at the beginning of the rout, had fled into the two Camps, theſe *Hannibal* forthwith beſieged: two thouſand that had fled into the Town of *Cannæ*, yeilded themſelves to him, a few got ſafe to to *Canuſium*, and the reſt were diſperſed through the Woods. This was the event of the Battel at *Cannæ*, begun the ſecond hour of the day, and continuing till two hours within night, till this very time famous for the great ſlaughter, there being in few hours no leſs than fifty thouſand killed, great numbers taken alive, many Senators ſlain, with all the Centurions and Primipiles, and the two braveſt of three Generals; for as to the third he moſt cowardly (though the Author of this Calamity) ran away at the beginning of the rout. Thus the Romans in two years War with *Hannibal* had loſt of their own, and their Allies, no leſs than two hundred thouſand men.

V. *Hannibal* having gained this famous and ſignal Victory, in which by four ſeveral Actions he demonſtrated the Excellency of his Conduct, when he gained the wind of the Enemy, when he made the Celtiberians feign a revolt, when he diſſembled a Flight, and when he placed his Ambuſhes. The next thing he did was to take a view of the dead, among whom when he beheld many of the braveſt of his Friends; 'tis ſaid that ſighting he cryed out, *He ſtood not in need of more ſuch Victories*: Much like to which is reported to have in the former Age been ſaid by *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epire*, That by ſuch defeats he ſhould hardly vanquiſh the Romans. Thoſe who were fled into the greater Camp, under the leading of *Publius Sempronius*, broke through *Hannibal*'s Watches, tired for want of ſleep, and fighting reſolutely, and got about ten thouſand of them to *Canuſium*, but the five thouſand that ſtaid in the leſſer Camp, were the next day taken by *Hannibal*. The Conſul *Terentius*, gathering together the relicks of the Army, and comforting them (ſad, and quite caſt down as they were) in the beſt manner he could, and leaving the Command of them to *Scipio*, Tribune of the Soldiers, went his way towards *Rome*; whither when this news was brought, great multitudes promiſcuouſly flocked to the Gates, lamenting their Friends, and calling them by name, and deploring their own misfortunes, as if the Enemy were already come to ſeiſe upon themſelves; Mothers with their Children ran up and down to the Temples, imploring the Gods, that at length they would by ſome means put a ſtop to all theſe Miſeries. The Magiſtrates likewiſe ſeeing the City thus oppreſſed by the Divine Anger, endeavoured to appeaſe the Gods with Prayers and Sacrifices, beſeeching them to reſt ſatisfied with the paſt ſlaughter. The Senate ſent *Q. Fabius* (who likewiſe wrote a Hiſtory of theſe things) to the Oracle at *Delphos* to enquire about the preſent ſtate of things, and manumitted eight thouſand ſlaves, ſtrong young men, freely given by their Maſters; gave Orders throughout

throughout the City, for preparing Bows and Shields; and *Claudius Marcellus*, who was about to ſail into *Sicily*, changing their minds, they decreed to go againſt *Hannibal*. He dividing his Fleet with *Furius* his Colleague, and ſending part of his Forces into *Sicily*, with the reſt conſiſting of Citizens, Aſſociates and Slaves to the numbers of about ten thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe went to *Theanum*, that he might diſcover what *Hannibal* deſigned. But *Hannibal* permitted ſome of the Captives to go as Deputies to *Rome*, to ſee if the Citizens would at his price redeem any of them, and three among all the reſt being choſen to this office, of whom *Cn. Sempronius* was chief, taking no other pledge but their Oath to return, he let them go. Then the Neighbours of the Captives, ſtanding round about the place, offered with their own private Money to redeem whoever they had a kindneſs for, beſeeching the Senate to give them leave ſo to do, the people all weeping, and approving their motion; ſome of the Senators were of the opinion, that after ſo many Battels, the Commonwealth was not to ſuffer the loſs of ſo many men; and the Slaves were not to be preferred before Free-men: but others argued that ſuch indulgence would accuſtom men to flight, who were rather to be taught how to overcome or die. Nor was it juſt that thoſe, who fled, ſhould experience any of their Clemency or Mercy. After many Examples produced for and againſt it, the Senate at length forbid the Neighbours to redeem the Captives, as judging whilſt they were ſtill beſet with ſo many dangers, their preſent Clemency would be converted into future damage, and that though this at preſent ſeemed a doleful ſeverity, and inhumanity, yet it would turn to future advantage; and indeed at that very time the ſtrange boldneſs of this reſolution appeared dreadful to *Hannibal* himſelf. Wherefore *Sempronius*, and the other two Captives, returned to the Enemy. *Hannibal* hereupon ſold ſome of the Priſoners, and commanded others to be ſlain, of whoſe dead Bodies he made a Bridge, whereon his Army marched over the River; ſuch of the Senate and Nobility, as he had in his Camp, he ſet Father againſt Child, and Brother againſt Brother, compelling them to fight againſt each other for a divertiſement to his Africans; in a word, he omitted no inſulting cruelty that the pride of man could invent.

Thence he turned his Arms to the waſting the Territories of the Roman Aſſociates, and brought the Engines againſt *Petelia*. The Petelians, though few in number, yet ſtout of heart, bravely reſiſted him, and the Women aſſiſting (who in courage yielded little to the Men) often ſallying, and ſtoutly fighting burnt his Engines; but at length, being waſted by often skirmiſhes, and Famine creeping upon them, as ſoon as *Hannibal* had advice of it, he begirt the City with a circumvallation, and left *Hanno* to proſecute the Siege. The Townſmens miſeries increaſing upon them, they thruſt out all the croud uſeleſs for War, between the Wall and Trench, looking on with ſtedfaſt countenances, whilſt *Hanno* cauſed them to be ſlain, as envying their better manners of dying; yet almoſt all the reſt fell not long after under the ſame fate; for being oppreſſed with extreme want, they made a ſally upon the Enemy, where after having performed many noble exploits, not caring to return to the City there to ſtarve, or wanting ſtrength through hunger, they were almoſt all ſlain, and *Hanno* poſſeſſed himſelf of the Town: ſome of the ſtrongeſt, who were able to flee, eſcaped, whom the Romans, when this War was ended, for their ſingular fidelity and good will towards them, and their in- VI.

credible

credible Valour, cauſed to be diligently ſought out (being in all about eight hundred) and reſtored them to their Country. But when the Celtiberian Horſe, who were Auxiliaries in *Hannibal*'s Army were obſerved to fight ſtoutly. The Roman Generals commanding in *Spain*, deſired of their Subjects a like number of ſuch Horſemen, whom they ſent into *Italy* to oppoſe the other. Theſe by reaſon of the neighbourhood of the Camps, found opportunities of free converſe, and every one invited his fellow Citizen or Country man, to come over to them; whence it happened that part of them fled over to the Romans, and other part ſlip'd away, ſo that *Hannibal* now thinking nothing ſafe, grew jealous of them, whilſt they on the other ſide grew no leſs jealous of the fall of the Carthaginian Affairs: yet in *Arpis*, a City of *Apulia*, built as ſome ſay by *Diomedes* the Argive, one *Daſias*, reported to be deſcended from the ſame *Diomede*, though but upon uncertain gounds, however no way worthy of ſo noble a Stock; after that ſignal ſlaughter at *Cannæ*, revolted from the Romans to *Hannibal*, and drew his Country into the ſame defection; but when, after *Hannibal* began to grow leſs ſucceſsful, coming privately to *Rome*; and being brought into the Senate, he offered as an amends for his fault, to bring the City again under the Roman Power, he hardly eſcaped being ſlain by the Romans, but moſt certainly they preſently caſt him out of their City, ſo that now fearing both them and *Hannibal*, he wandred like a vagabond about the Country, whilſt *Hannibal* burn'd his Wife and Children alive. The *Arpi* betrayed by others, were taken by *Fabius Maximus*, who ſlaying all the Carthaginians he found, placed there a Garriſon. But *Tarentum*, which was at the ſame time kept by a Roman Garriſon, was by this means betrayed to one *Cononeus*. This man being much addicted to Hunting, and uſually preſenting ſome of his Game to *Junius*, Governour of the Garriſon, began to grow very familiar with him; but becauſe in a Country not free from War, he pretended it much better for the taking more Game, to go out by night, he brought it to a Cuſtom, that what time of the night he pleaſed, the Gates were to be opened to him; then meeting with *Hannibal*, and receiving Soldiers from him (ſome whereof he hid in a Wood, not far from the Town, others he commanded to follow him at a certain ſmall diſtance, and others carried with him clad outwardly like Huntſmen, but underneath with Coats of Male and Swords) he came to the Gates, having ſent ſome before, who carried a huge Bore upon a Pole. The Gates being opened according to Cuſtom, thoſe that entred with him preſently ſlew the Guards, then thoſe that followed preſently ruſhed in, receiving with them their Companions that were in the Wood, then they all broke open the Gates, and let in *Hannibal*; he being entred, eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of all the City; and granting Conditions to the Tarentines, ſet himſelf to the beſieging of the Cittadel, held out by the Romans. Thus was *Tarentum* betrayed by *Cononeus*: but five thouſand Romans were ſtill in the Cittadel, and with them a good number of the Tarentines, and to theſe the Governour of *Metapontum*, brought half his Soldiers, and a great multitude of Darts, and all manner of Engines, with which they eaſily drove *Hannibal* from the Wall: but he abounding in all thoſe things, brought up his Teſtudo's and Catapultas to the Towers, and ſhook ſome of them, and with Hooks faſtned to Ropes, pull'd down the Battlements, and laid the Wall naked. The Romans throwing down Stones broke the Engines, and with Nooſes pulled away the Hooks, and with frequent Sallies iſſuing out upon the Enemy, ſeldom returned without putting them

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to diſorder, and doing good execution. And when upon a clear day a ſudden wind aroſe, the Romans laying hold upon the opportunity, whilſt ſome of them from the Wall threw Fire-brands, tied about with Flax and Pitch upon the Carthaginian Engines, others made a ſally and put Fire under them; ſo that *Hannibal* deſpairing to take it by force, drew Lines of Circumvallation quite round, ſave only towards the Sea, which was not to be done, ſo leaving the care of the Siege to *Hanno*, returned into *Apulia*. The Port of the Tarentines looks towards the North, if any ſail in by the *Iſthmus*; but they cut off the *Iſthmus* by Bridges, which when the Romans held, they eaſily had Corn brought to them by Sea, and hindred any from being brought to the Tarentines: ſo that the Tarentines were reduced to extreme want; wherefore *Hannibal* at his return, adviſed that digging through the publick way, which leads from the Port towards the other Sea to the Southward, they ſhould make another *Iſthmus*, which being performed, the want of Corn was ſoon remedied, and they with their Brigantines much incommoded the Roman Garriſon, who had no Fleet, eſpecially in a ſmooth Sea, intercepting all Proviſions brought to the Romans. The Romans therefore ſtrugling with the want of all neceſſities, the *Thurini* ſent them by night ſome Ships laden with Corn, accompained with ſome *Triremes*, whom the Tarentines, who now were all one with the Carthaginians, having notice of, laid wait for, and took with all their Corn and Men, but they ſending often about redeeming the Captives, the Tarentines enticed their Deputies to *Hannibals* party, ſo *Hannibal* releaſed all the *Thurini* that were taken, who returning home againſt the will of the reſt, opened their Gates to *Hanno*, ſo the *Thurini* endeavouring to preſerve *Tarentum* for the Romans, moſt imprudently fell themſelves under the Carthaginian power. The Garriſon that was in the City, retreated privately to *Brunduſium*. The Metapontines, after part of their Garriſon was drawn off to *Tarentum*, ſlaying thoſe few that remained, delivered themſelves up to *Hannibal*; whoſe example, out of fear rather than good will, *Heraclea*, which is ſituate between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum* followed; and now *Hannibal*'s Affairs appeared again very glorious. The year following, ſome Lucanians, who had fallen off from the Romans, *Gracchus* chaſtiſed by War. But one *Flaccus*, a Lucanian of that party, which yet ſtood for the Romans, a friend and hoſt to *Gracchus*, proved a Traytor to him. This man perſwaded him to come to a certain place, where the Lucanian Pretors (who repenting their fault, deſired to be again received into the Roman friendſhip) would mutually give and receive their Faith, he not imagining any deceit in the matter, followed only with thirty Horſe: But when the Numidian Enemy roſe and encompaſſed him about, and *Flaccus* joyned himſelf with them, *Gracchus* diſcovering the Treaſon, with many others leap'd from their Horſes, and bravely fighting in the midſt of his Enemies, was with all his men ſlain. Three only *Hannibal* could take alive, though he endeavoured all he could to make the Roman Proconſul his Priſoner; whom though thus baſely overcome by treachery, yet admiring him for the extreme valour ſhowed at his death, he honoured with Funeral Rites, and ſent his bones to *Rome*. Thence marching into *Apulia*, made it his buſineſs to fetch in Corn from all parts.

VII. But when the Romans had determined to march towards *Capua*, *Hanno*

being ſent before by *Hannibal*, with a thouſand Foot, and as many Horſe, he unknown to the Enemy, got into the City; day breaking, when the Romans beheld many of them upon the Walls, and knew the matter, they forthwith drew off their Army from thence, and ſet themſelves to reaping all the Capuans, and the reſt of the Corn of *Campania*, which the Campanians being much troubled at, *Hannibal* ſent them word he had Corn enough in *Apulia*, whither they might ſend for it, as often as they pleaſed; they ſent not only their Men and Cattle, but even their Wives and Children to fetch in Corn, fearing no danger in the journey; *Hannibal* being upon return out of *Apulia* into *Campania*, and lying encamped near the River *Alor*, not far from the Beneventines, whom only becauſe they continued faithful to the Romans, they were afraid of; but now becauſe of *Hannibal*'s preſence they deſpiſed. But it happened that about the ſame time *Hannibal* being called by *Hanno* among the Lucanians went thither, leaving the moſt troubleſome part of his Baggage in the Camp, near *Beneventum*, with an indifferent Guard, of which the Roman Generals (for they were two, *Claudius* and *Annius*) having certain advice, fell upon the Campanians, that were gone to fetch Corn, and finding them a diſarmed and undiſciplined multitude, ſlew many, and gave their Corn to the Beneventines, then plundering *Hannibal*'s Camp took thence all that he had there left. Then the two Roman Generals joyning together, whilſt *Hannibal* ſtaid in *Lucania*, begirt *Capua*, with a Trench and a Wall; and drawing other Lines without, pitch'd their Camp between both, raiſing Bulwarks both towards the City, and towards the Country, to oppoſe the aſſaults of the Enemy: ſo that the face of their Camp was like a great Town, incloſing a little City, and the ſpace between their Lines and the Town, being about two Furlongs like a Theater, where daily Combats were to be ſeen (the ſtouteſt men on both ſides continually challenging and provoking one another) among which, that of *Claudius Atellus* was very memorable, he was challenged by one *Taureas*, a Campanian, whom having overcome, the vanquiſhed fled towards the City: *Claudius* purſuing him to the very Walls, not being able to turn his Horſe, the Gate ſtanding to receive his Enemy, he was carried in, and running through the whole Town, got out at the other Gate, and came ſafe to his own party, a ſtrange ſucceſs of undeſigned boldneſs. *Hannibal* without doing the buſineſs, which he was ſent for into *Lucania* returned to *Capua*, to undertake the defence of that City, which he knew for ſo many, and ſo great things commodious for the Romans, wherefore he aſſaulted their Works: but when he could by no manner of means prevail to ſend in any ſupply of Men, or Proviſions into the Town, (for the Siege was ſo cloſe, that he could neither ſend in, nor get any intelligence out of the City) he with all his Army marched directly towards *Rome*, moved thereunto, becauſe he heard that Famine was in the City, and out of hopes, either to draw the Romans from the Siege of *Capua*, or act ſomething greater than the relief of that place. Wherefore continuing his March with a great confluence of Warlike People (wherefore ſome perſwaded themſelves, that for want of ſtrength, they would not ſo much as ſtop his paſſage; others thought they ſhould not ſo much as fight for it) he came and encamped by the River *Anien* within thirty Furlongs of the City. Never was *Rome* ſtruck with ſuch Fear and Tumult: They wanted all manner of Forces (thoſe they had being in *Campania*) and unexpectedly a mighty Army was coming towards them, led by a General, whoſe Valor and Fortune

tune made him unconquerable; yet with ſuch Forces as they had, who were able to bear Arms, they ſet Guards at the Gates: The Old Men leaped up on the Walls, and the Women and Children brought Darts and Stones, great multitudes flocked to them out of the Country, the whole City rung with Howlings, Lamentations, Prayers, and mutual Exhortations, ſome going out of the City broke down the Bride that was over the *Anien*. The Romans had built a very little Town among the *Æqui* and called it *Alba*, after the name of their Metropolis or mother City; but in Proceſs of time whether by lengthning or corrupting the word, or to diſtinguiſh them from the *Albans*, they were called *Albenies*, two thouſand of theſe coming to participate in the danger of *Rome* were preſently armed, and placed at the guard of the Gates. So much faith and kindneſs at that time one only Colony among ſo many ſhowed towards the Romans, imitating the Example of the Plateans, who with a ſmall Number joyned with the Athenians at the fight at *Marathon*, that by united force they might repulſe the preſent danger. The Roman General *Annius* ſtay'd at *Capua* not doubting to reduce that City, the other *Claudius Flaccus* by another way, with incredible expedition came and pitcht his Camp oppoſite to *Hannibal* on the other ſide of the *Anien*. Who when *Hannibal* ſaw the bridge broken down, and found *Claudius* encamped on the other ſide, he reſolved to march round by the ſprings of the River, and *Claudius* likewiſe thereupon removed his Camp. Here *Hannibal* made uſe of his wonted ſtratagems he left ſome Horſe, who when the Armies were retired, Fording the River waſted the Roman Territory, and when they had terrified the City, according to orders returned to *Hannibal*. When he had got round the ſprings, 'tis reported that he came by night with three ſpies to the City not far diſtant, and privately taking a view of the ſite of it, obſerved the great fear and ſolitude within the walls, yet after all this he returned to *Capua*, whether ſome God or any other accident at that time averted him, whether he dreaded the Valor and Fortune of the City, or whether (as he uſed often to ſay to his Friends exhorting him to the Conqueſt of it) that he would not ruine it, leaſt when that was done the Carthaginians ſhould take from him the Command, and reduce him to the quality of a private Man; for as for the Claudian Army it was no way to be compared with *Hannibal*'s. Yet *Claudius* at *Hannibal*'s return followed him at the heels, thinking he did enough if he hindred him from Forraging, and took care that by Ambuſhes he did not damnifie him.

Yet *Hannibal* in a dark and moonleſs night having diſcovered the place whither *Claudius* Army tended, built indeed no wall, but throwing up a trench, and leaving ſome intervals for Gates, and laſtly raiſing a Rampire (which might ſerve inſtead of a Wall) oppoſite to it, there continued himſelf, and ſending his Horſe to a certain eminence fortified by Nature charged them there to ſtand quiet, and not move from the place till the Romans ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of that place he hoped they would believe to be void. Then he gave Command to his Indians that getting upon their Elephants, they ſhould by any means between the intervals or over the Rampire get into *Claudius* Camp. At a little diſtance from theſe he commanded ſome Trumpets and Cornets to follow, with Orders as they entred to make the greateſt noiſe they could poſſible, that their Numbers VIII.

might ſeem the greater; ſending along with them ſome that could ſpeak the Latine Tongue, who were to call out aloud to the Soldiers by *Claudius* Orders to deſert their Tents, and eſcape to the next hill. This ſtratagem of *Hannibal*'s ſucceeded at firſt to his mind, and according as he had deſigned it, for Elephants trod down the Rampire, and the Trumpets followed them, whoſe noiſe filling the ears of the Roman Soldiers ſtarting out of their beds in a dark night, and ſo unexpectedly, ſtruck a mighty terror into them. Beſides hearing in the Latine Tongue, Command given about poſſeſſing the other Hill; they already addreſſed themſelves to flight. But *Claudius* to whom all *Hannibal*'s devices (as full of deceit and treachery) were ſuſpected, immediately out of his own prudence, or by inſtinct from ſome God, or elſe being by ſome Captive informed of the whole project, diſpatched away the Military Tribunes into the way leading to the hill, to ſtop ſuch as ruſhed out, and tell them, that thoſe Orders were Proclaimed not by their Generals Command, but by *Hannibal*'s, and therewithal himſelf drawing firſt ſtrong guards to the Rampire, to repulſe the Enemy if perhaps any aſſault ſhould be made, ran through the tents, crying out, that there was no danger, that only a few were broke in with the Elephants, whoſe ſmall Number indeed when it appeared (for by this time by *Claudius* command Torches were lighted, and fires blown up) the Romans fear was turned into anger, and falling upon them being but light armed men they eaſily ſlew them. As for the Elephants there wanting room to receive them, they ran confuſedly among the Tents and Huts, and no Darts (becauſe of the narrowneſs of the place and the vaſtneſs of their bodies being thrown in vain) they were every where wounded till with anguiſh they grew ſo enraged, that tumbling down and treading under foot their riders (for they could not govern nor turn them upon the Enemy) with rage and horrid yellings they broke out of the Camp. Thus *Claudius Flaccus* by ſtedfaſt courage and diligence circumvented *Hannibal* in an unexpected ſtratagem, and by defeating him of his purpoſe both overcame him, and by his prudence preſerved his trembling Army. *Hannibal* failing in this enterpriſe drew his forces into *Lucania* to their Winter quarters, where this fierce man never before accuſtomed to delights gave himſelf over to Luſt and Luxury. By which means by degrees, and not long after he brought a ſtrange change upon all his affairs. *Claudius* returned to his Colleague to *Capua*, and now both of them ſtrove their utmoſt to reduce this Town, hoping to force it whilſt *Hannibal* lay quiet in his Winter-quarters. The Campanians in want of all things (for nothing could be brought them from abroad) and ready to periſh for hunger yielded themſelves up to the Roman Generals. And with themſelves *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, who commanded the Carthaginian Garriſon with all their Soldiers, and the Romans placing a Garriſon in the City, cut off the hands of all the Fugitives they there found, the *African* Nobility they ſent to *Rome*, the reſt they ſold. Then turning upon the Campanians, the Authors of the Defection they puniſhed with death, the reſt only with fines upon their Lands. The Country of *Campania*, becauſe a Champian, is very Fertile. *Capua* thus reſtored to the Romans, the Carthaginians were deprived of a very conſiderable place for the conveniency of their affairs in *Italy*.

Among

Among the Brutians (who are a part of *Italy*) a Man of the City of *Sisia*, a Man addicted to Hunting, and accustomed to bring part of his game to the Governor of the *Punick* garrison had so wrought himself into his friendship, that he was in a manner his Consort in Command, who grieved in mind to see the Soldiers insolencies and abuses of his Countrymen, made a contract with the Roman General, to which they both pledged their Faiths, and by degrees brought into the Cittadel as Prisoners many Roman Soldiers, whose Arms himself sieses on as his spoils, when he thought his Number sufficient, he looses their Bonds, and arming them, overpowring the Punick Garrison, brought in a Roman; but not long after *Hannibal* passing that way, the Garrison affrighted fled to *Rhegi-nis*, the *Tisiatæ* delivered themselves to *Hannibal*, who burning the chiefs of the Revolts, placed there another garrison. At *Salatia* in *Apulia*, which was then under the Punick power, there were two kinsmen, who both for their Riches and Power, might well be esteemed Princes, but between whom there was perpetual discord. *Dasius* favored the Carthaginian, and *Blasius* the Roman affairs. As long as *Hannibal* was prosperous *Blasius* lay still, when the Roman Power by recovery of most part of it's Empire began to revive, *Blasius* had the confidence to move his Enemy, at least to consent with him for the safety of his Countrey, lest if the Romans should take the place by storm, he should become engaged in an irrecoverable misfortune. *Dasius* dissembling a consent betray'd the matter to *Hannibal*, *Hannibal* was Arbitrator and Judge, *Dasius* the accuser. *Blasius* being guilty had only this one thing to say in his defence, that out of private enmity, he laid false crimes to his charge, and indeed the knowledge that his accuser had long been his enemy, and bore him a secret grudge; procured him the more freedome to argue in his own defence. *Hannibal* neither contemning the thing, nor giving too much Credit to an Enemy, Commanded them both to withdraw, as if he would consider of it by himself; But the place as they went out being very narrow, and none being nigh enough to bear witness, *Blasius* thus whipped *Dasius*. *And will not you good man yet save your Country*, *Dasius* crying out immediately, repeats it to *Hannibal*, upon which *Blasius* making his complaint, *Now, now* (said he) *there is no man but will believe snares laid for my life by the cunning of my Enemy, but this trick of his if I before lay under any suspicion will perfectly clear me of it, for who pray that is not mad would trust such a thing to an Enemy? But you may object, it may be at first I was deceived in him, but I beseech you what man that is brought to his Tryal, and denying the Fact before the Tribunal in the hearing of many, his accuser present who may reveal it will afresh communicate such a thing to him, who has already shewed his mind to betray him? But if he were a faithful friend indeed what help could he bring to me towards the safety of his Country? or why should I implore his help who has no power to give any? These words Blasius* pronounced aloud, and as I believe foreseeing the event, and then making way to whisper *Dasius* in the ear, told him that he would lessen his future Credit and Authority, and so work *Hannibal*, that he should not believe any crime he objected against him. Nor did *Blasius* after he was dismissed forbear to ply his adversary in this manner, as a man whom now he contemned, having taken off all belief of what he said. Therefore *Dasius* at length feigned himself moved by his solicitations with intent to get from him all the manner how he had formed his design which he nothing demurring upon; *I will said he*

IX.

he, go to the Roman Camp (which the other knew to be then very remote) *and thence receiving ſome forces from the Prætor, who is my very good friend, bring them hither. Thou ſhalt work for me here and ſtay to keep the City*, and having thus ſaid preſently without *Daſius* being privy to it he went from the City directly to *Rome*, and not to the Camp, where leaving his Son for Hoſtage, and receiving from the Senate a thouſand Horſe, makes a ſpeedy return, already in his mind preſaging the event. *Daſius* for ſome days after not ſeeing his adverſary, ſtrait way conjectured that having now his word, he was gone to perfect the buſineſs, and whilſt he meditated upon the great diſtance he was to find the Camp at, ſlowly and ſecurely he goes to *Hannibal* not doubting but to return time enough to be there before the other. And being come to the ſpeech of *Hannibal, Now*, ſaid he, *whilſt he is bringing an Armed Power into the City, I will in the very Action deliver* Blaſius *into thy hands*, and ſo telling the whole matter and receiving ſome Soldiers from *Hannibal*, he flies towards his Country which he imagined *Blaſius* could not yet be come nigh to. But he having already ſlain the Punick Garriſon which was but ſmall, took diligent care that none ſhould go out of the City, and ſhutting all the reſt of the Gates, left that only open by which *Daſius* was to return, he likewiſe to avoid all ſuſpicion left the Walls every where naked; but the way within was ſo broken, and block't up with Ditches, that there was no way of breaking out. *Daſius* coming and finding the Gates open, rejoycing, and thinking he was got thither before his Enemy, entred the City triumphing, but he and all that came in with him being incloſed, and becauſe of the Ditches, having no way of retreat *Blaſius* eaſily ſlew them, except only a few that leaping over the Walls eſcaped. So *Blaſius* catching *Daſius* in the ſnare at laſt overcame him.

Now whilſt *Fulvius* the Roman Conſul beſieged *Herdonia*, *Hannibal* unknown to him pitcht his Camp cloſe by him, putting out (the better to lie hid) all fires, and Commanding a ſtrict ſilence through all the Camp. And the morning hapning likewiſe to be very cloudy, he ſent before ſome Horſe to provoke the Romans, they indeed with ſome trembling at firſt (as being raiſed out of their beds) but ſoon with better confidence (becauſe they believed them only a few pickt up here and there) repulſed the Enemy, but *Hannibal* fetching a Compaſs about the other part of the Town, that he might take a view of it, and put the Townſmen in hopes, at length whether becauſe they had ſpied him, or elſe by chance falls in upon the Romans and incloſes them. Then ſet upon on both ſides they ruſh'd on in diſorder, ſo that the Conſul *Fulvius* with eight thouſand men were ſlain, the reſt making a ſpeedy retreat within a Trench before their Camp, and bravely fighting preſerved both that and their Tents from being taken by *Hannibal*. After this whilſt the Romans waſted the lands of the Apulians, becauſe they had revolted, *Hannibal* did the like to the Campanians who were all but the *Attellani* returned to the Romans obedience whom (becauſe they ſhould not be vexed with the Wars of the *Brutii*, Lucanians and Apulians) he brought to *Thurium*, and the Romans ſent the Exiles of *Nuceria* to inhabit *Attella*, and with their Army infeſting *Hannibals* aſſociates, came to *Antonia* which they took, and laid waſt all the Brutians Fields, and at the ſame time beſieged *Tarentum* by Sea and Land, which then was kept by a Punick Garriſon under *Carpalo* the Governor

vernor who becauſe the Carthaginians were few, had taken the Brutians into aſſociation with him; the Commander of whoſe Forces loved a Wench, whoſe brother was a Soldier among the Romans, who by his ſiſters means wrought the Brutian officer to betray that part of the Wall he had the Charge of, ſo the Romans recovered *Tarentum* a Town very convenient for them both to Sea and Landward. *Hannibal* made all the haſt he could to *Tarentum*, but on his march having certain intelligence of it's being taken, being much troubled he retreated to *Thurium*, from whence he went to *Venuſium*, where *Claudius Marcellus* who had ſubdued *Sicily*, now the fifth time Conſul, and *T. Criſpinus* had their Camp: yet they forbore fighting. But *Marcellus* by chance eſpying a party of Numidians, going out upon the ſpoil, and thinking them but few, with three hundred Horſe ſecurely charged them, being a man of a daring courage, and in all dangers too raſhly forward, but when the Africans coming in from all parts fell upon him, the Rear of the Romans firſt began to fly, but *Marcellus* who ſtill thought they followed him, fought valiantly till ſtruck through with a Dart he fell, his body being brought to *Hannibal* when he ſaw it wounded on all ſides, he commended him as a Soldier, but much condemned him as a General, but taking off his Ring, he Magnificently burnt it, and ſent the bones to his Son into the Camp. And then before the fame of his death ſhould ſpread too far, being deadly mad with the Salatians he diſpatched away a Roman fugitive to *Salatia* with letters ſealed with *Marcellus* Ring, ſignifying that *Marcellus* with his Army was coming thither, and commanding them to open their Gates. The Citizens having a little before received letters from *Criſpinus* (for he ſent to all the Cities Meſſengers to acquaint them that *Hannibal* had got *Marcellus* Ring) leſt if they ſtayd the meſſenger any time they ſhould betray their own Counſels, ſent him away with promiſe to obey the Commands. Mean while arming and diſpoſing themſelves upon the Walls, they expected the iſſue of the deceit, *Hannibal* coming with his Numidians wearing Roman Arms, the Port-cullis being drawn up, and the Gate opened, they with great joy and Alacrity received them, as if it had been *Marcellus*, but when as many were come in as they thought they were handſomely able to deal with, they let fall the Port-cullis, and ſlew all thoſe were got within the City. *Hannibal* thus fruſtrated of his hopes at *Salatia* retreated.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Aſdrubal* brother to *Hannibal* had brought into *Italy* that mercenary Army leavyed by him in *Spain*, being in his march kindly received by the Gauls, and in two months paſſing the *Alpes* (before laid open by *Hannibal*, and which he very hardly effected in ſix) he falls down into *Hetruria* with thirty eight thouſand Foot, eight thouſand Horſe, and fifteen Elephants; thence he wrote letters to his brother of his coming, which being intercepted by the Romans, who thereby underſtood his ſtrength, *Salinator* and *Nero* gathering together all the Force they could make, met with him at *Siena*, he who did not yet deſign fighting, but to joyn as ſoon as he could with his brother by night, removes his Camp, and wandring through marſhy places, and along the Banks of Rivers that were not fordable, made no great progreſs. At the break of day the Romans having diſcovered them, and following hard upon them tyred with labor and watching, many Centuries being drawn up together XI.

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in a body, and coming up with them, fell all at once upon *Asdrubal*'s Army, and taking many alive, routed his whole Army (which had it been joyned with *Hannibal* would have made him appear invincible) thereby freeing *Italy* from an unexpreſſible fear and terror. And 'tis my Judgment that Providence thought fit to give the Romans this victory by way of reprizal for the loſs ſuſtained at *Cannæ*, for this was equal and parallel to that both in the death of the Commander, and the utter ruine of the whole Army. It hapned likewiſe that in both many Captives were taken, and the next Morning the Conquerors in both became Maſters of the ſpoil of the vanquiſhed Camp. Of ſuch various fortune, ſometimes adverſe and ſometimes proſperous, did the Romans now make experience. The Celtiberians who eſcaped from the ſlaughter, returned ſome of them to their own Country, and ſome got to *Hannibal*, who not a little tormented for this loſs of his brother, and ſo great an Army, through too much haſt and ignorance of the ways, ſlighting all the reſt that in full fourteen years he had with vaſt labours been getting in *Italy*, retreated among the Brutians, who were the only people that continued in aſſociation with him, and there quietly expected new recruits from *Carthage*. And the Carthaginians did ſend him an hundred Ships laden with Corn, and ſupplies of Men and Mony, which being conveyed by three hundred *Triremes*, the Prætor of *Sardinia* ſet upon with his Gallies, and ſinking ſixty, the reſt got back to *Carthage*; From hence the penury of all things in *Hannibals* Camp much increaſed, but eſpecially the deſpair of getting any help from *Carthage*; And to all theſe misfortunes this was annexed that *Mago*, who was ſent into *Gaul* and *Liguria* to hire Soldiers, ſent no aid, but lay idle expecting the Event of things. Wherefore *Hannibal* plainly foreſeeing that he could not long continue in thoſe parts, began to contemn the Brutians themſelves, as men that would ere long be ſtrangers to him, and to oppreſs them with heavier taxes, ſeveral towns fortified by nature as if they practiſed a revolt he forced to remove into the plain, and many perſons whoſe Eſtates he had a deſire to ſieſe upon he condemned upon falſe accuſations.

XII. In the mean time there entred into the Conſulate *Licinius Craſſus* and *P. Scipio*, famous for his Conqueſts in *Spain*. *Craſſus* went into *Apulia* againſt *Hannibal*. *Scipio* adviſed the people that *Hannibal* and the Carthaginians, could not poſſibly be driven out of *Italy*, till an Army were tranſported into *Africa*, and they terrified with Domeſtick danger. And aſſiduouſly inſiſting upon it, and daily urging them all to it, he at length got *Africa* decreed for his province. Then without any delay traſporting his Army into *Sicily*, when he had ſpent a little time in Rendevouzing and Exerciſing his Soldiers, he was firſt carried to *Locriſa* a City of *Italy* (where *Hannibal* had placed a *Punick* Garriſon) whom having overpowred, leaving *Pleminius* as his Lieutenant in that City, he paſſed over into *Africa*, but *Pleminius* forbore not to treat the Locrians with all manner of villanous and contumelious uſage and cruelty, inſomuch that he rob'd the very Temple of *Proſerpine*. Wherefore the Romans for theſe horrible dealings with their Friends and Kindred put him to death in Priſon, and confiſcating his goods delivered them to the Locrians to be laid up in the

the Treaſures of the Goddeſs, and of the Mony taken away by Sacriledge they recovered as much as they could, and what remained it pleaſed them to ſupply out of the publick Exchequer. At the ſame time *Craſſus* drew away from *Hannibal*'s party, *Conſentia* a great City of the Brutians and many other Towns; but when at *Rome* the diſmal prodigies had filled the minds of men with ſuperſtition, the Decemvirs commanded to bring the Sibyls Books relating that few days before in *Peſſinuntium* a City of *Phrygia*, where the Mother of the Gods is Worſhipped, ſomething was fallen from heaven which ſhould be brought to *Rome*, and not long after the news of its falling came, and the image of the Goddeſs was brought to *Rome*, and on the ſame day that it happened to come thither was celebrated the Feaſt of the Mother of the Gods. There is a report that the Ship which brought it ſtruck upon a Shoal in the River *Tiber*, and that when by no means poſſible it could be removed, the Southſayers foretold that it would follow, if drawn by a woman that was pure and chaſt from any ſtrange bed. *Claudia Quinctia* ſuſpected but not guilty of Adultery (but her too looſe and free way of living had got her that ill report) firſt earneſtly calling upon the Goddeſs to witneſs her innocency of that crime, and then tying her Girdle to the Ship was followed by the Goddeſs. So *Claudia* from an evil fame which ſhe before lay under, got a moſt glorious name. But before this exploit of *Claudia*'s, the Romans admoniſhed by the Sibyls books, that by the beſt man of all the City they ſhould ſend for the image out of *Phrygia*, preſently ſent thither a man judged to be the beſt of thoſe times, *Scipio* Surnamed *Naſica* Son of *Cn. Scipio* who died General in *Spain*, and Couſin Germain to that *Scipio*, who abating the Carthaginian pride firſt bore the Surname of *African*. Thus was the Goddeſs brought to *Rome* by the beſt of Men and Women. But when the Brutians had intelligence that the Carthaginians in *Africa* had in ſeveral Battels been defeated by *Scipio*, they ſeemed to be at ſtrife who firſt ſhould deſert *Hannibal*, and ſome of them ſlew the *Punick* Garriſons, and others thruſt them out of their Cities. Thoſe who could do neither, privately ſent Deputies to *Rome*, to declare their good Will, though they wanted Power. *Hannibal* came with his Army to *Petelia*, which City was given by him to the Brutians after having expelled the former inhabitants. When therefore he expoſtulated with them that they had ſent Deputies to *Rome*, and they earneſtly denied it, he ſeemed to believe them, but that he might prevent any occaſion of ſuſpicion, he gave up their Great Men ſeparately into the keeping of his Numidians, and diſarming the Citizens gave their Arms to the Slaves, and to them committed the Charge of the City. Nor did he deal leſs ſeverely with other Cities to which he went in progreſs, for the *Thurini*'s goods he exhibited to his Soldiers Rapine, and beſides three thouſand Citizens whom he knew great lovers of the Carthaginians, and five hundred Country people he carried away, and leaving the City under the guard of the Preſidionary Soldiers, brought them all to *Crotona*, which becauſe of it's convenient Situation, he choſe both for his Granary and Seat of War.

XIII. But when by his Citizens (who to haſten him ſent for him *Aſdrubal* their Admiral) he was ſent for to come home, and bring relief to his Country then in danger by *Scipio*'s many victories, he grievouſly complained of the Carthaginians, who had always been ingrateful and perfidious to their Generals, as he had ſufficiently and for a long time experienced, and becauſe he had given the firſt beginning to this War in *Spain*, he began to be apprehenſive of himſelf; Yet he reſolved ſince 'twas fit he obeyed to go, and forthwith cauſed a great Number of Ships to be built, *Italy* furniſhing him abundantly with all Materials; But before his departure he expoſed all the Aſſociate, and ſubjected Cities, whom now he looked upon as Enemies to the Spoil and Plunder of his Army, that thereby enriching them, he might by their kindneſs be ſecure from his Citizens Calumnies. Yet aſhamed himſelf, againſt Faith and Equity, to wrong in this manner the Aſſociates, he ſent *Aſdrubal* the Admiral under a feigned pretence of viſiting the Garriſons to do it, who going into every City and Commanding the Citizens and their Slaves to pack up what they could carry, and march elſewhere, he gave all that remained up to be plundered; Which uſage being divulged, many before *Aſdrubal* came to them, roſe in Arms againſt the Garriſon Soldiers, and with various fortune, ſometimes the Townſmen, ſometimes the Soldiers had the better, hence followed mighty ſlaughters, with the Rapes of Matrons, and Virgins, and other villanies uſually committed at the Sack of Towns. As for thoſe Italian Soldiers who had deſerved well under him. *Hannibal* knowing them to be ſtout and well excerciſed Men, with magnificent promiſes tried to draw them over with him into *Africa*. Such as for any villanies committed were afraid to return into their own Country condemning themſelves to voluntary baniſhment; followed him, but thoſe who had no guilt upon their conſciences refuſed to go. Thoſe therefore who choſe rather to ſtay, then go, having commanded to aſſemble all in one place (as if he either deſigned to ſpeak to them or to reward them for paſt ſervices or command them ſomewhat for the future) he encompaſſed with his Army, and commanded his men to chuſe out among them as many as they liſted for Slaves. Some there were that choſe, others were aſhamed to take into ſuch baſe ſervitude, thoſe who as fellow Soldiers had done ſo many brave things with them. Thoſe that remained that they might never be uſeful to the Romans he cauſed to be thruſt through with Darts; Likewiſe of four thouſand Horſes and Oxen, no ſmall Number, he cauſed the throats to be cut, becauſe he had not the Conveniency to carry them into *Africa*. After which embarking his Army leaving only a few for a ſhow of a Garriſon in the Country of the Brutians he ſtay'd only for a wind; but the *Petelini* and other Italians riſing upon them at their departure ſlew ſome and ſo retreated. Thus *Hannibal* returning to *Africa* left *Italy*, which for ſixteen whole years he had waſted, and by a thouſand miſeries often reduced the deſolate inhabitants to the laſt Extremities, treating the Roman Subjects and Aſſociates with all contumelious Cruelty, and for thoſe whoſe ſervice, not ſo much out of good will as neceſſity, he had formerly made uſe of, now they could yield him no more help or advantage, he treated them likewiſe as Enemies. *Hannibal* being gone, the Senate pardoned all thoſe *Italian* people had revolted to the Carthaginians, granting a perfect act of Oblivion

vion for all things paſt. But the Brutians becauſe they had continued his ready Aſſociates to the laſt, they condemned in part of their Land, and took away all their Arms if they had any left after *Hannibal*'s plundring them. All Service in the Militia (as people who had loſt their right of Freedom) was likewiſe forbidden them, and when the Roman Conſuls went into the Provinces to overſee any publick works, they Commanded them to follow them like Servants. This was the Concluſion of *Hannibal*'s Expedition into *Italy* in the two and fiftieth year of the *Punick* Wars.

The end of the Eighth Book of the Roman Wars with Hannibal.

APPIAN

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APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
ROME.

In Five BOOKS.

PART II.

BOOK I.

The Argument of this Book.

I. A *Short Recital of the ſeveral Diſſentions and Civil Wars of the Romans, and the diviſion of this Hiſtory.* II. Gracchus *attempts paſſing the Law about Lands, wherein all the people are concerned; ſome for the Law, and ſome againſt it.* III. *It is at laſt paſſed.* IV. Gracchus *thereupon is ſlain.* V. Flaccus, Carbo, *and young* Gracchus *would notwith-*

ſtanding put in execution: Scipio *the African oppoſes it, and is found dead.* VI. *Young* Gracchus *and* Flaccus *purſue their enterpriſe, and declaring againſt the Senate, are at length ſlain.* VII. *The Enterpriſe of* Apuleius *and* Glaucia *againſt* Metellus, *who is baniſhed.* VIII. Apuleius *and* Glaucia *ſlain, and* Metellus *recalled from Exile.* IX. *The beginning of the War againſt the Allies, and the death of* Druſus. X. *The Tyranny of the Roman Knights, occaſioned by the Revolt of the Roman Allies, who at firſt proſper in their Attempts.* XI. *The Romans ſubdue them, and put an end to the War.* XII. *Sedition of Uſurers within the City.* XIII. *The beginning of the War betwixt* Marius *and* Sylla; *and the entrance of* Sylla *and* Q. Pompey *Conſuls, in Arms into the City.* XIV. *Orders impoſed by the Conſuls in the City: the death of* Sulpitius: *flight of* Marius, *and death of* Q. Pompey. XV. Cinna *being Conſul ſtrives to paſs a Law in favour of the new Citizens, but is driven from the City, and depoſed from his Conſulate, whom* Merula *ſucceeds.* XVI. Cinna *and* Marius *beſiege the City.* XVII. *They enter it, and make a dreadful Slaughter.* XVIII. Sylla *after his Victory over* Mithridates, *returns towards* Italy, *writes to the Senate; an Accommodation is debated; and* Cinna *preparing for War is ſlain.* XIX. Sylla *arrives at* Brunduſium, *makes his preparations, as the Conſuls do likewiſe.* XX. *Many Victories of* Sylla's, *who comes to* Rome, *where he is well received.* XXI. Sylla *again takes the Field, continues his Victories, and at laſt being Maſter of* Rome, *after the taking of* Præneſte *and* Norba, *War ceaſes in Italy.* XXII. *The cruelty exerciſed by* Sylla *over his Enemies in the City.* XXIII. *He makes himſelf perpetual Dictator, and reigns like a Tyrant.* XXIV. *He lays down the Dictatorſhip, retires into the Country, his Death and Funerals.* XXV. *The War of* Sertorius, *his and* Perpenna's *death.* XXVI. *The War of* Spartacus.

THE Roman People often fell into Diſſentions with the Senate, upon the account of the Publication of Laws, the Abolition of Debts, the Diviſion of Lands, and the Election of Magiſtrates, but yet they came not to Blows; for theſe Differences were decided by the ways of Juſtice, becauſe both Orders bore to each other a mutual reſpect; ſo that though the people often ſaw themſelves already armed againſt ſome Foreign Enemy, yet they abuſed not that power to make any Sedition. And then when they drew up to the * Mount, which therefore is called Sacred, they reſtrained themſelves from committing any extraordinary violence, contenting themſelves only to create for the maintenance of their Rights a new Magiſtrate, whom they called Tribune of the people. The creation of this Office was deſigned only to counterpoiſe the Power of the Conſuls, whoſe Election then depended only on the Senates, and to keep them from exerciſing the whole authority in the Adminiſtration of their Republique: yet this bred abundance of Hate and Quarrels amonſt theſe Magiſtrates, the one ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the Senate, and the other by the favour of the people; and each party thought themſelves robbed of that which was added to the other. Theſe ſame Contentions were the cauſe that *Marcus Coriolanus*, being condemn'd without any deſert of his, went into Baniſhment among the *Volſces*, and ſoon after made War upon his Country; and this was the firſt Civil Diviſion wherein Arms were made uſe of, and which only began by a Fugitive: yet after this they never bore Arms in the Aſſembliess nor began any Maſſacre of their Fellow Citizens, till ſuch time as *Tiberius Gracchus* raiſed a Sedition, wherein he periſhed, and with him ſome

* *Aventine.*

ſome others, who being fled to the Capitol, were ſlain near the Temple. But after this Sacrilege, the Seditions were almoſt continual; the people mutinying upon the leaſt occaſion, the Aſſaſſins ran up and down the City, ſometimes on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, Perſons of Quality were ſlain, either in ſome Temple, or in the Aſſembly, or in the Palace, and that by order of the Tribunes, Prætors, Conſuls, or other Superior Powers; inſomuch that theſe Reciprocal Offences increaſed by little and little the contempt of Juſtice and the Laws. This infection at laſt ſpreading it ſelf through all parts, open Conſpiracies were made againſt the Common-wealth, great Armies brought into the Field, ſometimes thoſe had been baniſhed and condemned, attempting ſome Novelties, and ſometimes the principal men of the City fighting among themſelves, as well without as within for the Government of the State. There were likewiſe ſome powerful and ambitious Citizens who aſpired to the Government, either by keeping the Command of Armies entruſted to them by the people, or levying freſh Soldiers by their own authority, to defend themſelves, as they ſaid, againſt their Enemies: but under pretence of making War againſt their Enemies, they made War againſt their Country, each party ſtriving who ſhould firſt ſeiſe upon the City; ſo that whilſt they treated each other as Enemies, all places were filled with Aſſaſſinations, Proſcriptions, Baniſhments, Executions and Tortures. In ſhort, there was no cruelty left uncommitted, eſpecially then when about fifty years after the death of *Gracchus*, one of the Factions driving away one miſchief with another, became abſolute Maſter of the Common-wealth, and for ſome time governed it alone under the Title of Dictator, a certain Magiſtrate among the Romans whom they never created but in extreme danger, for ſix Months only, and whoſe uſe ſeemed to be aboliſhed when *Sylla* obtained that Dignity by force. Nevertheleſs, though all men believed that he was created Dictator to perpetuity, yet having glutted himſelf, as one may ſay, with power, he depoſed himſelf; and certainly he was the firſt (at leaſt that ever I could gain knowledge of) that was ſo bold as to change a Tyranny for a private life. He added to this action a diſcourſe no leſs worthy of memory. He declared he was ready to give an account of his Adminiſtration to whoever ſhould demand it; and ſome time after came and walked in the place in the habit of a private man, in the face of all the world, from whence he returned to his Houſe without having received the leaſt affront from any perſon; ſo much was that reſpect to the Sovereign Authority he had poſſeſſed, engrafted in the minds of men, whether that they were aſtoniſhed at his laying of it down, or that they were aſhamed to demand an account of that man who offered himſelf to give it, or that they thought it an inhumanity to hate that Power, how tyrannical ſoever it were, that was joyned with the publick good. Thus the Seditions ceaſed for a time; *Sylla* having applyed Remedies to the preſent Diſtempers, but they were only fallen aſleep; for they awakened again, and continued till ſuch time as *Julius Cæſar* after having for ſome years made War in *Gaul*, would not diſmiſs his Army, though the Senate decreed it; ſaying, it was not the Senates deſire, but *Pompey*'s, who being at preſent at the Head of the Army in *Italy*, and his Enemy, had deſigned to reduce him under his power as well as others. Yet he propoſed theſe Conditions of Accommodation, that either both ſhould keep their Armies, or that *Pompey* diſarming as well as he, ſhould live like a private man under the authority of the Laws. But not obtaining either the one or the other, he departed from *Gaul*, marched againſt *Pompey* and his Country, entred the City, drove thence his Enemy,

overtook him in *Theſſaly*, defeated him in a memorable Battel, and purſued him as far as *Egypt*. Finding *Pompey* ſlain by the Egyptians, he returned to *Rome*, after having ſettled the Egyptian Affairs, and ſettled their * Kings in that Kingdom; ſo that beholding himſelf ſecure by the death of ſo powerful an Enemy, the mightineſs of whoſe Actions had gained him the Title of Great; and no perſon having thenceforth the boldneſs to oppoſe his will, he was created perpetual Dictator the next after *Sylla*. And now again the Seditious were quieted, till ſuch time as *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, either out of envy to his Power, or out of a deſire they had to ſettle again the Common-wealth in it's ancient form, ſlew in open Senate this man, ſo cheriſhed by the people, and ſo knowing in the Art of Reigning. He was ſo generally lamented, that they ſought out for his Murderers, to put them to death, that they ſolemnized his Funerals in the publick place, and there where they had burnt his Body, erected a Temple, and offered Sacrifices to him as a God. But now the Civil Diſcords began again, and in a ſhort time grew to that height, that they were followed by the Murders, Proſcriptions and Baniſhments of many as well of the Order of Senators as Knights, the Faction interchangeably delivering up the Enemies of one another; ſo that to gain their own ſatisfaction, they ſpared neither Friends nor their own Brothers, ſo much were men hurried on by their paſſion to the prejudice of natural Piety. At laſt by a horrible boldneſs the Roman Empire, as if it had been the Stock of ſome private Citizen, was divided between *Anthony*, *Lepidus*, and he who at firſt was called *Octavius*, but afterwards took the name of *Cæſar*, having been adopted by his Uncle. After this diviſion they made War on each other, as it was but juſt they ſhould, and *Cæſar* more prudent and politick than the other, firſt deſpoiled *Lepidus* of *Africa*, which had fallen to his ſhare. And in concluſion, after the Victory of *Actium*, which he gained over *Anthony*, drove him out of all the Provinces, extending from *Syria* to the Adriatick Gulf. The whole world aſtoniſhed at theſe prodigious Succeſſes, , he made himſelf likewiſe Maſter of *Egypt*, the moſt ancient and richeſt Kingdom poſſeſſed by any of the Succeſſors of *Alexander*, which only was wanting to complete the Roman Empire to that height we now behold it. That done, he was placed among the number of the Gods, whilſt he was yet living, and beheld it; and being called *Auguſtus* by the people, he aſſumed an authority over his Country, and the ſubjected Nations, greater than ever was attributed to his Father *Caius*, not ſo much as in the leaſt appearance asking the votes of the people: ſo that having ſecured his power by length of time, always happy, and feared by all the world, he left his Succeſſors capable of ſuſtaining the weight of that great Empire, and the Sovereign Power being reunited in a ſingle perſon, Concordance once more took place of Sedition. This will be the ſubject of this work, which will contain the wonderful Adventures of thoſe People who aimed at Honour and Dominion through all ſorts of Calamities: and I ſhall write it the more willingly, becauſe I am obliged to treat of all theſe things before I write the Affairs of *Egypt*, which are but a conſequence of them; for thoſe diviſions wherein *Cleopatra* took the part of *Anthony*, were the cauſe of the Reduction of *Egypt* under the Roman Empire. And that I may ſettle ſome order in ſo great a confuſion of things, I will firſt ſpeak of what paſſed from the *Gracchi* to *Sylla*'s time, then what was done until the death of *Caius Cæſar*, the following Books ſhall treat of the Wars of the *Triumvirs* with the Roman People, and againſt one another, until the laſt and greateſt of theſe Misfortunes; I mean the Battle fought by *Cæſar* at *Actium* againſt *Anthony*

and

* Ptolomy *and* Cleopatra *Brother and Siſter.*

and *Cleopatra*, where I intend to begin the Hiſtory of *Egypt*.

II. The Romans, as they now ſubdued one, and then another of the people of *Italy* were accuſtomed to make ſeiſure of a part of their Lands, to which they ſent Colonies, or otherwiſe gave Cities already built, to be inhabited by their own Nation. Theſe Colonies were placed in the conquered Provinces in the nature of Garriſons, and they either ſet out by ſhares to theſe new Inhabitants ſuch Lands as were fit for Tillage, or otherwiſe ſold them to them, or let them out to Farm. As for the unprofitable ground (as War often makes places deſert) it not being qualified to bear a part in the Dividend, it was proclaimed and given to the firſt that made offer to manure it, on condition to pay an annual Tribute, the fifth part of the increaſe of Trees, and the Tithe of the Corn, with an Impoſt upon all ſorts of Cattel, as well Flocks as Herds. Thus ſtrove they to preſerve the Italian Nation, eſteemed very laborious, that they might always have in a readineſs Soldiers of their own people to ſerve them upon occaſion; but the ſucceſs proved contrary to their expectations; for the rich undertaking at firſt the unprofitable or deſert Lands, and by preſcription of time, not only aſſuring to themſelves the poſſeſſion of them, but likewiſe joyning to them the Dividend of their poor Neighbours, either by force, or by money, became poſſeſſed not of Villages, but of whole Countries, which their Slaves improved and manured for them, that they might not take Freemen from the profeſſion of Arms. Thus they receiving vaſt Revenues, and their Slaves ſtill multiplying, becauſe they were not obliged to go to War: the moſt powerful among them grew prodigiouſly rich, and the Country was filled with Slaves, whereas there remained but very few of the Italian Nation, and thoſe few too were oppreſſed with poverty, by reaſon of the continual Expeditions, in which they were forced to bear Arms, and the cruel Exactions of the Tax-gatherers: and if at any time they had ſome reſpite from their Sufferings, then Idleneſs corrupted them, having no Land of their own to manure, nor finding any work from others, by reaſon of the multitude of Slaves. This extremity troubled and perplexed both the Senate and People of *Rome*, who with grief beheld that they could not as heretofore, upon any ſudden occaſion, draw together a conſiderable Force of Italians, and they began to fear their Government unſecure, by reaſon of the Countries being filled with ſuch multitudes of Slaves. They ſought long time for a remedy to theſe inconveniencies; for they neither judged it eaſie, nor indeed juſt to diſlodge men, after ſo long a poſſeſſion, from thoſe Lands where they had habituated themſelves, and been at great expence. In concluſion, after much debate the Tribunes made a Law whereby all perſons were prohibited from keeping more than five hundred Acres of Land, one hundred Head of Cattle, and five hundred Sheep; and beſides, they deſigned a certain number of free people to have the overſight of the Tillage, and care of the Corn. This Law was confirmed by ſolemn Oaths, and puniſhments decreed againſt the infringers of it: it was deſigned likewiſe, that all thoſe Lands poſſeſſed by any above the proportion preſcribed by the Law, ſhould be equally diſtributed among the poor, but neither Oaths nor Law prevailed. Thoſe who appeared moſt zealous in the obſervation of it, underhand made Contracts, conveying over their advance to their Friends, and others publickly laughed at it, till ſuch time as *Tiberius Gracchus* of Noble Race, covetous of Glory, very eloquent, and well known in the City for all theſe qualities, having obtained the Dignity of Tribune, made a grave ſpeech in favour of the Italian People, much lamenting

lamenting that a Nation ſo warlike, and allyed to the Roman People, ſhould be reduced to ſo ſmall numbers, and to ſuch an oppreſſive poverty, that there ſcarce appeared any remedy, but that they muſt be utterly extinct. Then he declared againſt the vaſt numbers of Slaves, uſeleſs in War, and treacherous to their Maſters, a freſh example of which he related of the Slaves, rebelling againſt their Patrons in *Sicily*, where the Slaves being grown numerous by reaſon of their being employed in Husbandry, had raiſed ſuch a War againſt the Romans, as was not ſuppreſſed without much danger, and many bloody Engagements. This Speech did the work, and gained a new publication of the Law concerning Lands, whereby it was forbid any one to be poſſeſſed of more than five hundred Acres, adding to it, that the Children of the Family might be poſſeſſed of two hundred and fifty; and that after reduction made, the remaining Land ſhould be divided among the poor by Triumvirs, who were to be changed every year, which ſorely grieved the rich men, who durſt no more attempt any thing againſt the Law, nor for the future buy other mens proportions; for *Gracchus*, to prevent frauds, had by the ſame Law forbid all ſuch kind of Contracts, which occaſioned, that in every corner might be ſeen people got together, reproaching the poor with the pains they had taken in manuring their Ground, and the charge they had been at in building, crying out, that it was not juſt to make them loſe, not only their Lands, but likewiſe the money they had payed to their Neigbours, and withal deprive them of the Sepulchres of their Predeceſſors, interred in thoſe grounds left to them by Succeſſion. Others demanded the reſtoring of their Wives Dowry, which they had thus employed, or that their Children might have leave to enjoy thoſe Farms they had ſettled upon them at their Marriage: others again ſhewed the Contracts and Statutes they had entred into, taking up moneys at great intereſts to purchaſe thoſe Lands. In a word, all places were filled with murmuring and complaint. On the other ſide, were heard the lamentings of the poor, that from rich, that they once were, now they had reduced them to extreme poverty: nay, even to deſpair, having nothing left to feed their Children, they recounted the many Expeditions wherein they had ſerved the Common-wealth, to the end, they might maintain themſelves in the poſſeſſion of theſe Lands, and vowed never to ſerve more, if they were not reſtored to what belonged to them. They likewiſe accuſed the rich men, that they diſdained to employ them in their Tillage, but rather made choice of Slaves their Enemies, faithleſs people, and uſeleſs in War. During theſe reproaches, and mutual laments, the contagion of this Diſtemper ſpread it it ſelf among the Colonies, the Municipal Cities, and in all places where Lands were poſſeſſed by what Title ſoever: every one feared to loſe, and there as well as in the City the multitude was divided into two parties, and each relying on the number of their Faction, ſtirred them up againſt the other; and all people being concerned in the execution of this Law: one party diſpoſing themſelves to hinder it, and the other being ready to attempt any thing to maintain it, mens minds were ſtrangely inclined to Sedition. So neither one nor the other party reſolving to yield, they waited only the day appointed for the paſſing the Law in the Aſſembly.

III. *Gracchus*'s Deſign was not ſo much to relieve the poverty of particular men, as to repeople the Country, becauſe he believed it the intereſt of the Common-wealth, and that hereupon depended the fortune of all *Italy*: nor doubted he of the ſucceſs of the Enterpriſe, though it were as difficult

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as it was important. When the Assembly was met, after having a long time discoursed the business in Question, he asked the Auditors, if they believed it not just, that what belonged to the Publick should be shared among the People, if a Citizen were not to be preferred befor a Slave, if a Soldier were no more serviceable to the State than a Ploughman, and if a natural Inhabitant were not more affectionate to the Common-wealth than a Stranger: and without insisting long upon these comparisons, as absurd, he began to discourse of the hopes and fears of the City. That the Romans had conqueeed many Countries, and been in hopes to extend their Conquests to the most distant Climates: but that as things now stood, there was cause enough to doubt whether they should be able to complete the Conquest of the rest, with that small number of Soldiers wherewith *Italy* was peopled, or should not rather lose their own Country, by reason of the weakness of their Armies, and the powerfulness of their Enemies, and withal exaggerating the Glory and Riches on one side, and the danger and fear on the other; he exhorted the rich men to consider with themselves if it were not much more to the purpose willingly to quit to the unfortunate poor who had great charge of Children the possession of some Lands, out of hopes of those great advantages might thereby accrue, than to neglect things of most import, by disputing Trifles. That besides five hundred Acres of good Land well secured, and for those had Children, half as much for every Head, was no contemptible recompence of their past Services. After having largely discoursed on this subject; and the minds of the poor people, and of all such as suffered themselves to be rather led by reason than passion remaining suspended, he gave command to the Serjeant to read the Law, when *M. Octavius* his Colleague, who was suborned by the rich men to prevent the passing of the Law, imposed silence upon the Serjeant. Whereupon *Gracchus* publickly reproaching him, adjourned the Assembly till the morrow; when having caused some Armed Men to be there, as if by force he would have constrained *Octavius* to yield to him, whether he would or no; he with threats commanded the Serjeant to read the Law, and *Octavius* on the contrary forbad him. Whereupon the Colleagues quarrelling, and it being impossible to read the Law by reason of the Tumult, the most Considerate of the Assembly besought the Tribunes to refer the Difference to the Senate's judgment. *Gracchus* consented; and out of hopes that this Law would displease no reasonable man, went straight to the Palace; but not being received there with so great applause as among the Vulgar; nay, on the contrary, having reviling words cast at him by the Rich Men, he returns to the Assembly, and promises that on the morrow he would gather their Voices both concerning the Law, and the dismission of his Colleague, who opposed the good of the People. He accordingly did it: And as *Octavius* presented himself unconcerned, he first put it to the Vote concerning him, The first Tribe having given their Vote against *Octavius*, *Gracchus* turned to him, and desired him to desist from his Enterprize; but seeing him obstinate, he persisted to demand the advice of the rest; for at this time there were five and thirty, of which seventeen all in a fury having voted with the first, if the eighteenth were joyned with them the Law became ratified. Wherefore *Gracchus* once more publickly besought his Colleague, now upon the very point of being deposed, not so stubbornly to disturb a Work so holy and so beneficial to all Italians, nor any more oppose a thing which the people so ardently desired, the Execution whereof his Office of Tribune obliged him to; and in fine, not to suffer himself to be deposed. After which Entreaties he called the Gods to witness,

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that it was with regret he thus acted againſt the honour of his Colleague: but then ſeeing nothing would perſwade him, he began again to gather the Votes. Thus *Octavius* being deprived of his Office and Charge, and retired out of the Aſſembly, they ſubſtituted *Mummius* in his ſtead; and at the ſame time the Law was ratifyed. They created Triumvirs for dividing the Land, *Gracchus* himſelf, *Caius* his Brother, and *Appius Claudius* his Father in Law; for the people were fearful the Law might remain without Execution, unleſs he that made it and his Alliance had the Support of it in their own hands.

IV. As for *Gracchus*, raviſhed with joy that this Law had paſſed, he was carried back by the people to his Houſe, as if he had been the reſtorer not of one City or one people, but of all the Nations of *Italy*. After which the victorious Party went into the Countries from whence they were come to this contention; and the other in deſpair for being overcome, ſtaid ſtill in the City, publickly declaring that *Gracchus* ſhould repent, as ſoon as he was out of employment, the daring to violate an authority ſo holy and ſacred, and be the mover of ſuch a Sedition in *Italy*. Summer being already come, the time of the Aſſembly for the Creation of Tribunes drew nigh, and it was very likely the rich men would ſo contrive it, that the dignity might fall upon *Gracchus*'s enemies, which ſomewhat terrified him, and fearful leſt any thing might paſs in the Aſſembly to his prejudice, he did his endeavours to recal the people out of the Country. But all people being now employed in their Tillage, as is uſual in Harveſt; and the day of Aſſembly approaching, he was forced to have recourſe to the people of the City; and with kindneſſes and ſubmiſſions ſolicite every one in particular, to continue him in the Tribuneſhip, in acknowledgment of the dangers to which he had expoſed himſelf for their ſervice. When it came to the Vote, *Gracchus* had thoſe of the two firſt Tribes: Whereupon the rich men cryed out, that it was not allowed by Law to continue the ſame dignity in the ſame Perſon: and *Rubrius*, Tribune of the people, whom Lot made Preſident of the Aſſembly, making a demur upon it, *Mummius* the Succeſſor of *Octavius*, obliged him to reſign his place, and ſuffer him to gather the Votes; but the reſt of the Tribunes maintained that Lots ought again to be drawn for the Preheminence, and that *Rubrius* Reſignation could not be made, but in equal favour of all the Tribunes. In this Conteſt *Gracchus* ſeeing his Party the weakeſt, adjourned the Aſſembly till the morrow; and finding his Affairs grow deſperate, before he was diſmiſſed of his Charge, he ſpent the reſt of that day in the place in mourning, having his Son with him, whom he recommended to all he met, as foreſeeing himſelf likely to periſh by the violence of his Enemies. The Rabble moved to compaſſion for the man, and withal judging that there muſt be no more talk of Equality between them and the other Citizens, but they muſt reſolve to ſuffer the Tyrannick Rule of the Rich if they forſook their Protector in the danger he was in for their ſakes, they carryed him to his houſe in the evening, and wiſhed him to be couragious next morning. Hereupon he took heart; and aſſembling before it was day thoſe of his Faction, gives them a word in caſe there ſhould be occaſion to fight, and ſo ſeizes on the Capitol and place of Aſſembly. The rich men, by the joyning of ſome Tribunes with them, having hindred Votes to be taken about his Continuation, he gave to his Party the Signal agreed upon between them: whereupon they roſe with great clamour, and ſtraightway fell to blows; ſome gathering about his Perſon as his Guards, and others tucking up their Robes, ſnatching the Rods

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out of the Lictors hands, and untying them, drave all the rich Men out of the Aſſembly with many blows and wounds; in ſo much, that the Tribunes affrighted fled, and the Prieſts ſhut up the Temple. The terror of thoſe who ran flying up and down, filled all the City with diſorder and uncertain rumors. Some ſaid *Graechus* had taken the Tribuneſhip from his Colleagues; which ſeemed the more credible, becauſe none of them appeared in publick: And others, that without expecting the people's Votes, he had created himſelf Tribune. Mean while the Senate aſſembled in the Temple of Faith. And ſurely it is to me a wonder, that neither now nor afterwards it entred into the thoughts of any of the Fathers, to propoſe the ſaving way of a Dictator, ſo often tryed in the like Commotions. After a ſhort Conſultation they aſcended the Capitol, led by *Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, High Prieſt; who having cryed aloud, that all who loved the ſafety of the Commonwealth ſhould follow him, caſt one of the Skirts of his Robe over his ſhoulder and over his head; whether for a ſign to aſſemble the multitude, or to give them Signal of Battel, or to teſtifie his reſpect to the Gods, in concealing from them the deſign he had in his heart. Being come to the Capitol, and *Gracchus* people having made way for that great Man at the head of the Senate; thoſe that followed him ſnatcht the Clubs out of their Enemies hands; and getting pieces of Forms which they broke, or any thing that might ſerve for offence, they fell upon the others with ſo much fury, that they drove the greateſt part of them down the Precipices, and ſlew *Gracchus* himſelf near the Temple Gates before the Statues of their Kings, with a great number of his followers; whoſe bodies were in the night caſt into *Tyber*. Thus ended *Graechus*, Son to a Father that had been twice Conſul; and to *Cornelia*, Daughter to *Scipio* the Affrican. He was ſlain being Tribune, and in the Capitol, ſerving his Country but with too much violence. And this Riot, the moſt infamous we have upon Record, was committed in the ſacred place where Magiſtrates are choſen. His death wrought two different effects in men's minds; ſome rejoyced, and others mourned, for many lamented not leſs their own condition than his; calling the preſent State not the Republick, but the Inſolence of the victorious Party; whilſt others, believing they had nothing more to fear, found themſelves at the top of their wiſhes. All this happened in the time of that War, when *Ariſtonicus* fought with the people of *Rome* for the Empire of *Aſia*.

After *Gracchus* death, *Appius* being likewiſe deceaſed, *Fulvius Flaccus* and *Papirius Carbo*, together with the young *Gracchus*, undertook to cauſe the Law about Lands to be put in Execution. And when the ancient Poſſeſſors ſtood off what they could to hinder the Arpentage or Diviſion of Lands, they cauſed Proclamation to be made, that whoſoever would might ſummon them before them, which gave Riſe to numberleſs difficult Law-Suits; for all contiguous Lands that either had been ſold or divided, fell into diſpute, to know how they were ſold or divided: no Writing of Sale appearing, and many having loſt the Poſſeſſion of what was let out to them by Diviſion; and beſides, whatever did appear done by contract, was very doubtful. And moreover, in making a general Survey, in order to a new Diviſion, ſome who had ſowed or otherwiſe improved their Farms, were tranſplanted to a corner that at preſent lay Fallow; and others from Arable, to a Waſt, Clay or Marſhy Ground. For from the firſt, there had been no very exact Diviſion made of the Lands gained from the Enemy. And becauſe it was enacted that Lands ſo ſet out ſhould be tilled by the Poſſeſſors, V.

ſome that were more diligent had advanced upon their Neighbours, and ſo confounded the Bounds: Beſides, time having changed the face of places, it was no eaſie matter to diſcover the Incroachments of the rich Men, though they were very great. In a word, by the often change of Dwellings, all things were in confuſion and diſorder. The Italians, tired with their Law-Suits, and feeling themſelves oppreſſed with the Execution of Judgments; that they might be no longer ſubject to theſe Injuſtices, beſought *Cornelius Scipio* the African to undertake their Protection. They had ſerved him ſo well in many occaſions of War, that he could not refuſe them his Aſſiſtance: He therefore went to the Senate; where at firſt daſh he ſtruck not directly at the Law for fear to offend the people; but having touched ſomewhat upon the difficulty of the Affair, he moved that the cognizance of ſuch Cauſes as ſhould happen might be taken from the Tribunes as Men ſuſpected, and others be ſent in their ſtead. His Opinion being found very juſt, the Senate confirmed it by Decree; and gave the Commiſſion to *Tuditanus*, then Conſul. But he having undertaken a buſineſs which he found very difficult, taking for a pretence the War of *Illyria*, went into that Province; and no man longer acknowledging the Triumvirs for Judges, all matters were at a ſtand. This loſt *Scipio* in the hearts of the Common People; who believed that this Man, for whoſe ſake they had often offended the prime Men of the City, and without conſideration of the Law, twice made Conſul; now ſerved the Italian Allies to their prejudice. Which coming to the knowledge of *Scipio*'s Enemies, they ran up and down the Streets, exclaiming that he was reſolved to aboliſh the Law by Arms, and by the Maſſacre of the Citizens; and thus they terrified the multitude. In ſhort, *Scipio* being one evening retired into his Chamber, with Table-Books to write, during the night, an Oration he was to make to the Aſſembly, was found dead without the appearance of any Wound: Whether he were poyſoned by *Cornelia*, the Mother of the *Gracchi* (who feared leſt this Law ſhould be abrogated) having for an Accomplice *Sempronia* her Daughter, *Scipio*'s Wife; who being ugly and barren, was neither beloved, nor loved him: Or whether (as ſome believed) he gave himſelf this death, becauſe he ſaw he could not perform what he promiſed. Though there be others ſay that his Slaves under Torment confeſſed that ſome unknown men they had let in at the back door, had ſtrangled him; and that they durſt not diſcover the Murther, becauſe they knew the people hating *Scipio*, rejoyced at his death. Thus died that man, ſo ſerviceable to the Roman Empire, for whom no publick Funerals were celebrated; ſo much did preſent Indignation tranſcend the power of thoſe Acknowledgments the people owed to his paſt Services. And this gave occaſion of encreaſe to the Seditions about the Law concerning Lands.

VI. Mean while the Diviſion of Lands was delayed by reaſon of ſeveral Intreagues practiſed by thoſe in Poſſeſſion: And ſome were of opinion that the Freedom of the City ſhould be given to all thoſe Allies principally concerned, to make them by that favour quit all other pretences. The Italians were herewith well content; and much rather would have choſe the Freedom offered, than the new Diviſion they demanded. *Fulvius Flaccus*, now Conſul, and likewiſe Triumvir for the Execution of the Law, ſtood ſtiffly to this Propoſition. But the Senate could not endure that the Subjects of *Rome* ſhould be made equal to her Citizens: So there it ſtopped to the great diſpleaſure of thoſe people, troubled to ſee their hopes fruſtrate. Matters ſtanding thus; *Caius*, Brother to the Elder *Gracchus*, and heretofore his Colleague in the Triumvirate, offered himſelf very ſeaſonably to be Tribune.

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He had layen ſtill ſome time after his Brother's death, contemned by the Fathers; againſt whom he could not defend his Authority. But having put himſelf in the number of thoſe who ſtood for the Tribuneſhip, he carried it roundly to the general ſatisfaction of the people; and forthwith began to put in practice all ways poſſible to revenge himſelf of the Senate: For he made a Law, that every Month a certain quantity of Wheat ſhould be delivered to the people by head, at the publick Expence. This had never before been practiſed. So that having ſuddainly gained the people by this new Eſtabliſhment; and withal, being ſupported by *Fulvius Flaccus*, he was again choſen Tribune for the Year following. For it was already enacted by an expreſs Law, that if it were neceſſary for a Tribune to be continued in order to the perfecting of ſomething begun, he ought to be preferred before any of the Competitors in the next Aſſembly. This Dignity being then prolonged to him for the following Year, and the people already engaged to him for the fore-cited favour, he caſt about, how to gratifie the Knights the next Order after the Supreme, and propoſed the Transferring to this Order, the Cognizance of all Concuſſion, publick Extortion, or evil Management of Offices and Charges; reproaching them with the freſh Examples of *Aurelius*, *Cotta*, *Salinator* and *Manlius Aquilius*, Conqueror of *Aſia*: All which being accuſed of miſ-employing the publick Treaſure, had been cleared by the Corruption of their Judges; which was likewiſe atteſted by the Deputies of the Provinces ſtill in the City, and loudly complaining of the Injuſtice done them. The Senators were ſo aſhamed to hear theſe diſcourſes, that they never oppoſed the publick Decree; ſo that the cognizance of thoſe Crimes was conſigned over to the Knights: And it is reported that at the ratifying this Law *Gracchus* was heard ſay, *That the power of the Senate was throughly quaſhed.* And indeed the conſequences proved the ſaying true: for another Order being henceforward Judges, both of the Affairs of the City, and of *Italy*; nay, even of the Senators themſelves: whether the Queſtion were concerning a Pecuniary Fine, or Condemning to Baniſhment or Infamy, the whole power ſeemed to be in the hands of the Knights, and the Senate reduced to depend on them. Beſides, the Order of the Knights contributing to the Election of the Tribunes of the people, and the Tribunes being ready to return them kindneſs for kindneſs, the Senate began to be ſtartled; and there wanted very little but by overturning the whole Frame of the Commonwealth, the Knights had had all the Authority in effect, leaving the Senate only the Honour and Shew: For ſome time after not only this Supreme Order was ſubmitted to the Knights, but the Senators daily received Injuſtices from their Judges; who tickled with the ſweetneſs of the profit they had now taſted, abuſed their Power with all ſorts of infamy and diſorder. They ſuborned Accuſers againſt the Rich; and entring into a Cabal, eluded thoſe Laws made againſt corrupt Judges, or with ſcorn contemned them. Hence came it, that becauſe no account was required of their Proceedings, a new Sedition was raiſed, becauſe of Judiciary Laws, which proved not leſs than others, and likewiſe laſted ſome time. *Gracchus* likewiſe ſet on work the Levelling, Paving and Repairing the High ways of all *Italy*, wherein he employed Multitudes of people living only by Day-labour; whom by this means he perfectly gained to attempt any thing for his Service. He founded ſeveral Colonies; and obliged the Latines to demand a Right of Freedom of the City; alledging it was an unworthy thing for the Senate to hinder what people, their Allies, deſired with ſo much paſſion; and at laſt he gave to other Allies a Right to give in their Votes, contrary to ancient Cuſtom, becauſe he hoped to make

uſe of them in the Publication of Laws he deſigned to prefer. This more allarmed the Senate than all had paſſed before. Wherefore after a Conſultation the Conſuls publiſhed their Defences, forbidding all perſons not having Right to vote to ſtay in the City, or to come within the * fifth Stone. They likewiſe drew in *Livius Druſus* to oppoſe all Laws propoſed by *Gracchus* his Colleague, without giving any reaſon of his Oppoſition before the people; which liberty they likewiſe gave to all Oppoſers whatſoever. Laſtly, to ſweeten the Multitude, they granted them twelve Colonies; which Conceſſion ſo charmed their minds, that they began to diſguſt the new Laws. So that *Gracchus* fruſtrated of the people; and *Fulvius Flaccus*, a Conſular, who had been made *Gracchus* his Colleague, went over for the ſame reaſon into *Africa*; where by reaſon of the fertility of the Soyl, a Colony was appointed to be eſtabliſhed, and Inhabitants expreſly ſent thither, that the City being disburthened, the Senate might in ſome meaſure be delivered from popular Seditions. The Tribunes ſet out the place of their Habitation among the Ruins of *Carthage*; without conſideration that *Scipio*, when he demoliſhed it, had decreed it to remain eternally deſert, with Imprecations againſt all thoſe who ſhould attempt to rebuild it. They likewiſe made account to bring over ſix thouſand Inhabitants more than were appointed by Ordinance of the Senate, to gain ſo much the more the people's good grace. From thence they returned to *Rome*, with deſign to gather together from all parts of *Italy* thoſe ſix thouſand perſons deſtined for *Carthage*. But thoſe who ſtayed in *Africa*, to lay the firſt Foundations to that Colony; having writ to the City that the Wolves had tore away the Mark ſet by the Tribunes, the Augurs declared it Sacrilege to ſend Inhabitants thither, and the Senate publiſhed an Aſſembly to conſult of the Abrogation of the Law in what related to that Colony. Whereupon *Gracchus* and *Fulvius* having likewiſe loſt this hope, ran like mad men through the Streets, crying out that the Prodigy of the Wolves was a lye of the Senate's. The moſt reſolute of the people took their parts; and armed, they came to the Capitol, where the Tribes were in Convocation to give their Votes, touching the Colony. After the people were aſſembled, and *Fulvius* had begun to ſpeak, *Gracchus*, who to that end had ordered his people to follow, attempted to go up to the Temple of *Jupiter*; but being hindred by thoſe who knew he had ſome ill deſign, he returned no more into the Aſſembly, but retreated into the Porch, waiting an opportunity to engage the adverſe Party. Mean while a certain man of the people called *Attilius*, who ſacrificed under the ſame Porch, ſeeing him moved, went to accoſt him: and whether knowing any thing, or having ſome ſuſpition, or elſe only by way of entertainment, beſought him to have compaſſion of his Country: Whereupon ſeeming troubled as if he had been diſcovered; and looking awry upon the man, one of his followers, without receiving any Command, or ſtaying for a Signal; but judging by his Maſter's Countenance that it was time to ſtrike, and that by beginning firſt, he would be the more obliged to him; drew his Sword, and run *Attilius* into the Belly. Whereupon, a great cry being raiſed, when the dead body was ſeen upon the Pavement, all the people were affrighted, and every man fled from the Temple as faſt as he could. *Gracchus* went into the Aſſembly, to give an account of this Action; but when none would hear his Juſtification, but all looked upon him as impious and irreligious. *Flaccus* and he, troubled to have loſt the opportunity of executing their deſign, went to their ſeveral Homes, whither others of the ſame Faction retired to them. The reſt of the people, as it happens in a publick Tumult, being about midnight got together in Arms in the place, *Opimius*, one of the Conſuls, who was

* *Five Miles*

was left in the City, at break of day places Guards in the Capitol, gives order to call together the Senate, and himſelf ſeizes on the Temple of *Caſtor* ano *Pollux*, which ſtood in the heart of the City; that he might be in readineſs, whatever ſhould happen. Things diſpoſed in this order, the Senate ſent to ſummon *Gracchus* and *Flaccus*, to come and give an account of their Actions: but they having betaken themſelves to Arms, haſtned to ſeize on the Mount *Aventine*; hoping if they made themſelves Maſters of that place, the Senate would not refuſe ſome conditions of Peace. They endeavoured likewiſe to raiſe the Slaves under promiſe of Liberty, but in vain. So they fortifyed themſelves in *Diana*'s Temple with thoſe people they had; from whence they ſent *Quintus* the Son of *Flaccus* to the Senate, to treat of an Accommodation. Anſwer was given, they ſhould lay down their Arms and come themſelves, and then they ſhould be heard; but that upon any other terms they ſhould ſend no more. But *Quintus* again returning, contrary to this Declaration made him by the Senate, *Opimius* no more conſidering him as a Deputy, commands him to be Arreſted, and at the ſame inſtant gave Order to march againſt *Gracchus*; who fled over the wooden Bridge, to the other ſide of *Tiber*, into a certain Thicket, followed only by one Slave; to whom, becauſe he would not fall alive into his Enemies hands, he preſented his throat. *Flaccus* eſcaped into a Shop of one of his Friends, where his Purſuers loſt him; but becauſe they knew not which Houſe he was run into, they threatned to burn the whole Street: Whereupon, he who had received him not having the heart to deliver him up himſelf, gave notice to another, who diſcovered him. So he was taken, and ſlain upon the place. The two heads were brought to *Opimius*, who payed for them their weight in Gold. Their Houſes were pillaged by the people, and their Fellow-Confederates ſtrangled in the Priſon by the Conſul's Order. As for *Quintus* the Son of *Flaccus*, they gave him leave to chuſe his death. After which, the uſual Ceremonies for purging the City, polluted by theſe Maſſacres, were performed; and by Decree of the Senate, the Temple of Concord was built in the place.

VII. The ſecond Sedition of the *Gracchi* ending in this manner, ſoon after a Law was made, by which it was permitted to any to ſell their Lands, contrary to the defence made by the elder *Gracchus*; ſo that the Poor were ſoon thruſt out by the Rich of all that they poſſeſſed in the Country, either by Power or Money; till ſuch time as *Spurius Borius* abſolutely aboliſhed the Law of Lands; leaving the Country in poſſeſſion of the ancient Maſters, on condition of paying a Tribute to the People, and the Money ariſing thereby to be divided by head; which was a great comfort to the Poor, and a Remedy againſt unpeopling the Country. Thus *Gracchus* Laws, very advantagious to the Commonwealth if they could have been executed, being once ſhaken, another Tribune of the People took off the Tribute; ſo that there remained nothing to the poor People. Hence proceeded it that the Country became depopulated, Soldiers grew ſcarce, the Revenue of the Roman People diminiſhed, Military Eſtabliſhments were reduced, the Laws loſt their Authority, ano Men ceaſed to do Juſtice. And this was fifteen years after the Publication of the Law concerning Lands. About the ſame time the Conſul *Scipio* cauſed the Theatre begun by *L. Caſſius*, to be demoliſhed, though almoſt brought to perfection, (whether he thought it might breed new matter of Sedition, or whether he thought it not for the Commonwealths good to accuſtom the People to the Grecians Voluptuouſneſs.) And the Cenſor *Q. Cecilius Metellus* did all he could to expel *Glaucia*

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and *Apuleius Saturninus*, who had been Tribune, out of the Senate, for their debauched life; but his Colleague oppoſing it, he could not ſucceed in the Attempt. For this reaſon *Apuleius*, to revenge this Affront of *Metellus*, once more demanded the Tribuneſhip; and took the opportunity when *Glaucia*, then Prætor, preſided in the Aſſembly. Notwithſtanding, *Nonius*, of Noble Race, having with bloody Reproaches declaimed againſt *Apuleius* and *Glaucia*, was deſigned Tribune. But they fearing leſt he having obtained that Dignity, ſhould handle them roughly, broke up the Aſſembly; and preſently ſlipped after him a Troop of Murtherers, who reached him as he was eſcaping into a certain Houſe, and ſlew him. And becauſe this Murther ſtruck all the World both with horrour and compaſſion, thoſe of *Glaucia*'s Faction being got very early in the morning about him in the place of the Aſſembly, before the people were come, gave the Tribuneſhip to *Apuleius*: So no more Inqueſt was made after *Nonius* death, none daring to accuſe the Tribune of ſuch a Riot. *Metellus* was likewiſe ſent into Baniſhment by a Cabal of his Enemies, upheld by *Marius*, now the ſixth time Conſul, who bare him a private Grudge. And this was the Trap they layd for him: *Apuleius* made a Law touching the Diviſion of Lands in the Province of the Gauls, out of which *Marius* had lately driven the Cimbrians; ſo that now it was under dependence of the Romans, and not of the Gauls: By this Law it was enacted, that if the People paſſed it, the Senate ſhould approve it in ten days, and by Oath oblige themſelves to ſtand to it; and whoſoever would not ſwear, to be expelled the Senate, with twenty Talents Fine. Thus an opportunity of Revenge preſented of it ſelf; for there was not any likelihood that many of the Senators, but eſpecially *Metellus*, Noble minded as he was, would endure to be forced to ſwear. *Apuleius* appointed a day of Aſſembly; and mean time ſent Meſſengers from himſelf, to give notice to the Tribes in the Country, in whom he had great confidence, becauſe the greater part of them had born Arms under *Marius*. This Law which ſeemed made in favour of the Allies, was not very pleaſing to the Roman People. So that no Order was kept in this Aſſembly; and whoſoever ſtood up againſt it, was thrown headlong down by *Apuleius*. Hereupon the People of the City began to cry out that they heard thunder, as often as which happens, it is Sacrilege to enact any thing. But when *Apuleius* Party gave not yet over their Violences, the Citizens truſſing up their Gowns, and ſeizing on the Arms of all they met, diſperſed the Country-men; who, notwithſtanding, being recalled by *Apuleius*, Rallyed, and returning to the Charge with Clubs likewiſe in their hands, made ſuch a buſtle, that at length the Law paſt. That done, *Marius* aſſembled the Senate to conſult about the Oath demanded from the Senators; and becauſe he knew *Metellus* conſtant and ſteady in his Reſolutions, he ſpoke his opinion firſt, and aſſured them he would never willingly ſwear; *Metellus* did the like: and the reſt of the Senate praiſing both one and the other, the Conſul diſmiſſed the Aſſembly: but on the fifth day, the time preſcribed by the Law to ſwear on, *Marius* having about ten of the Clock aſſembled the Senate in great haſte, told them he was afraid of the People, eager for the Execution of the Law; but that he had found a device to ſecure them: That they ought to ſwear to that Law ſo far as it was legitimate; with which the Country People, whom they had moſt cauſe to apprehend, being ſatisfied, would be gone; and then it would be very eaſie to make it appear to be no Law, being publiſhed by force, and whilſt it thundred, contrary to the Cuſtoms of their Anceſtors. And having thus ſaid, without ſtaying to ask any one's opinion, or ſo much as giving time to think of it; whilſt all kept ſilence through fear

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and ſurprize, he riſes up and goes to the Temple of *Saturn*, where the Treaſurers of the Exchequer were to ſwear them; and firſt of all himſelf and Friends oblige themſelves by Oath to the Obſervation of the Law. All the reſt of the Senators, every one in fear for himſelf, ſwore likewiſe, ſave only *Metellus*, who remained ſtedfaſt and fearleſs in his Reſolution. So *Apuleius* next morning cauſed an Uſher to lay hold of him, to make him go out of the Palace; and when the other Tribunes of the People commanded the Uſher to let him go, he ran to the Country Men, and told them they could have no Lands, nor would the Law be of force unleſs *Metellus* were driven out of the City. In ſo much that it was decreed in the Aſſembly of the people that he ſhould be baniſhed, and that the Conſuls ſhould forbid him Fire and Water; and they allowed one day to the Senate, to conſider of the matter. The Citizens enraged at this Action, aſſembled with Arms under their Gowns, to conduct him through the City. But he thanking them for their good will, with all the Civilities imaginable, told them he would never ſuffer his Country to run any hazard for his ſake. Then *Apuleius* publiſhed the Ordinance for his Baniſhment, which *Marius* ſoon confirmed by Decree. And thus this man, eſteemed by all the World, went into Exile.

VIII. After this *Apuleius* was again nominated Tribune of the people for the third year, and they choſe for his Colleague one, who moſt ſaid, was a Fugitive Slave, and who boaſted himſelf to be Son to the elder *Gracchus*, for whom all the rabble gave their votes with much eagerneſs, out of the reſpect they had to the ſaid *Gracchus*. After this, was held an Aſſembly for the election of Conſuls, where *Anthony*, by general conſent of all the world was nominated to this Dignity. 'Twas not yet known who of *Glaucia* or *Memmius* that ſtrove for it, ſhould be his Colleague; but becauſe *Memmius* was of much the better Houſe, *Glaucia* and *Apuleius* fearful he ſhould carry it, cauſed him to be ſet upon in the very aſſembly of the People, by certain Murtherers, who in the face of the whole world ſlew him with Clubs; ſo that by reaſon of this diſorder, the Aſſembly broke up, after having beheld the violation of all that reſpect due to the authority of the Laws, to Juſtice, to Men and to God. On the morrow the people incenſed with the horrour of the Action, gathered together to puniſh it in the perſon of *Apuleius*, but he aſſiſted by great numbers of the Country people, whom he had cauſed to come of purpoſe, and taking along with him *Glaucia* and *C. Sanfeius* Quæſtor went to ſeiſe the Capitol. The Senate declares them Enemies, and *Marius* with regret arms againſt them; but ſo few people, and ſo ſlowly, that the people tired with his delays, cut the Pipes which carried water to the Temple, till *Sanfeius* no longer able to endure thirſt, gave advice to fire the Capitol, but *Glaucia* and *Apuleius*, out of the confidence they had in *Marius*, yielded firſt, and *Sanfeius* after them: but when the people cryed out with one voice to put them preſently to death, the Conſul ſhut them up in the Palace, under pretence to puniſh them by form of Juſtice: the multitude thinking it a Fiction, climbing up on the Roof of the Palace, and pulling off the covering, never left throwing down Tyles on the Heads of thoſe within, till the Quæſtor, Tribune and Prætor loſt their lives, having yet on the Habits and Badges of their Magiſtracy. All the reſt of their party periſhed likewiſe in the ſame tumult, and among others, the Tribune who ſaid he was Son to *Gracchus* on the firſt day of his Tribuneſhip. No perſon could any longer promiſe himſelf to preſerve his liberty, there was now only the ſhadow of a Common-wealth, no regard being had to Laws or Dignity, or Magiſtracy, ſince the holy

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and ſacred power of the Tribunes, which was eſtabliſhed to oppoſe Riots and Murders, and to protect the people, was become polluted with the crimes of thoſe which exerciſed it, and violated by the outrages which they received from others. After they were thus rid of the Tribunes, all the Senate and People of *Rome* began to demand the repeal of *Metellus*, ſave only *P. Furius*, whoſe Father was but a Freed-man, who oppoſed it with boldneſs, and would never be moved from this oppoſition, though *Metellus* the Son of him baniſhed, beſought him on his Knees, with tears in his Eyes, which was the cauſe that this Son whom all men ſaw in that condition, ſo worthy of compaſſion, got the Sirname of *Pious*, and that *C. Canuleius* the Tribune, offended at *Furius* his obſtinacy, undertook to cauſe him to be condemned to death by the people, and pleaded his accuſation ſo vehemently, that without hearing the Accuſed's defence, the incenſed multitude tore him in pieces: ſo ordinary it was now grown, dayly to commit ſome new murder, in the place deſigned to do juſtice: at length they agreed to *Metellus*'s return; and it is ſaid, that when he entred the City, the whole day was not ſufficient to receive the Complements of thoſe went to meet him at the Gate. Thus the ſtirs made by *Apuleius* in *Rome*, were the third in order after thoſe Tempeſts raiſed under the Tribuneſhip of the two *Gracchi*..

IX. Mean while began the Social War, by the conſpiracy of all the Nations of *Italy*, which not being foreſeen, and increaſing prodigiouſly in a ſhort time, put ſome ſtop to Domeſtick Seditions, by the freſh terrour it brought. After it was ended, other flames of Diviſion were kindled between the chief Heads of the Common-wealth, which were not quenched by making new Laws, or raiſing ſudden tumults; for they charged each other at the Head of mighty Armies. I have eſpecially thought fit to inſert this War in this Hiſtory, as well becauſe it took birth from a popular tumult, as becauſe it was followed by another Diſſention, much more pernicious to the Common-wealth than any of the former. It began then in this manner, *Fulvius Flaccus* being Conſul, was the firſt that ever blew up the deſires of Freedom in the minds of the Allies, out of hopes to be no longer ſubject to the Romans. but to ſhare with them the Honours and Dignities of the City; and becauſe he was obſtinate in this propoſition, the Senate ſent him to a certain War, where the time of his Conſulate being expired, he came to demand the Tribuneſhip, and prevailed ſo, that they gave him young *Gracchus* for his Colleague. Both one and the other being ſlain for making Laws of that kind in favour of the Italians, as we have already related, the ſpirits of the Allies were imbittered more and more, incenſed, that they were treated rather like Vaſſals than Allies, and that *Fulvius* and *Gracchus* had periſhed ſo miſerably, for declaring themſelves their Protectors. After them *Livius Druſus* Tribune of the People, of Noble Race, upon the requeſt of the Allies, promiſed, to paſs the Law they deſired, touching the right of Freedom: for it was all they longed for, having no other way to become Maſters as well as the others, to whom now they were but Subjects. Mean while, the Tribune, to gain the favour of the People, ſettled many Colonies in *Italy* and *Sicily*, in purſuance of an ancient Decree which had till that time lain dormant. He undertook likewiſe to reconcile the Senate and Knights, mightily imbroiled about the cognizance of crimes of concuſſion aſſigned to the Knights. He could not openly reſtore it to the Senators, wherefore he deviſed this ſtratagem, whereby he thought to content both one and the other. The number of the

the Senators not amounting to above three hundred, by reaſon of all the paſt Seditions, he made a Law, ordaining the taking a like number of Knights of the worthieſt men to fill up the Senate, and that all theſe together ſhould for the future chuſe Judges, before whom all that were ſuſpected of Corruption or Concuſſion, ſhould appear to give account of their Actions; for that miſchief was now ſo common, that men forbore to account it a crime, ſo boundleſs was impudence grown. But this deſign ſucceeded quite contrary to his imaginations; for the Senators thought it ſtrange, that in a moment ſo many Knights ſhould be mountedwith them to the ſupreme Order, who probably ſeeing themſelves raiſed to a new Dignity, would never well accord with the ancient Standers. And the Knights, who had taſted of profit and power, feared, (and that ſurely with reaſon)leſt by this means all the authority ſhould be reſtored to the Senate,to their detriment. Beſides, it raiſed a jealouſie between the Knights themſelves; for no man could reſolve to yield that to another (as more worthy) which he thought himſelf well deſerved; and moſt certain it is, no one could be preferred, but with the Envy and Hate of all the reſt. But nothing diſturbed them more than the Proſecutions which ought to be recomced againſt thoſe who had ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted by Bribes, the practice of which ſeemed quite abrogated. So that though the two Orders were at no good accord among themſelves, yet they agreed in this point, equally to hate *Druſus*; and there were none but the People ſatisfied with him, and that becauſe of the Colonies. For the Allies themſelves, though the Tribune had done all theſe things with deſign to ſerve them, had an averſion to the Law of Colonies, becauſe if the Lands were not divided, the rich men ſeiſed them partly by force, and partly by cunning, framing Intreagues with their Neigbours to enlarge their own bounds, by driving them from their proper Inheritances. The contagion of theſe Diſorders had ſpread it ſelf even to * *Hetruria* and **Umbria*, whoſe people whom the Conſuls had cauſed to come into the City, (in appearance to oppoſe the publication of the Law, but indeed to rid themſelves of *Druſus*) cryed out publickly, that they waited for the Aſſembly, which being come to the Tribunes knowledge, he went very ſeldom abroad in publick, but held his ordinary audiences at his Houſe in a kind of a dark Gallery, where one Evening, as he diſmiſſed the multitude, he cryed out he was wounded, and at the ſame inſtant falling, was found ſtruck in the Thigh, and a Shooemakers Knife in the Wound. Thus *Druſus* as well as others was ſlain in his Tribuneſhip.

* Tuſcany.
* *Dutchy of* Spoletto.

X. The Knights were not wanting to draw advantages againſt their Enemies, out of *Druſus* his Deſigns, and to find out matter of Calumny, and to this effect they perſwaded *Q. Valerius* Tribune of the People to make a Law, declaring all ſuch Criminals, who openly or underhand favoured the Allies, in their deſign to enter into the Government of the Republick, out of hopes ſoon to expoſe to their Accuſers the Head Men of the City, to become the Judges of this crime, ſo odious to all Citizens, to deſtroy their Enemies,and make themſelves almighty;wherefore when the other Tribunes oppoſed the publication of this Law, the Knights all drew their Swords, and preſenting the points to the Throats of the Oppoſers, made them paſs it by force. That done, they preſently ſuborned Accuſers againſt the moſt conſiderable of the Senate. *Beſtia*, one of the firſt accuſed, would not come at their Summons, but went of himſelf into exile, rather than ſubmit himſelf to the power of his Enemies. *Cotta*, called next to judgment after him,

appeared, but after he had given a brave account of the Employments he had undergone in the Republick, and declared againſt the Knights, he left the City without ſtaying for their Sentence. *Mummius* ſirnamed the *Achaick*, after having been fooled by his Judges, who promiſed to abſolve him, was baniſhed to *Delos*, where he ended his days. This miſchief falling upon the worthieſt and beſt men, the People began to be afflicted to ſee themſelves in ſo ſhort time robbed of the preſence of ſo many great perſons, and the Allies when they knew of *Druſus*'s Death, and the cauſe of the Baniſhment of ſo many illuſtrious men, thought it was no longer time to ſuffer their Protectors to be ſo unworthily treated; and ſeeing no other way to ſucceed in their hopes, reſolved to revolt againſt the Roman People, and to make War upon them with all their power. To this purpoſe they ſent ſecret Deputations to each other, ſigned an Union, and gave reciprocal Hoſtages, of all which they had but late notice in the City, now wholly buſied in trials and tumults. At laſt when they had advice of it, they ſent into all corners the propereſt people they could find out, to diſcover the truth of this news, under pretence of doing ſomething elſe; one of which eſpying a Child of *Aſcoly* in another City, whither he had been ſent for Hoſtage, adviſed *Servilius* thereof, who governed as Proconſul in thoſe Quarters: from whence we may gather that even from thoſe times the Countries of *Italy* were diſtributed to Proconſuls, a cuſtom which many ages after the Emperour *Adrian* revived, though not to laſt long after his death. *Servilius* came forthwith to *Aſcoly*, when the Inhabitants happened to celebrate a Solemn Feſtival, where whilſt he thought to frighten them with his threats, when they perceived the League was diſcovered, they ſlew him, and with him *Fonteius* his Lieutenant. After having begun with them they ſpared no Roman, but put all to the Sword, and plundered their Goods. Thus they proceeded to an open Revolt, and all the Neighbouring People took Arms, the Marſians, the Pelignians, the Veſtins and the Marucians, who were followed by the * Picenians, the Ferentins, the Hirpins, the Pompeians, the Venuſines, the Apulians, the * Lucanians and the * Samnites, all Nations long time Enemies to the Roman Name. And in ſhort, all the people from the River * *Liris*, which I believe is at this day called *Literva*, to the bottom of the Adriatick Gulf, as well within Land, as on the Sea-Coaſts. Their Deputies going to *Rome* to complain that the right of Freedom was not granted them, though by their aſſiſtances and Services they had highly contributed to the increaſe of the Empire. The Senate anſwered them very roughly, that when they were returned to their duty, they would hear their Deputations, but otherwiſe they would give them no audience; ſo fallen from all hopes, they prepared for War, raiſed Forces, and ſet out a hundred thouſand men as well Horſe as Foot. The Roman Army was not leſs numerous, comprizing thoſe Allies continued faithful to them: *Sext. Julius Cæſar* and *P. Rutilius Lupus* Conſuls, commanded for the Romans; for this Inteſtine War was thought ſo important, that they put them both in Commiſſion. They began to keep Guards at the Gates for the ſecurity of the City, and likewiſe of the Neighbours; for ſince theſe Novelties were ſet on foot, they knew not whom to truſt. There was great likelyhood of diviſion, even in the City it ſelf. To the Conſuls they appointed Lieutenants, the greateſt men of the Age, *A. Rabirius*, *Cn. Pompey* Father to him gained the Sirname of *Great*, *Q. Cepio*, *C. Perpenna*, *C. Marius*, *Valerius Meſſala*, *A. Sextus Cæſar*, *P. Lentulus* his Brother, *T. Didius*, *Licinius Craſſus*, *Cornelius Sylla* and *Marcus Marcellus*. To each they aſſigned his Quarter with the authority of

* *The Marches of* Ancoma.
* *Thoſe of the* Baſilicate.
* Abruzzo.
* Garigliano.

of Proconſul, and from time to time ſent them Recruits, ſo dangerous did this War appear: as for the Allies, beſides particular Captains choſen by every City, they gave command to *T. Afranius*, *P. Ventridius*, *M. Egnatius*, *Q. Popedius*, *C. Papius*, *M. Lamponius*, *C. Fudacilius*, *Hirius Aſinius*, and *Vetius Cato* who likewiſe divided the Forces among them, and took every one his portion to make Head againſt the Roman Forces. There happened ſeveral Defeats on both ſides, which I will ſuccinctly relate. *Vetius Cato* killed two thouſand of *Sextus Fulius* his Men, and forced him to ſhut himſelf up in *Iſernia*, (which remained firm to the Roman Alliance) with the remainder of his Forces, of whom *L. Acilius* and *L. Scipio* got thence in Slaves Habit, the reſt preſſed with hunger, yielded at diſcretion. *Marius Egnatius* took *Venafra* by treaſon, and cut in pieces two Roman Cohorts. *P. Preſenteius* encountring *Perpenna* with ten thouſand Men, put him to flight with the ſlaughter of four thouſand, and taking moſt of the others Arms, who threw them away to haſten their Flight. Wherefore the Conſul *Rutilius* took the Command from *Perpenna*, and gave the remainder of his Army to *C. Marius*; *M. Lamponius* engaging *Licinius Graſſus*, killed eight hundred of his men upon the place, and purſued the reſt fighting, as far as * *Grumentum*; *C. Papius* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Nola*, which was delivered up, and made offer to two thouſand Romans that were there in Garriſon, to receive them into his Army if they would joyn party with him, which they accepted all, ſave the Officers, whom he put in priſon where they died by Famine. The ſame took *Stabia*, *Minterna* and *Salerna*, which were a Colony of the Romans, and gave employment in his Army to all the Inhabitants of thoſe Towns, and likewiſe to their Slaves, after which, having ſpoiled all the Country of *Nocera*, the Neighbouring Cities yielded to him for fear of the ſpoil, and ſent him ten thouſand Footmen, and one thouſand Horſe, which he had demanded of them, with which Recruits he went and beſieged *Acerra*: *Sextus Cæſar* came with ten thouſand Gaul Foot, and the Numidian Horſe, and encamped near unto *Papius*; who, to debauch the Numidians from the Roman Party, took *Oxinta* Son of *Jugurtha*, formerly King of *Numidia*, out of the Priſons of *Venuſa*, where he was kept, cauſed him to be cloathed in Purple, and to ſhew himſelf to his Subjects; inſomuch that the Conſul perceiving that ſome of the Numidians were dayly running away to their King, ſent the reſt into *Africa*, as ſuſpected, After this, *Papius* was ſo raſh as to attempt to force the Roman Camp, and was already pulling down the Paliſade, when a great Body of Horſe ſallying out of the Poſtern Gate, charged him, and ſlew ſix thouſand of his men. However, this Victory prevented not the Conſul's quitting that Poſt, and marching elſewhere with his Army. In *Povilla* the Canuſians together with the Venuſians and ſeveral other People, yielded to *Fudacilius*, and thoſe who would not ſubmit he ſubdued by force, ſlew all the Noble Romans, that he found, and made the Citizens and Slaves ſerve in his Army. Mean while the other Conſul *Rutilius*, together with *C. Marius*, having built two Bridges over the *Liris*, not far diſtant from each other, with intent to paſs over their Armies, *Vetius Cato*, who was encamped on the other ſide with his Army directly oppoſite to *Marius* his Bridge, to diſpute their paſſage, laid by night an ambuſh in a Valley near *Rutilius* his Bridge; and after having let him (heedleſs as he did) paſs, on a ſudden fell upon him with his Ambuſh, who cut in pieces great numbers of the Romans, and drove multitudes into the River. The Conſul himſelf was wounded in the Head, and ſometime after died. But when *Marius*, who was ſtill at the lower Bridge, underſtood the misfortune by the number of

* *Clarimbre.*

Bodies brought down by the Current, he presently passed with all his Army, and forced the Enemy's Camp, which had but a slender Guard; so that *Cato* was forced to stay that night on the place where he had gained the Victory, and on the morrow to march away for want of Provisions. The Bodies of the slain Consul and other Persons of Quality, which were no small number, being carried to the City to give them Burial, occasioned an universal sadness in Men's minds which was not soon shook off, so grieved they were to behold the loss of so many Citizens. Wherefore the Senate upon Consultation enacted, that hereafter the Bodies of all such as died in Battel should be buried in the same place where they were slain, lest the sight of them should daunt the Courages of others, and dishearten men from going to the War. Of which as soon as the Enemies had advice, they made a like Ordinance. No person succeeded *Rutilius* in the Consulate for the remainder of the year, *Cæsar* not having leisure to go to the City to hold the Assembly: What remained of his Army was divided between *C. Marius* and *Q. Cepion*. But *Cepion* suffered himself to be deceived by *Q. Popedius*, who Commanded a Body of the Enemy's Forces. He came to him as a Runaway, bringing along with him as Hostages two young Slaves, clad in the *Prætexta.* * Robe worn by the Sons of Persons Free and Noble; and the better to gain his Confidence, brought him some Bars or Pigs of Lead, covered with Gold and Silver. After which, he perswaded him to go and charge the Enemy's Army, whither he would conduct him, and that instantly, while there was no one to command them. So he placed himself at the head of *Cepion*'s Forces: and when he was come to the place where he had laid his Ambush, he put on his Horse towards a rising Ground, as if he would discover where the Enemies were, and from thence gave the Signal to his Men; who falling upon *Cepion*'s, slew him with many others; those that escaped were by the Senate's Order joyned with *Marius*. About the same time *Sextus Cæsar*, whose Army was composed of thirty thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, having marched among certain difficult Streits, was unexpectedly fallen upon by *Marius Egnatius*; who drove him into a Valley, and forced him to run away in his Litter (because he was sick) towards a certain River, passable only by one Bridge; where, after having lost the greatest part of his Army, and the Remainder at every step throwing away their Arms, with much difficulty he at length secured himself in *Theana*. He armed again as well as he could those men he had left; and with a Recruit sent him, took the Field to go and relieve *Acerra*, which *Papius* still besieged; where encamping near the Besiegers, they lay a long time without eithers daring to assault the other.

XII. For *Caius Marius*, he bravely repulsed the Marsians who came to engage him, and gave them chase to the very Hedges of their Vineyards; which seeing they had clambered over with much difficulty, he would pursue them no farther. But *Sylla*, who was encamped on the other side the Vineyards, encountring the Flyers, slew likewise a great number of them. So that that day the Marsians lost six thousand Men, besides great quantity of Arms, which the Victors got. Yet this Victory did but the more increase the fierceness of the Marsians. They gathered new Forces, and had the boldness to come and offer Battel to the Romans; who, for fear of being overpowered, kept within their Trenches: For this Nation is very Warlike; and as report goes, never lost the Day before; and indeed to this very day never any triumphed in *Rome* over the Marsians, or without the Marsians. On another side of the Country about Mount *Falernus*, *Fudacilius*, *T. Afranius*

nius and *P. Ventidius*, with all their Forces joyned together, engaged the Army of *Cn. Pompey*; routed him, and purſued him to the very Gates of *Firmo*, where he ſhut himſelf up: And leaving *Afranius* to beſiege the City, the other two went each a ſeveral way about other Affairs. *Pompey* preſently gave new Arms to ſuch as were preſerved from the Defeat, but he durſt not adventure a Shock till ſuch time as a freſh Army being come to him, he cauſed *Sulpitius* to take a Compaſs by unfrequented ways, and gain the Backs of the Enemy; giving him Orders to fall on in the Rear, whilſt he charged them in Front. They fought ſo well on both ſides, that the Victory remained a long time in equal Ballance; but when the Enemies ſaw their Camp burning, which *Sulpitius* had ſet on fire, and that *Afranius* was ſlain upon the place, their hearts failed them, and they fled away in diſorder; and as many as could, eſcaped to *Aſcoly*. *Pompey* forthwith beſieged the Town; which *Fudacilius*, who was a Native of it (fearing for his Country) ſtrove to ſuccour with eight Cohorts. He gave advice hereof to the Beſieged, with Orders to make a Sally upon the Beſiegers ſo ſoon as they ſhould diſcover him coming at a diſtance, that the Enemy might not know on which ſide to defend themſelves: But the Inhabitants were ſo cowardly, that they never ſtirred foot; which yet hindred not *Fudacilius* from forcing a Paſſage through his Enemies, and with as many as could follow him entring the place, where he reproached them with their Cowardice and Diſobedience. After which, deſpairing of the ſafety of his Fellow-Citizens, he cauſed all his Enemies to be ſlain, as well out of former hate as becauſe of the fault lately committed in deſpiſing his Orders, and giving by their Example occaſion to others to do the like. Then he cauſed a Pile to be raiſed in the Temple; upon which ſetting up a Bed, after having been very merry at a Feaſt, to which he invited his Friends, he took a draught of Poyſon; and laying himſelf upon the Bed, deſired them to ſet fire to the Pile, and ſo died, that he might not ſurvive his Country. Mean while the time of *Sex. Cæſar*'s Conſulate was expired, but the Senate prolonged his Command for the year following, with the Authority of Conſul. As ſoon as he had his new Commiſſion, he fell upon twenty thouſand of his Enemies as they diſcamped; killed eight thouſand upon the place, and carried off the Field an infinite number of Bucklers which the reſt that fled had left. But his Sickneſs having forced him to ſtay ſome time about *Aſcoly*, at length carried him off; and according to his deſire, *C. Bebius* ſucceeded in his Charge. Whilſt theſe things paſſed on the Coaſt of the Ionian Sea, on the other ſide the Hetrurians and the Umbrians with ſome of their Neighbouring People, drawn on by the Example of others, inclined to a Revolt. It was ſoon known at *Rome*, and the advice of it put them in new fears: Wherefore the Senate, apprehenſive of ſeeing themſelves encompaſſed by Enemies on all ſides, cauſed the Coaſts between *Cumæ* and the City to be guarded by new Forces, in which for want of men, they entertained the Freed Men, a thing never before done; and granted to thoſe Allies who had continued faithful the Freedom of their City, which was the only thing in the World they deſired. This Decree being publiſhed by all the People about *Hetruria*, was received with general ſatisfaction. By this Act of Grace they engaged more firmly the true Friends of the people of *Rome*, ſetled in their duty ſuch as were wavering, and made the Enemy more mild, in hopes of the ſame favour. They diſtributed not theſe new Citizens into the Tribes, which were already five and thirty, for fear they ſhould outnumber the old ones; but they formed new Tribes, wherein they were put by Decuries; ſo that they gave laſt of all their Voices, which were often

ſuperfluous, becauſe the five and thirty Ancient were more than half the number of the Tribes. This deſign was not at firſt obſerved; or perhaps the Allies contenting themſelves at preſent herewith, demanded no more. Notwithſtanding, being afterwards conſidered, it gave freſh occaſion to Tumults. The people above the Coaſts of the Ionian Sea, who yet knew not that the *Hetrurians* had changed their minds, had ſent fifteen thouſand Men to their Aſſiſtance, whom they had ordered to march through all the by ways imaginable. *Cn. Pompey*, lately made Conſul, ſurprized them, killed about five thouſand of them, and the reſt diſperſed, endeavouring to recover their Countries through rough and craggy ways, and in all the Rigors of a ſharp Winter; having nothing but Acorns to eat, periſhed almoſt all with Cold and Hunger. During the ſame Winter *Portius Cato*, Colleague to *Pompey*, going to War upon the Marſians, was ſlain. After which *L. Cluentius*, to brave *Sylla*, who lay encamped on the Pompeian Hills, went and encamped within three Furlongs of him: And *Sylla*, not able to brook the affront, without ſtaying for thoſe that were gone to Forage, went out and charged him; but he was beaten and forced to retreat. The Foragers being returned, he once more fell on, put *Cluentius* hard to it, and forced him to remove his Camp further off; whither there coming to him a Recruit of *Gauls*, he returned once more to try the Fortune of the Field. As the two Armies were drawn up, a *Gaul* of very large Stature advanced, and dared any Roman to a ſingle Combat; but he being ſlain by a very ſmall Numidian, ſtruck all the reſt of the Gauls into ſuch a Panick, that they turned their backs; and by the diſorder of their Flight, cauſed all the reſt of *Cluentius* Army to do the like, and fly by the way towards *Nola*. *Sylla* purſued them ſo eagerly, that he ſlew thirty thouſand of them by the way; and becauſe they would not open more than one of the Gates of *Nola*, to let them in, the Inhabitants fearing leſt the Enemy ſhould preſs in with them, there were twenty thouſand more ſlain under the Walls; among whom was *Cluentius*, performing to the laſt all the Offices of a brave and gallant Leader. The General going, marched againſt the Hirtians, and began to beſiege * *Equilania*. Whereupon, the Inhabitants expecting the Aſſiſtance of the *Lucanians*, who were to come the ſame day, demanded time to conſider about their Surrendry. He who knew their Cunning, gave them an hours time; during which he cauſed to be brought great quantity of Bavins of Vine-twigs to the Foot of the Wall, which was only of Beams of Timber; and the hour being paſt, ſet fire to them. So they ſurrendring only for fear, he gave the Plunder of the Town to the Soldiers as if it had been taken by Storm; which Example made other Cities of the Hirpins willingly ſubmit themſelves to the Romans. Thoſe being yielded, he carried the War to the * Samnites; not by thoſe Avenues which were guarded by *Mutilus* their Chief, but by fetching a Compaſs through Ways by which they never thought an Enemy could come. So that falling in among them, at unawares, he ſlew great numbers; the reſt flying every way they beſt could; and *Mutilus* himſelf being wounded, eſcaping with very few into *Iſernia*. *Sylla*, after having pillaged the Camp, marched to * *Boviana*, where was held an Aſſembly of the Rebel People; where becauſe there were three Forts, whilſt the Inhabitants thought only of defending themſelves from him, he cauſed ſome Cohorts to march about, with Order to ſtorm each of theſe Forts on the other ſide, and ſignifie to him by the ſmoak when they were Maſters of them: Which ſucceeding happily, he approached the Walls; and after three hours Aſſault, took the Town. This was what paſt under *Sylla*'s Conduct during this War; after which he went to

* *Boiona.*

* *Abruzzo.*

* *Troja.*

Rome

Rome, to demand the Conſulate. As for *Cn. Pompey*, he reduced the Marſians, the Marcinians and the Veſtins. On the other ſide *C. Coſconius*, Pretor, burnt * *Salapia* after having taken it by force, reduced *Cannes* under the Obedience of the Romans; and having beſieged * *Canuſa*, which the Samnites came to relieve, after a ſtout and rugged Fight, with great loſs of men on both ſides, he was repulſed, and forced to retire into *Cuma*: But he ſoon got a Revenge; for as the Army of the Samnites lay only parted from the Roman by a River, *Trebatius* their General ſent to *Coſconius*, that he ſhould either paſs the River, and he would retire; or that he ſhould retire, and himſelf would paſs the River, that they might come to a Battel. *Coſconius* choſe rather to retire; and as ſoon as *Trebatius* was paſſed, defeated him; purſuing his routed Men to the River ſide, where moſt of them were drowned: So that the Enemy loſt fifteen thouſand men, and the reſt with *Trebatius* eſcaped into *Canuſa*. *Coſconius* after this Victory, went to ſpoil the Countries of *Larinate*, *Vennſa* and *Ponilla*; and aſſaulting the *Pediculi*, in two days became Maſter of all the Nation, who came and ſubmitted themſelves. His Succeſſor *Cecilius Metellus*, to whom he delivered up the Army, defeated thoſe of *Ponilla* in a Battel, where *Popedius*, one of the Authors of the Rebellion, being killed, the Remainder of his Forces came by Bands to ſubmit to the Conqueror. Thus the War of the Allies continued with much heat until in the end all *Italy* obtained the Right of free Citizens of *Rome*, ſave only the Lucanians and the Samnites; who notwithſtanding, ſoon after were admitted as well as the reſt, and diſtributed by Tribes, as we have ſaid before, for fear they ſhould have more Votes than the ancient Citizens, being indeed more numerous.

* Salpe.
* Canoſa.

About the ſame time there aroſe another Tumult in the City about Debts, for ſome exacted the Intereſt of money lent with more rigor than was permitted by the ancient Laws. For it ſeems the Romans, as well as the Greeks, abhorred Uſury as a Trade ruinous to the Poor, and an occaſion of Law-Suits and Enmities. The Perſians themſelves had no better opinion of it; and made the difference but very ſmall between the practice of it, and cheating and lying. Notwithſtanding, becauſe Uſury was now permitted by a Cuſtom introduced ſome years paſt, the Creditors had ſome Right to demand it, but the Debtors delayed Payment under pretence of Wars and Tumults: Some there were likewiſe, that ſeeing themſelves oppreſſed by the Uſurers, threatned to have them condemned in a Fine. *Aſellio* the Pretor, Judge of theſe matters, did all he could to compoſe all Differences; but not being able to compaſs it, he left them to the Law, after having explained to the other Judges, as in a difficult matter, what was Right, and what was Cuſtom. Whereupon the Uſurers, who could not endure mention ſhould be made of the old Laws, got rid of the Pretor in this manner: One day, as he ſacrificed in the Temple of *Caſtor*, ſurrounded with a great Croud of people, as is ordinary, ſome one having thrown a Stone at him he ſet down the Cup, and began to fly towards the Temple of *Veſta*; but being prevented by others who ſtopt his paſſage, he ran into a Tavern to hide himſelf, where they cut his throat. In this Confuſion many who thought he had eſcaped into the Cloiſter of the *Veſtals*, purſuing him with too much heat of paſſion, ran into thoſe places where men cannot enter without Sacrilege. Thus was *Aſellio* the Prætor killed in exerciſing his Office, clad in the holy Habit of Cloth of Gold, worn only on ſolemn Feſtivals, about two of the Clock, in the middle of the place, and offering a Sacrifice. The Senate cauſed to be publiſhed by ſound of Trumpet, that they would give to whoever ſhould diſcover the Authors of this Murder a Reward in Money, if a Free

man,

Man, his Liberty, if a Slave, and Pardon, if one of the Accomplices: Yet they could never gain any intelligence of it; for the Uſurers took a courſe to ſtifle even the Memory of this Riot, which we may likewiſe reckon among the Tumults of the City. It was followed by thoſe Differences which happened between the Chiefs of the Factions, who as in open War aſſailed each other with formed Armies, each propoſing no leſs price of his Victory than his Country, of which he pretended to become Maſter. It was immediately after the War of the Allies that theſe Diſſentions took Birth, and thus they began.

XIII. After that *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and other Countries had ſeized on *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, and the neighbouring *Aſia*, as we have ſaid in one of our former Books; *Sylla*, then Conſul, obtained for his part of the Government the Province of *Aſia*, with Commiſſion for the War againſt *Mithridates*. Before his departure from the City, *Marius*, who thought there would be more profit than danger in this War; and beſides, ſpurred forward with a deſire to Command; engaged by a World of Promiſes *P. Sulpitius*, Tribune of the People, to ſerve him in this Affair; and at the ſame time put the new Citizens in hopes to raiſe them to an Equality with the old ones in their Votes, and cauſe them to be diſtributed among the ancient Tribes. By doing them this kindneſs, he laboured for himſelf; of which, though he made no ſhew, yet was it only for his own ends he ſought their favour. *Sulpitius* preſently made a Law, which if it had paſſed, had given *Marius* the whole Authority in the Commonwealth, ſo much would the New Citizens have out-voted the Old by reaſon of their numbers. The old ones who perceived it, oppoſed it with all their might; and at laſt, upon this difference they grew to ſo much heat, as to come to handy Strokes and Stones. The miſchiefs increaſing, the Conſuls fearing leſt in the Aſſembly, which was nigh at hand, they ſhould come to the laſt Extremities, ordained Feaſts for ſeveral days like to the ſolemn ones, with intent to prolong the time of the Aſſembly, and the danger wherewith the City was threatned: But *Sulpitius*, without having regard to the Feaſts, gave order to thoſe of his Faction to meet forthwith upon the place, with Arms under their Gowns, to make uſe of upon occaſion, even againſt the Conſuls themſelves: And prepared in this manner, he began to declare againſt theſe Feaſts, as unlawful; commanding *Sylla* and *Q. Pompey* to revoke them at that very moment, that the People might paſs their Suffrages concerning the Laws. This diſcourſe raiſed a great Tumult; Swords were drawn as before was agreed on, and the Points preſented to the Conſuls, who would not yet give way to it, till ſuch time as *Pompey* luckily and nimbly getting away, *Sylla* withdrew under pretence to go and conſider of it. Mean while *Pompey*, Son to the Conſul, and Son in Law to *Sylla*, for having ſpoken ſomething (I know not what) too freely, was ſlain by *Sulpitius* Faction; and *Sylla* returning in a ſmall time after, revoked the Feaſts; and at the ſame inſtant went away for *Capua*, where his Army lay, with deſign to march from thence into *Aſia*, againſt *Mithridates*; for as yet he knew not the Plot laid againſt him. The Feaſts being revoked, and *Sylla* gone, *Sulpitius* paſſed the Law about which ſo much ſtir had been made; and withal, inſtead of *Sylla*, gave Commiſſion to *Marius* to make War againſt *Mithridates*. *Sylla* having advice hereof, reſolved to defend his Commiſſion with Arms: And to this end draws together his Soldiers, who hoped as well as he every man to do his own buſineſs in this Expidition againſt *Mithridates*; and judged if *Marius* went he would employ others. After having recounted to them all the cauſes of Complaint he had

againſt

againſt *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, without explaining himſelf farther (for he durſt not openly declare himſelf in this matter) he exhorted them to be in a readineſs to receive his Commands. They who knew his deſign, and feared to loſe the Booty of the Aſian Expedition, diſcover'd to him what he kept ſecret; and beſought him to take courage, and lead them to the City. He received this diſcourſe with infinite joy, and forthwith cauſed ſix Legions to march; whoſe Officers not daring to reſolve to bear Arms againſt their Country, drew off, to preſent themſelves at *Rome*; ſo that there remained not in this Army any Perſon of Quality but the Queſtor. Upon advice of this brought to the City, Deputies were ſent to meet him, to demand of him, for what reaſon he came thus armed into his Country: To whom he anſwered, that it was with intent to deliver it from Tyranny. He made the ſame Anſwer to all thoſe whom they ſent one after another. Yet in the end, he promiſed, that if the Senate would aſſemble in the Field of *Mars*, and cauſe *Marius* and *Sulpitius* to be there, he would come likewiſe, and do all things that ſhould be agreed on by all the World. As he drew nearer, his Colleague *Pompey* came to meet him; and having applauded his Action, promiſed his Aſſiſtance. As for *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, who had not had time enough to prepare themſelves, they ſent other Deputies in the Senate's name, who propoſed to him not to advance nearer the City than the fifth Stone till this Affair were more fully conſidered of. The Conſuls, who diſcovered the Cheat, granted the Deputies what they demanded; but ſcarcely were they gone but they followed them, and ſieſed on the *Celimontane* Gate, and the Contiguous Wall with one Legion; *Pompey* commanding another, ſieſed on the Little Hill, the third gained the Wooden Bridge, and the fourth drew up in Battel before the Wall, whilſt *Sylla* entred the City in a fighting Poſture. He was recieved as an Enemy, for at firſt they withſtood him with hurling of Darts out of their Windows; but when he had threatned thoſe in the Houſes to ſet fire to the next Streets, they threw no more. *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, and the reſt of their Faction, having preſently armed themſelves, encountred them in the place called the *Eſquiline*; where was fought the firſt Battel ever ſeen in the City between two Contrary Parties; not in diſorder, as formerly in their Tumults; but in open War, with Enſigns diſplayed, and Trumpets ſounding: For their Animoſities had urged things to theſe Extremities, becauſe no perſon had endeavoured to apply a Remedy in the beginning. *Sylla*'s Party had at firſt the worſt of it, and began to give ground; when himſelf took an Enſign, and ran to carry it into the Groſs of his Enemies. Then the Soldiers, either out of reſpect they bore their General, or fear of that Infamy wherewith thoſe are branded that forſake their Colours, quitted all thoughts of Flight, and returned to the Charge. There was brought to them likewiſe from the Camp another Body of freſh Men, and another was ſent about by the way of the *Suburra*, to charge their Enemies in the Rear. Whereupon *Marius* Soldiers, who, already tired, defended themſelves but faintly againſt freſh Men; and who beſides, feared leſt they ſhould incloſe them behind, invited thoſe Citizens who ſtill fought from their Houſes to come down to them, and pronounced Liberty to ſuch Slaves as would come to their Aſſiſtance. But when they ſaw that no one ſtirred to help them they loſt all hope, and went out of the City, and with them all the Perſons of Quality of their Party. *Sylla* being gone into the *Via Sacra*, (or the Holy Way) where the Soldiers had the boldneſs to take ſomething by force, he cauſed them to be puniſhed in the ſight of all the people: And after having placed Courts of Guard through all the principal places in the City, he divided with his Colleague the labour of that

night, which they ſpent without any ſleeping, ſtill going from Quarter to Quarter to take care leſt the Citizens ſhould receive ſome injury from the victorious Soldier.

XIV. Next day in the Morning they called an Aſſembly of the people, where they bemoaned the deplorable eſtate of the Common-wealth, abandoned for long time to the paſſion of Seditious People, ſaying, they had been conſtrained to do what they had done; and that it was their advice, that for the future nothing ſhould be brought to the people, without having been firſt debated in the Senate; and that to that purpoſe the ancient cuſtom which they had abrogated ſhould be revived. They propoſed likewiſe the holding no more Aſſemblies for the creation of Officers by Tribes, but by Centuries, according to the inſtitution of *Servius Tullius*. That thus the firſt deliberation of Affairs depending on the Senate, and being no longer committed to the ſuffrage of the people, who having nothing to loſe, feared nothing, violence would give place, and good order be eſtabliſhed, nor would there remain any more matter for Sedition. Having by this means and many others retrenched the authority of the Tribunes, which was mounted even to exceſs, becauſe the Body of the Senate was in a manner deſpiſed, by reaſon of the ſmall number of the Senators, they added to them three hundred of the greateſt and moſt worthy men of all the City: but before all other things they cancelled as void and contrary to the Laws all that *Sulpitius* had done ſince the Feaſts ordained by the Conſuls. Thus from Tumults they came to Murders, and from Murders to Wars; and never before did any Roman Army enter their Country to commit acts of Hoſtility: but after this time all the Differences that happened between their Citizens, were determined by Arms: ſometimes one party became Maſters of the City, ſometimes the other, which yet was no hinderance, that in the mean time other places were not beſieged and ſack'd, or that they felt not elſewhere thoſe calamities uſually attendant upon War: for in ſumm, there was no longer any Honour or Conſcience, Love to the Common-wealth or their Country, which they violated not by numberleſs Crimes. After all this, *Sulpitius* Tribune of the People, *Marius* who had been ſix times Conſul, his Son, *P. Cethegus*, *Junius Brutus*, *Cn.* and *Q. Granius*, *P. Albinovanus*. *M. Lectorius* and other Senators, to the number of twelve, who were gone out of the City, accuſed to be the Authors of Sedition, and to have called the Slaves to liberty, were declared Enemies to the Roman People, with permiſſion to the firſt that met them, to kill them unpuniſhed, or to bring them to the Conſuls; beſides which they confiſcated their Goods, and ſent Men into all parts to ſearch for them, ſome of which found *Sulpitius*, and ſlew him. As for *Marius*, he eſcaped without Uſher, or without ſo much as a Servant to *Minturnum*, where, as he ſlept in a Room into which there came not a ſpark of light, the Magiſtrate of the City fearing the Decree of the Roman People, whilſt on the other ſide he himſelf could not reſolve to kill a man who had been ſix times Conſul, and done ſuch great things, gave it in commiſſion to a certain Gaul he met by chance, whom he furniſhed with a Sword to that purpoſe. But this man (as report goes) drawing near *Marius*'s Bed in the dark, grew fearful, becauſe he imagined he ſaw a flame dart out of his eyes; and when he raiſing himſelf up, cryed out, *Dareſt thou kill* Caius Marius? The Gaul aſtoniſhed, fled haſtily out of the Chamber, roaring with a loud voice, that he could not kill *Marius*. Whereupon the Magiſtrate, who before with much inward trouble had reſolved upon the action, was now touched with

with a ſenſe of Religion; beſides, he remembred the preſage which when *Marius* was yet an Infant, promiſed him the ſeventh Conſulſhip. For 'tis ſaid there fell upon his Boſom ſeven Eaglets, whereupon the Divines foretold, that he ſhould ſeven times obtain ſupreme Honour.. Thoſe of *Minturnium* ſeriouſly weighing this, and judging what had happened to the Gaul, came from above, forthwith led *Marius* out of the Town to a place where he might be in greater ſafety, who knowing that *Sylla*'s Horſemen ſought after him, left that place, and went towards the Sea-ſide through By-ways, till he found a ſmall Cabbin, into which he entred, and laid himſelf down among the Leaves to repoſe himſelf a little; he had not lain there long, but he heard a noiſe which made him creep cloſer under the leaves, but then the noiſe increaſing, he leaped into a Fiſher-boat which lay there by chance, out of which he put an old Fellow that was the Maſter of it, and then cutting the Boat-rope which faſtened it, and hoiſting Sail left himſelf to Fortune, he was carried to a certain Iſle where he ſaw by accident paſs by a Ship in which he knew ſome of his Friends, with whom he went into *Africa*, yet he could not land, being hindred by *Sextus* Governour of that Province, becauſe of his being declared Enemy; ſo he was forced to ſpend that Winter on the Numidian Sea. The news whereof being come to *Cethegus*, *Granius*, *Albinovanus*, *Lettorius*, and thoſe others condemned by the ſame Judgment, and who leaving the City with *Marius* the Son had taken Sanctuary in the Court of *Mandreſtal* King of *Numidia*, they embarqued and came to *Marius*, being themſelves likewiſe jealous leſt that King ſhould deliver them to the Enemy. They wanted neither good will nor courage to aſſault their Country after *Sylla*'s example, but becauſe they had yet no Army they waited only an opportunity. Mean while, *Sylla*, who was the firſt ever made himſelf Maſter of the City by Arms, contenting himſelf with being revenged on his Enemies, without doing any violence to the other Citizens, ſent his Army before to *Capua*, and reſumed the charge of Conſul. But the Faction of the Fugitives, and principally the rich, with ſome well monied women no longer ſtanding in fear of Arms, deſired the return of their Citizens; ſo that they ſpared neither pains nor coſt, nor the attempting the lives of the Conſuls themſelves; for they thought their deſign would never take effect ſo long as they lived. As for *Sylla*, he might be ſafe in the midſt of that Army granted him by the Senate to make War upon *Mithridates*, who would not forſake him, though his Conſulate were expired; but for *Pompey* his Colleague he was in great danger, ſo the people took compaſſion of him, and gave him the Government of *Italy* with the Army then commanded by *Cn. Pompey*. This mightily troubled *Cneus*, yet when *Quintus* was come to the Army, and on the morrow began to exerciſe his Command, the other ſubmitted to him as a private man; but a ſhort time after all the Soldiery being crowded about the Conſul, under pretence of hearing what he ſaid, he was ſlain, and upon the action every one flying a ſeveral way, *Cn.* came in, feigning to be mightily troubled, as at a Villany committed againſt all Right and Juſtice. However, his anger laſted not long, but he preſently reſumed the Command of the Army. When the Conſuls death was known in the City, *Sylla* began to be fearful of himſelf, and after walked not the Streets without a good company of Friends, who deſerted him not by night, but not ſtaying long after, he departed for *Capua*, and thence took his march towards *Aſia*.

After this, the Friends of thoſe Baniſhed, ſupported by the authority of *Cinna*, XV.

Cinna, Succeſſor to *Sylla* in the Dignity of Conſul, began to let the new Citizens know the deſign *Marius* had to mingle them among the ancient Tribes, to the intent, that not giving their Votes laſt, they might have as much power in the Common-wealth as others, which was the firſt cauſe of *Marius* and the other Exiles return. The ancient Citizens oppoſed it all they could, upheld by *Octavius* the other Conſul, while *Cinna* ſtood for the new, ſuſpected to have been corrupted by three hundred Talents he had received. Now thoſe of *Cinna*'s Party came to the place armed with Swords under their Gowns, where with loud cries they began to demand their being mixed among the other Tribes, but the beſt part of the people came in like manner armed about *Octavius*, who attended in his Houſe, what would be the iſſue of this Tumult. They brought him word, that the greateſt part of the Tribunes oppoſing the Demand, the new Citizens had with Swords driven them from the * *Roſtrum*, upon report of which he haſtens by the *Via Sacra*, followed by a good company of men of Valour, and like a Torrent falls in upon the Aſſembly, paſſes over the Bodies of thoſe that firſt encountred him, diſperſes the multitude, and after having terrified the contrary Party, returns to the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, without doing any more, for his Colleagues ſake, to whom he bore reſpect. But thoſe which followed him without ſtaying for his command, threw themſelves upon the new Citizens, and after the killing of many purſued the reſt to the City Gates. *Cinna*, who confident in the multitudes of the Countrymen, had promiſed himſelf Victory when he perceived courage had made the leſſer number victorious, he ran through the City, and called the Slaves to liberty; but when he ſaw no perſon joyn with him, he went out to the Neighbouring Cities to whom the Right of Freedom had been granted, as † *Tibur*, *Præneſte*, and others as far as *Nola*; and after having ſolicited them to revolt, began to raiſe money to defray the Expence of the War. Whilſt he made preparation for the execution of his Deſigns, *C. Milonius*, *Q. Sertorius*, and another *C. Marius* Senators of the ſame Faction came to him. But the Senate declared *Cinna*, for having forſaken the Common-wealth in imminent danger and called the Slaves to Liberty, to have forfeited his Freedom of the City, and Dignity of Conſul, and ſubſtituted in his ſtead *L. Merula* then Prieſt of *Jupiter*, who is the only Prieſt that goes continually with a Mitre; for the others wear it only when they ſacrifice. Mean while, *Cinna* went his way towards *Capua*, where lay another Army for the Roman People, being arrived he laboured all he could to gain the good will of the Officers and * Tribunes, and ſuch Senators as were there, going to this purpoſe to the Aſſembly in the habit of a private man, without Rods, and tears in his eyes, he ſpake to them in this manner:

* *A place ſo called from the Beaks of Ships called* Roſtra, *taken from the Enemies, and ſet up here.*

† Tivoly.

* *Military.*

The Oration of Cinna.

YOu behold me here, (Gentlemen) deſpoiled of an Honour I received from you. The People gave it me by their Votes; and yet the Senate have deprived me of it, without asking the conſent of the People. Though this Affront be done to my perſon, I complain leſs of my own intereſt than yours: for to what purpoſe now ſhould we court the favour of the Tribes? In what can you be ſerviceable to us? or to what end are your Aſſemblies or your Votes, ſince they can cancel what you do; and you your ſelves ſo eaſily change your minds?

After

After having ſpoke thus to provoke them to anger, and made many complaints of the miſery of his condition, he rent his Robe, and leaping from the Tribunal, threw himſelf upon the ground, where he lay extended a long time, till out of pure compaſſion they raiſed him up, returned him into the Tribunal-Seat, and having reſtored him the Rods in Quality of Conſul, deſired him to take heart, and lead them where-ever he had occaſion for their Service. He accepted their offers, and improving the opportunity, received the Oath of Officers and Soldiers. Being in this manner confirmed, he went through the Cities of the Allies, exciting them as the cauſers of his preſent calamity, and for that reaſon drew from each good ſums of money. There were likewiſe many principal men of the City, which came to joyn with him, only becauſe it troubled them at any time to ſee the Common-wealth at quiet. Whilſt *Cinna* was thus wholly employed in making his preparations, the Conſuls *Octavius* and *Merula*, fortified the City, raiſed Engines on the Walls, and levied Soldiers as well among thoſe Allies continued faithful to them, as among the Gauls; they likewiſe gave order to *Cn. Pompey*, who was with an Army on the Ionian Sea, to come ſpeedily to the relief of his Country, which he forthwith did, and encamped before the Collatine Gate.

Cinna coming about the ſame time, pitched his Camp very near, and as ſoon as *Marius* had notice of it he came with the companions of his Baniſhment, and landed in *Etruria*, whither about five hundred of his Friends out of the City went to meet him. He appeared in a ſlovenly dreſs, his Beard and Hair long, untrimmed and unkembed, to beget the more compaſſion: thus went he from City to City, talking of his Fights and Victories againſt the Cimbrians, and (which they hearkened to with more delight) promiſing them to employ his utmoſt power and credit to procure the paſſing of the Law in favour of the new Citizens. Having by theſe means aſſembled ſix thouſand Etrurians, he comes and joyns with *Cinna*, who was joyful to have this great-man his companion in the War. All the Forces of that Faction being come up, they encamped in three Camps on the Banks of the *Tiber*, *Cinna* and *Carbo* directly againſt the City, *Sertorius* above it, and *Marius* to the Sea-ward: they likewiſe made Bridges over the River to cut off the City from Proviſions. *Marius* took *Oſtia* by ſtorm, which he pillaged, and *Cinna* took *Rimini*, whither he ſent part of his Forces, that no relief might come to the Beſieged from the Province of *Gaul*. Mean while, the Conſuls were extremely diſquieted, becauſe they ſtill ſtood in need of an Army; and ſince they could not recall *Sylla*, who was already gon over into *Aſia*, they ſent to *Metellus* employed in the Remains of the Social War againſt the Samnites, to put an end to that Affair upon the beſt conditions he could, and come to relieve his beſieged Country; but whilſt he delayed granting their Demands, *Marius* having advice of it, prevented him, and promiſed them all they deſired: ſo the Samnites took *Marius*'s Party. He had likewiſe intelligence in the City with *Appius Claudius* the Tribune, who had the command of the Guard at the *Janicula*, who in the acknowledgment of a favour formerly received from *Marius*, opened him one morning the Gate, and gave him entrance into the City, whither *Cinna* came likewiſe with him, but they were ſoon repulſed by *Octavius* and *Pompey*, who came ſpeedily in. Soon after fell many Thunderbolts into *Pompeys* Camp, which ſlew ſundry perſons of Quality, and among the reſt the Proconſul himſelf. And now that *Marius* had taken order that no Proviſion could come to the City neither by the

XVI.

the River nor by Sea, he assaulted the Neighbouring Cities, where lay the Granaries of the Roman People: He took by Stratagem *Antium*, * *Aricia*, * *Lanuvia*, and several others; and became Master of some by Treason. So that having now likewise cut them off from Provision to the Land-ward, he was so bold as to design going to *Rome* by the Appian Way, before the Besieged could get any Provision from elsewhere; and to this end he with *Cuma*, *Carbo* and *Sertorius* went and encamped at the * twelfth Stone from the City. *Octavius*, *Crassus* and *Metellus* went and encamped right against them on the Alban Hill, to oppose their Enterprises; and though they were the stronger both in the Valour of their Soldiers and their Number, yet they would not engage them, not thinking it convenient to commit the safety of their Country to the hazard of one sole Battel. But when *Cinna* had sent Cryers about the City, to proclaim that he gave liberty to all Slaves that would come list themselves in his Service, and that they saw they went away by whole Bands; the Senate fearing lest by too long want of Victuals the People should grow mad, changed their mind, and sent Deputies to *Cinna*, to treat of Peace. He first of all demanded if they came to him as Consul, or as a private Person; but they finding themselves perplexed with this Question, could answer nothing, and so returned: Soon after a great multitude of Free Persons left the City, and came and yielded to *Cinna*; some for fear of Famine, and others as having no Aversion to his Party, and finding the Occasion favourable. Wherefore now, no more fearing any thing, he advanced with his Forces, and came and encamped within Flight-shot of the Walls, which put *Octavius* Party into great perplexity: Besides, they durst no more attempt any thing, seeing continually Run-aways and Messengers going and coming from one side to the other. Mean while the Senate knew not what to resolve on; they looked upon it as an unworthy thing to depose *Merula*, whom they had made Consul in the place of *Cinna*; a man who was Priest to *Jupiter*, and never deserved any Reproach: Yet in the end they were constrained to send Deputies to *Cinna*, to treat with him for Peace, and to Complement him in the Quality of Consul. They were not to propose him any Conditions, but only to request him to swear he would not slay any in the City: He would not take an Oath in those terms; However, he gave his Word, that by his good will, or by his consent, there should not be a Person put to death in the City; and sent word to *Octavius*, who was entred the City by the Gate on the other side, that he should depart, lest something might happen to him which he could not prevent. He gave this Answer to the Deputies, seated in the Tribunal like a Consul. But *Marius*, who stood up by him, kept silence; and by the sternness of his Looks made it sufficiently appear what a Slaughter he did intend. After this Word given, the Senate having recalled *Cinna* and *Marius* (for they well perceived this last was the Author, and that the other did but subscribe) *Marius* answered in a scoffing manner, that it was not lawful for banished Men to return into the City: So the Tribunes of the People immediately cancelled the Sentence of Banishment, given against him and the rest, under the Consulate of *Sylla*.

* Laricia.

* *city of* Lavinia.

* *About twelve Miles and an half.*

XVII. Thus they were received into *Rome* with a publick Consternation, and presently they began to plunder the Goods of all such as seemed but any way enclined to the contrary Party, without any persons forbidding them. *Cinna* and *Marius* had upon Oath promised Security to *Octavius*. The Divines assured him he need fear nothing, yet his Friends advised him to leave the City; but he answering them that he would never forsake his Country, especially

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as long as he was Conſul, retired to the *Janiculum*, with the moſt Conſiderable of the City, and a part of the Army, mounting the Tribunal habited like a Conſul, and accompanied by Lictors with Rods and Axes. And juſt when *Cenſorinus* was coming with his Horſe-Men, and that his Friends yet offered him a Horſe to make his Eſcape on, he vouchſafed not to ſtir, but expected his death with an admirable Conſtancy. *Cenſorinus* carried his head to *Cinna*, who cauſed it to be fixed on the Tribunal for Orations; and this was the firſt Conſul's head that ever was fixed there. Soon after the heads of others, who dyed in this raging fury, were likewiſe expoſed as Spectacles in the ſame place: And this horrible Cuſtom endured long after in all Maſſacres committed at *Rome* between the Enemy Factions. Every one of the Victors ſought out his Enemy to deſtroy him; no perſon was defended from the cruelty of theſe Murtherers neither by the Dignity of Senator, nor that of Knight; and as many Senators as they killed, they brought their heads to the Tribunal. There was no longer any reſpect either towards Gods or Men; and after having committed ſuch dreadful Crimes, they ſought to ſatisfie themſelves with Spectacles yet more ſhameful, cutting off the heads of the Slain, and making a ſhow of their misfortune, whether to ſtrike terror into, or to give a Criminal ſatisfaction to the eyes of the Vulgar. Among thoſe that periſhed, the two *Fulius*'s, *C.* and *Lucius*; *Serranus*, Couſin to *Lucius*; *P. Lentulus*, *C. Numitorius*, and *M. Bebius*, were found dead in the Streets. *Craſſus* flying, killed his Son, for fear he ſhould fall into the hands of thoſe purſued him, from whom himſelf could not eſcape. *M. Anthony*, the Orator, eſcaped to a certain Farm-Houſe, where the Farmer gave him a Retreat, and kept him ſome time concealed; but the Farmer's Servant, becauſe of this Gueſt, going to the Tavern for Wine oftner than he was wont; the Vintner enquiring the reaſon, he privately told him; who, as ſoon as he had given him his Wine, gave preſent advice to *Marius*. Upon the News of it *Marius* was ſo tranſported with joy, that he would have come himſelf to have been his Executioner; but his Friends diſſwading him, he ſent a Tribune with Soldiers. *Anthony* diſcourſed them with ſo good a Grace, and perſwaded them with ſo many Reaſons, that he gained their Compaſſion; till ſuch time as the Tribune, who had ſtayed below, wondring at this delay, came himſelf into the Chamber; and whilſt he was yet talking, thruſt his Sword into his Belly; and cutting off his head, ſent it to *Marius*. *Cornutus* being hid under the Tiles, was ſaved by the Cunning of his Slaves; who having found a dead Body, caſt it on a Pile; and when they ſaw thoſe that came to ſearch for him, putting fire to it, ſaid, they burnt the Body of their Maſter, who was ſtrangled. *Q. Acharius* waited an opportunity till *Marius* went to the Capitol to ſacrifice, out of hopes that out of Religion to the place he would grant him Pardon: But as he was coming to do his Reverence to *Marius*; as ſoon as he perceived him, he commanded his People forthwith to cut his Throat, and that in the very Temple; and his Head ſerved for a Spectacle as well as that of the Orator *Anthony*, and ſo many other Pretorians and Conſulars. Nor was it permitted to give Sepulture to their Bodies, the conquering Party would have them expoſed to be devoured by Dogs and Fowls of the Air. The Seditious themſelves did, unpuniſhed, kill one another at every turn. Some they drove from their Houſes, others they ſpoiled of their Goods, others deprived of their Dignities, *Sylla*'s Laws they cancelled, ſlew his Friends; and after having pulled down his Houſe, and confiſcated his Goods, declared him Enemy of the State. They ſought likewiſe for his Wife and Children, to put them to death; and they eſcaped but very narrowly. Thus was the City oppreſſed with all ſorts of Miſchiefs and Calamities.

Calamities. At length, after ſo many Executions of Perſons without Condemnation, they thought it convenient under pretence of obſerving Forms of Juſtice, to bring *Merula*, the Prieſt of *Jupiter*, to his Tryal; and to that end ſuborned Accuſers. He was not guilty of any Crime; but *Cinna* hated him, becauſe he had been named his Succeſſor, though it was never his ſeeking. At the ſame time they gave a Summons to *Lutatius Catulus*, who had been Colleague with *Marius* in the Cimbrian War, and was obliged to him for ſaving his life; but forgetting that good turn, had been his cruel Perſecutor during his Baniſhment. They appointed Guards, which they perceived not, to watch their Motions, till the day aſſigned; which being come, they were called four ſeveral times by the Uſher, with the Interval of ſome hours between each Call: And when they ſhould have come to have pleaded their Cauſe, Word was brought that *Merula* had cut his own Veins; having writ one Tablet, which he left, that he had firſt laid aſide the Mitre, for it is Sacrilege for a Prieſt to die with the Mitre on. As for *Catulus*, he had ſhut himſelf up in a cloſe Room, newly plaiſtered over, and ſtill moiſt; where cauſing Charcoal to be kindled, he voluntarily ſmothered himſelf. What remains concerns the Slaves called to Liberty by *Cinna*, and now ſerving in the Militia; they broke open Houſes, carrying away all they found, and killing the firſt they met; and ſome of them were found abuſing their own Maſters. He had tryed ſeveral ways to correct them; but ſeeing he loſt his labour, he cauſed them all one night, as they ſlept, to be encompaſſed by the Gaul Infantry, who cut them in pieces. Thus were they puniſhed for their Perfidiouſneſs, as they deſerved. The Conſuls named for the year following were *Cinna* for the Second Time, and *Marius* for his Seventh; ſo that in ſpite of his Baniſhment and Proſcription, the Augury of the ſeven Eaglets was accompliſhed. But whilſt he was contriving ways to ruin *Sylla*, he was carried away by a Diſtemper in the firſt Month of his ſeventh Conſulate. *Cinna* cauſed *Valerius Flaccus* to be ſubſtituted in his place, whom he ſent into *Aſia*; where he dying, he took *Carbo* for his Colleague.

XVIII. Mean while *Sylla* haſtning his Return, to be revenged upon his Enemies; after (having in a ſhort time vanquiſhed *Mithridates* (as we have before related) killed one hundred and ſixty thouſand Men in leſs than three Years; re-conquered *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Ionia* and *Aſia*, and the other Countries which *Mithridates* had ſieſed upon; deſpoiled that King of his Fleet, and reduced him to the Kingdom of his Predeceſſors) he begun his Journey towards *Italy* with an Army that loved him, accuſtomed to Labour, and heightned with the happy Succeſs of his Arms. He had likewiſe ſtore of Ships and Money; and was, in ſhort, in a Power capable of undertaking the greateſt things; ſo that his Enemies began to be terrified: And for fear of him *Carbo* and *Cinna* ſent Men through all *Italy*, to raiſe Money and Soldiers, and lay up Stores of Corn for their Service in the Depending War. They endeavoured likewiſe to engage on their ſide all Perſons of Riches and Authority, and to gain the People, particularly the new Citizens; perſwading them they had not fallen into the preſent danger, but for eſpouſing their Intereſts. They fitted out a Fleet, and gave Orders to guard the Coaſts with Ships they had cauſed to be brought from *Sicily*. In ſhort, they forgot nothing that could be done to make ſpeedy Preparations for their Defence againſt ſuch an Allarm. As for *Sylla*, he wrote to the Senate a Letter full of Anger; wherein after having made an Enumeration of all the Labours he had undergone for the Commonwealth; in *Numidia* againſt *Jugurtha*, Queſtor; in the *Cimbrian* War, Lieutenant; in *Cilicia*, Pretor; and in the War

War with the Allies, Conſul; beſides thoſe great things he came from doing againſt *Mithridates*: Amplifying each Action in particular, and principally, the great number of Provinces he had reconquered from *Mithridates*, and reduced under the obedience of the Roman People: But above all, he put a value upon the Obligation they had to him, for having been the Refuge of thoſe Roman Citizens driven from the City by the violence of *Cinna*, and for having comforted and aſſiſted them in their Calamities and Diſtreſſes. Adding that for a full Acknowledgment of ſo many good deeds his Enemies had proſcribed and ſet a price upon his Head, demoliſhed his Houſe, killed his Friends, and driven away his Wife and Children, who with much difficulty eſcaped to him; but he ſhould now ſuddainly be in the City, where he would revenge both private and publick Injuries, and puniſh the Authors of theſe Diſorders, which notwithſtanding, he did not impute to any of the Citizens, either Ancient or New. This Letter read in the Senate ſtruck a terror into all the World; wherefore they ſent to him Deputies to reconcile him with his Enemies; with Order to tell him, that if he deſired any Security, the Senate would become bound for what they agreed on, provided he would forthwith declare his Intentions. And in the mean time they forbad *Cinna* from making any new Levies, until *Sylla* had returned an Anſwer. Hereupon *Cinna* ſaid, that he would put all his Concerns into the hands of the Senate. But ſcarce were the Deputies gone, but he deſigned himſelf with his Colleague Conſuls for the following Year, that he might not be obliged to return to the City to hold the Aſſembly. That done, they both left *Rome*; and coaſting all *Italy*, enrolled ſome Legions, and ſent over ſeveral Troops, one after another, to *Dalmatia*, with which they pretended to go and meet *Sylla*. The firſt arrived ſafely at thoſe Ports where they deſigned landing, but thoſe who embarked afterwards were by Storms caſt back on the Coaſt of *Italy*: where the Soldiers coming again to their Homes, proteſted that never by their good will would they bear Arms againſt their Citizens: Which coming to the knowledge of others that were ready to depart, they refuſed to paſs into *Dalmatia*. *Cinna* enraged at this Refuſal, gave them order to come to the Aſſembly, thinking to oblige them to obey by force of threats. They came thither as angry as he; not ſticking to ſay, that if they were too much preſſed upon, they knew how to defend themſelves. But as he was going away, the Lictor, who marched before to make way for him, having puſhed one of them to that purpoſe, a certain Soldier returned him a Blow; whereupon, the Conſul commanding the Soldier to be arreſted, a great noiſe ſuddainly aroſe, which was followed by throwing of Stones; and ſome that ſtood next to *Cinna* drawing their Swords, ran him through and through. *Cinna* thus ſlain in his Conſulate, *Carbo* cauſed thoſe Troops carried over into *Dalmatia*, to be brought back; and ſo doubtful he was what to do in this Conjuncture, that he durſt not return to the City, though the Tribunes of the People had ſummoned him to come, to the end he might in a lawful Aſſembly ſubſtitute another Conſul in the place of him that was ſlain. At laſt however, when they threatned to reduce him to the Rank of private Men, he went and appeared at the day appointed for the Nomination of a Conſul; but becauſe the Birds gave ill Omens of that day, he adjourned the Aſſembly to a farther day, on which the Thunder falling on the Temples of *Luna* and *Ceres*, the Augurs were the occaſion that the Nomination of a Conſul was deferred till after the Solſtice, and that till then *Carbo* remained ſingly in that Dignity. Mean while *Sylla* had returned in Anſwer to the Senate's Deputation, That he would not contract Friendſhip with Men blackned with ſuch horrible Crimes.

However he would not hinder the People of *Rome* from giving them ſecurity, but there would be much more for thoſe who would joyn with him, being Maſter of an Army affectionate to his intereſts. This word alone was ſufficient to make them believe he was reſolved to keep his Command, and that he had a deſign to ſeiſe on the abſolute Dominion; for he demanded likewiſe that they ſhould entirely reſtore his firſt Dignity, his Goods, his Prieſthoods: and in ſhort, all the Honours that he had; and indeed he had ſent with the Deputies of the Senate ſome to demand all theſe things, but when they heard at *Brunduſium* that *Cinna* was dead, and the Commonwealth in trouble, they returned to find *Sylla* without proceeding farther.

XIX. Upon this report brought to him, he left *Pyræum* with five Italian Legions, ſix thouſand Horſe, and the Auxiliary Forces of *Macedon* and *Peloponneſus*, which amounted to about ſixty thouſand Men: from *Pyræum* he came to *Patras*, from whence he paſſed over to *Brunduſium* on a Fleet of ſix hundred Ships. He was received into the Port without any contradiction; and in acknowledgment of that ſeaſonable kindneſs, he granted to the City an exemption from all kind of Impoſts for the future, which they enjoy to this day. That done, he ſet forward with all his Forces, and by the way met with *Metellus Pius*, who ſome years before had commanded the Body of an Army in the War with the Allies; but not being willing to return to the City, for fear of *Cinna* and *Marius*, was retired into * *Liguria* expecting ſome change. Now therefore he came to offer *Sylla* what Forces he had, having ſtill the Title of Proconſul; for when once that Honour is attained, it laſts till he enjoys it returns to his Country. Some time after *Cn. Pompey*, who afterwards gained the Title of Great, Son of that *Pompey* who was killed with a Thunderbolt, came to him likewiſe. In former appearance he was no Friend to *Sylla*, but now he made him lay aſide all ſuſpicion of him, by bringing with him a Legion out of the Country of † *Picene*, where he was well beloved in memory of his Father's name, he raiſed two other Voluntier Legions ſoon after; and among all thoſe that took *Sylla*'s Party none did him more important Service: and though yet very young, *Sylla* had ſo high a value for him, that whoever arrived he was the only perſon for whom he roſe up from his Seat; that he ſent him into *Africa* to put an end to the Remains of the War, quell *Carbo*'s Party, and reeſtabliſh *Hyempſal* in his Kingdom, who had been driven out by the Numidians; and that for the Actions he there did, he granted him the Honour of Triumph, though he had not yet arrived to the age preſcribed by the Laws, and was then but a plain Knight. In ſo much, that after ſo fair beginnings, being advanced in age as well as reputation, he was ſent againſt *Sertorius* in *Spain*, and afterwards to the Kingdom of *Pontus* againſt *Mithridates*. *Cethegus* likewiſe came to meet *Sylla*, though he had been the greateſt Enemy he had, and was therefore baniſhed with *Cinna* and *Marius*, but now he preſented himſelf before *Sylla* in the condition of a Suppliant, offering him to ſerve him in all he ſhould be pleaſed to employ him. Thus beholding himſelf fortified with a great number of Soldiers and ſtore of illuſtrious Friends whom he made his Lieutenants, he placed himſelf at the Head of his Army with *Metellus*, both being Proconſuls; for *Sylla* going to the War againſt *Mithridates* in Quality of Proconſul, had not yet quitted that Dignity, though *Cinna* had declared him Enemy to the State. He mortally hated thoſe that had offended him, but he kept his hatred cloſe, for which reaſon thoſe which remained in the City knowing his temper, were ſorely terrified. They had

not

* Genoua.

† *Marches of* Ancona.

not forgot what paſſed the firſt time he entred in Arms, they knew he was incenſed at the Sentences given againſt him, they ſaw his Houſe pulled down, his Goods confiſcate, his Friends killed, and his Family in flight, who very hardly eſcaped; and therefore thought they muſt reſolve to overcome, or utterly to periſh, ſo that in this common fear they threw themſelves into the Conſuls Party, and began to fetch from all parts of *Italy* Soldiers, Proviſions and Money with all the diligence neceſſary in extreme danger. The Conſuls *C. Norbanus* and *L. Scipio*, and with them *Carbo* Conſul the year preceding (who hated *Sylla* as much as the others, but feared him more, out of a remorſe for the injuries he had done him) after having levyed Soldiers throughout all *Italy*, took the Field with each his Body of an Army. They had at firſt but two hundred and fifty Men in each Cohort, but ſoon after they found many more; for all people had a far greater inclination for the Conſuls than for *Sylla*, becauſe *Sylla* ſeemed to come againſt the City like an Enemy, whilſt the Conſuls fought for their Country: but this was only in appearance, for in truth they laboured only for themſelves. Beſides the vulgar ſenſible they were ſharers in the fault, were carried on to defend it by the ſame fear, and no perſon was ignorant that *Sylla* had not ſimply the thought of chaſtiſing, reforming, or ſtriking terrour, but that he meditated upon Sackings, Burnings, Maſſacres, and in a word, the general ruine of the City. And ſurely, they were not deceived: all places they ſoon found ſacked and filled with ſlaughter by the continual Fights, in which there periſhed ſometimes ten thouſand, ſometimes twenty thouſand in one only Engagement, and at once in and about the City fifty thouſand, where yet the Conquerour forgot no cruelty he could exerciſe on the Remainder as well in general as particular, till in the end he reduced the Roman Empire under his Dominion, and diſpoſed of it at pleaſure. They received from on High preſages of theſe miſeries by a great number of Prodigies, Ghoſts preſented themſelves to an infinite many people throughout all *Italy*, as well alone as in company; they ſet themſelves to examine ancient Oracles, where they ſtill found matter of greater fear and diſtraction: a Mule engendred, a Woman was delivered of a Serpent, a great Earthquake overthrew ſome Temples in the City. And though the Senate and People of *Rome* keep conſtant watch againſt ſuch Accidents, the Capitol built by the Kings above four hundred years before was ſet on fire, none could tell how. And indeed theſe were all Signs which threatened *Italy* with Murders and Deſolations, and the Roman People with Servitude, and that Change which was to happen in the Common-wealth. The beginning of this War, accounting from the time that *Sylla* landed at *Brunduſium*, happened in the hundred ſeventy fourth Olympiad. The Actions of it were much greater, than the time of its continuance long; for each party running with fury to the ruine of the other, the loſſes they ſuſtained were ſo much the greater and more quick; yet it laſted three years, till ſuch time as *Sylla* made himſelf Maſter of the State; and even after *Sylla*'s death it yet continued a long time in *Spain*. There was through all *Italy* many Fights and Skirmiſhes, Sieges and other Exploits of War in great number, and very remarkable, as well in Pitch'd Battels as in Rencounters. We will only relate thoſe Actions are moſt conſiderable, and beſt worthy memory, and that the moſt ſuccinctly we can.

The firſt Battel fought was about *Canuſa* between the Conſul *Norbanus* and the Proconſuls, wherein the Conſul loſt ſix thouſand men, and thoſe of the other Party only ſeventy, but they had many wounded, and *Norbanus* XX.

banus retreated to *Capua*. After which, the Proconſuls being encamped near *Theana*, *L. Scipio* led againſt them another Army, more diſpoſed to Peace than War, which being obſerved by the Chiefs of the contrary Party, they ſent Deputies to the Conſul to treat of an Accommodation, not that they hoped to ſucceed, or that they ſtood in need of it, but with deſign to ſow Diſſention among Troops not very fiercely ſet on, as indeed it happened; for *Scipio*, after having received Hoſtages, went into the adjacent Fields to confer with the others, whom he found there likewiſe. They were but three of a ſide, ſo that it was not known what paſſed in the Conference, ſave only that they remained of accord, that *Sertorius* by the Conſul's order ſhould go and find his Colleague to communicate with him, and that while they ſtaid for an anſwer, there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms. But *Sertorius* having ſeiſed upon *Sueſſa* that held for *Sylla*, and he making complaint to *Scipio*, whether he had conſented to it, or knew not what to anſwer, ſurpriſed as he was with the unexpected news, he reſigned up the Hoſtages to *Sylla*; whereupon the Army offended at the Action *Sertorius* had ſo unſeaſonably done, and at the redelivery of the Hoſtages, began to blame the Conſuls, and cauſed *Sylla* to be privately informed, that if he would draw a little nearer, they would all come over to him. This compoſition made, the Conſul found himſelf ſo forſaken, that he knew not what to reſolve, he was taken alone in his Tent by *Sylla*'s Men, having no body with him but *Lucius*, his Son. But certainly it ſeems to me a thing unworthy of a General not to have the foreſight to perceive ſo great a Conſpiracy of a whole Army. *Sylla* not being able, whatever he could plead to them, to make the Conſul or his Son take his part, diſmiſſed them both without any injury done; and at the ſame time ſent other Deputies to *Capua*, to treat the peace with *Norbanus*, whether he indeed feared, ſeeing the moſt part of *Italy* took the Conſuls part, or whether he laid the ſame ſnares for him he had done for *Scipio*; but ſeeing no one came to him, nor that any anſwer was returned him (for it's probable the Conſul took care not to give his Army occaſion of like ſcandal) he took the Field to march againſt *Norbanus*, waſting all the Country as he went; *Norbanus* on the other ſide did the like, and *Carbo* went before to the City, to declare *Metellus* and all the other Senators who were joyned to *Sylla*, Enemies to the Senate and People of *Rome*. 'Twas at this time that the Capitol took fire, about which ran divers reports, ſome accuſed *Carbo*, others ſuſpected the Conſuls, others ſaid *Sylla* had cauſed it to be done. But it being hard to diſcover the truth of ſo uncertain a thing, we will leave it in its incertainty. For *Sertorius*, who ſometime before had obtained the Government of *Spain*, after having taken *Sueſſa*, he went into his Province, where refuſal being made him of quitting the Command, the Roman Armies had enough to ſuffer. Mean while the Conſuls Forces increaſed dayly by the great number of Soldiers that came from the fartheſt parts of *Italy* and *Gaul*, about the *Po*: and *Sylla* on his ſide did not ſleep, he continually ſent Meſſengers to all the People of *Italy* to draw them to his Party, either by inclination, or fear, or money, or by the power of promiſes, inſomuch that the reſt of the Summer was conſumed in theſe Affairs. In the beginning of the next year were named for Conſuls *Papirius Carbo* for the ſecond time, and *Marius* Son to the Brother of the illuſtrious *Marius*, of but ſeven and twenty years old; and becauſe in this Seaſon the Colds were too great, each Party drew into Garriſons, but as ſoon as the Spring was come on, there was fought by the River *Eſis* between *Metellus* and *Carmus* Lieutenant to *Carbo*, a very fierce Battel, which laſted from Morning to Night, wherein

wherein the Lieutenant being defeated, with a great loſs of Men, the Neighbouring Places that held for the Romans yielded to *Metellus*: but *Carbo* having reached *Metellus*, beſieged him till ſuch time as underſtanding that his Colleague had been defeated in a great Battel near * *Præneſte*, he brought off his Forces to *Rimini*, purſued by *Pompey*, who ſorely galled his Rear-Guard. Now the defeat of *Præneſte* was thus, *Sylla* having ſeiſed on † *Setia*, *Marius* drew thither with his Forces, then falling off by little and little, when he came to *Sacriport* he drew up in order of Battel; *Sylla* having done the like, they fought bravely, till *Marius*'s Left Wing beginning to ſtagger, five Cohorts and two Squadrons, who had turned their backs of ſet purpoſe, threw down their Colours, and went all and yielded to *Sylla*; which was the ſole occaſion of the Rout; for all the reſt preſently took their flight towards *Præneſte*, *Sylla* ſtill following them cloſe at the Heels. The Prænestines let the firſt that preſented themſelves enter, but becauſe the Enemy was ſo cloſe in the Rear of them, they ſhut their Gates, and drew up *Marius* over the Wall with Ropes; and now there was a great Slaughter before the Walls, and many Priſoners taken, among which all that were found to be Samnites were by *Sylla*'s command cut in pieces, as obſtinate Enemies of the Roman Name. About the ſame time *Metellus* defeated another Army of *Carbo*'s, five Cohorts having come over to his Party in the heat of the Fight, which much advanced the Victory. *Pompey* likewiſe beat *Marius* about *Siena*, and took and ſacked the City. As for *Sylla*, after having ſhut up *Marius* in *Præneſte*, he cauſed the place to be encompaſſed with a very large Circumvallation, which he gave in charge to *Lucretius Offella*, that he might take the Conſul by Famine, there being no neceſſity of Fighting. He ſeeing his Affairs deſperate, and unwilling his Enemies ſhould ſurvive him, wrote to *Brutus* Prætor of the City, that he ſhould call the Senate upon any other pretence, and then cauſe *Antiſtius*, the other *Carbo*, with *Lucius Domitius* and *Mutius Scævola* the High Prieſts to be ſlain. The two firſt according to *Marius*'s order were killed in the Senate by Murderers ſent thither, *Domitius* flying, was ſlain at the Door, and *Scævola* at ſome diſtance from the Palace. Their Bodies were caſt into the River; for the cuſtom was now grown ripe, not to ſuffer Burial to be given to thoſe were ſlain, Mean time, *Sylla* drew off his Forces towards *Rome* by ſeveral ways, with order to ſeiſe on the Gates, and if they were repulſed to retire to *Oſtia*, which way ſoever they marched the terrour of their Arms made the Cities receive them, and *Rome* it ſelf ſhut not her Gates; for the Citizens were ſtraitened with Famine, and already accuſtomed no more with ſtubborneſs to reſiſt Calamities at hand. As ſoon as *Sylla* had this intelligence he immediately advanced, and drawing up his Army in Battalia in the Field of *Mars* before the Gate, entred the City, where not finding one of the contrary Faction, he forthwith confiſcated their Goods, and publickly ſold them; and aſſembling the people, complained, that he had been forced by the malice of his Enemies to come to theſe Extremities, exhorting the Citizens to take courage, with promiſe they ſhould in a few days behold the end of their miſeries, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Common-wealth.

* Paleſtrina.

† Sezza.

XXI. After having applyed ſome remedies to the moſt preſſing Diſtempers, and left a Garriſon in the City, he marched towards * *Cluſa*, where there was yet a Remain of War not to be neglected. Whilſt he was at *Rome* ſome Celtiberian Horſe ſent from the Prætors of *Spain* were joyned with the Conſul's Army, which occaſioned a Fight betwixt the Horſemen near the River

* Chiuſi.

River *Glanis*, where *Sylla*'s Horſemen had the better, he killed about five hundred of the Enemy, and two hundred and ſeventy Celtiberians came over to his ſide; all the reſt *Carbo* cauſed to be cut in pieces, either to revenge the treachery of their Countrymen, or for fear his Men ſhould follow their example. At the very inſtant of this Victory, *Sylla*'s Party fighting againſt their Enemies about *Saturnia*, defeated them; and *Metellus* going by Sea to the Borders of *Ravenna*, reduced under his obedience the Country of the Uritanians, which is a vaſt Champain very fruitful in Corn. Another Body of *Sylla*'s Men entring by night into *Naples* by treaſon put all to the Sword (ſave a few that eſcaped by flight) and made themſelves Maſters of all thoſe People's Galleys. As for what paſſed at *Cluſa*, *Sylla* fought a whole day together againſt *Carbo*, and the Field was ſo reſolutely maintained, that only night parted them, Victory inclining neither to one ſide nor the other. But in the Country of *Spoletto Pompey* and *Craſſus* both Lieutenants to *Sylla* cut in pieces about three thouſand of *Carbo*'s Men, and kept *Carinas*, who commanded them, blocked up, till *Carbo* ſent another Army to relieve him, of whoſe March *Sylla* having intelligence, croſſed their way, and charged ſo briskly, that he left about two thouſand in the place: but yet *Carinas* taking the opportunity of a dark and rainy night, eſcaped from the Beſiegers hands, who though they knew it well enough, yet let him paſs becauſe of the cruel weather. The ſame *Carbo*, to reſcue his Colleague *Marius* beſieged in *Præneſte*, and ready to periſh with Famine, ſent *Marcius* with eight Legions, whom *Pompey*, that lay in ambuſh for him, ſo vigorouſly aſſaulted, that he ſlew the greateſt part, and forced the reſt to retreat to a riſing ground, where he inveſted them; but *Marcius* cauſing great Fires to be kindled, to make the Enemy believe he ſtill was there, marched off cloſely in the dark, but his Army imputing to him the fault committed in falling into the Ambuſcade, mutinyed, and whether he would or no took their march towards *Rimini*, where the greateſt part diſbanding themſelves, went home; ſo that *Marius* had but ſeven Cohorts left, with which after all theſe misfortuues he went to find out *Carbo*. After this *M. Lamponius*, *Pontus Teleſinus* and *Gutta* of *Capua* being upon their March with ſeventy thouſand Men, as well Lucanians as Samnites, to go and diſengage *Marius*; *Sylla* ſeiſed of a certain Strait, by which only they could paſs to go to *Præneſte*, ſo that they were forced to return without doing any thing. And now the Conſul falling from all hopes of being relieved, cauſed a Fort to be raiſed in a ſpacious place between the City and Trenches, whither he brought Engines, and drew together all his Forces with intention to make *Lucretius* retire, and open himſelf a paſſage by Sally: but after divers continued endeavours for many days he ſhut himſelf up again within the Walls of *Præneſte*. About the ſame time *Carbo* and *Norbanus* after a long hard March perceived themſelves towards Evening to be near *Metellus* his Camp, and though there were but an hour more of daylight, and that they ſaw all about the Vineyards lay very thick, yet they drew up their Army in Battalia with more paſſion than prudence. They thought to fright *Metellus* by this ſurprize, but both time and place being diſadvantageous to them, they fell one upon another, and were ſo cruelly defeated, that they left ſix thouſand upon the place, ſix thouſand yielded to *Metellus*, and the reſt fled every man his way, ſo that a thouſand only retreated in order to *Arezzo*. Upon the news of this defeat a Legion of Lucanians commanded by *Albinovanus*, joyned with *Metellus*'s Party, and that in deſpite, as it were, of their General, who yet not loſing courage, went to find out *Norbanus*; and yet after all this, having unherhand

derhand treated with *Sylla*, upon condition to do ſome memorable ſervice, he invited *Norbanus* to a Treat with his Lieutenants *C. Apuſtius* and *Flavius Fimbria* Brother to that *Fimbria* who killed himſelf in *Aſia*, together with all the Officers of *Carbo*'s Party, who being all met ſave only *Norbanus*, he cauſed them to be ſlain in the midſt of the Feaſt, and yielded himſelf to *Sylla*. After this Treachery *Norbanus* hearing that *Rimini* becauſe of this accident, and of ſome Armies that lay nigh to it had likewiſe fallen off to *Sylla*'s Party, and believing (as it generally happens to all men in declining fortune) that he could no longer confide in the friendſhip of any man, embarqued on a Veſſel belonging to a private man, and got ſafe to *Rhodes*, whither *Sylla* having ſent to demand him, whilſt the Rhodians were conſulting about it he ſlew himſelf in the midſt of the place: *Carbo* yet ſent two Legions under the command of *Damaſippus* to *Præneſte*, to raiſe that Siege with all ſpeed poſſible, but they could no more than the others force *Sylla*'s Men poſted in the Strait. Beſide all this, all the Ciſalpine Gauls yielded to *Metellus*; and *Lucullus* encountring another Army of *Carbo*'s near *Placentia*, gained the Victory; ſo that this General after ſo many loſſes, though he had ſtill thirty thouſand Men about *Cluſa*, the two Legions with *Damaſippus*, and two others commanded by *Carinas* and *Marcius*, beſides a great number of Samnites continually engaging with *Sylla*'s Men to drive them from the Strait where they were poſted, loſt all hopes, and fled to *Africa* with his Friends, in which he certainly committed a great weakneſs to leave *Italy* being Conſul, as if after having loſt it, he could make himſelf Maſter of *Africa*. The Army which he left at *Cluſa* engaging with *Pompey*, after the loſs of twenty thouſand Men, diſperſed, and every man returned home. As for *Carinas*, *Marcius* and *Damaſippus* having joyned Forces they marched towards the Strait of which we have ſo often ſpoke, hoping with the aſſiſtance of the Samnites to come to a good iſſue, but not ſucceeding better than others before them, they advanced towards *Rome*, which they thought might eaſily be taken, wanting both Men and Proviſion, and went and pitched their Camp upon the Alban Hill at the * tenth Stone. But now *Sylla*, who was afraid for the City, cauſed the Vanguard of his Horſe to advance firſt to retard the Enemies March, and himſelf following with the reſt of his Forces by great journies arrived about noon at the Colline Gate, and went and encamped near the Temple of *Venus*. The Enemies were likewiſe encamped on the Skirts of the City, ſo that though the Sun were declining, the two Armies came to a Pitched Battel, *Sylla*'s Right Wing had the better of it, but his Left Wing being over-born, fled towards the Gates, where the old men that were upon the Walls ſeeing that the Conquerors and Conquered ran pell-mell together, let fall the Portcullis, which by it's fall cruſhed in pieces many Soldiers, and likewiſe ſome Senators. Then the greater Party forced through fear and neceſſity turned head upon the Enemies, and having continued the Fight all night cut in pieces a great number, among whom were found *Teleſinus* and *Albanus*. Their Camp was taken, and *Lamponius*, *Lucanius*, *Marcius*, *Carinas* and all thoſe Officers of *Carbo*'s ſide that eſcaped took their flight ſeveral ways. The number of the dead on both ſides was adjudged to amount to fifty thouſand, and that of the Priſoners more than eight thouſand: of which the greateſt part being Samnites, *Sylla* cauſed them all to be ſlain by his Bowmen. On the morrow, *Marcius* and *Carinas* being taken in their flight, *Sylla* pardoned them not, though his Fellow Citizens, but cauſing their Heads to be cut off, ſent them to *Lucretius* to be carried about the Walls of *Præneſte*. When the Beſieged ſaw them, and underſtood that all

* Ten Miles off.

Carbo's

Carbo's Forces were loſt, that *Norbanus* was fled from *Italy*; and in a word, that the City it ſelf was in *Sylla*'s power, they yielded up the place. *Marius* run into a Mine to hide, but there ſoon after ſlew himſelf. His Head was carried to *Sylla*, who ſet it up before the Tribunal for Orations, with ſome Railleries about the Conſuls Age, who ought to have exerciſed himſelf at the Oar before he took the Helm. *Lucretius* become Maſter of *Præneſte*, found there many Senators; ſome of which he cauſed to be ſlain, others he put in Priſon, till *Sylla* coming upon the place, put them likewiſe to death: For the Soldiers, he cauſed them to march into the Field unarmed; and after having picked out ſome that had ſerved him, he divided the others into three Bands; the Romans were ſet in one place, the Samnites in another, and the Præneſtines in a third: Then he cauſed the Romans to be told by Cryers, that they had deſerved death, but however he pardoned them; the reſt were all ſlain, only the Women and Children were ſaved; and the City, which was one of the richeſt of thoſe times, was plundered. *Præneſte* being treated in this manner, yet the City of *Norba* held out ſtoutly, till ſuch time as *Emilius Lepidus* getting in one night by Treaſon, the Inhabitants mad with rage and deſpight, found a way to die; ſome by their own Swords, others mutually killed each other, others died by ſtrangling, and ſome, after having ſhut faſt the Doors of their houſes, ſet fire to them; which inflamed by a ſuddain Wind, at once devoured them and all that ſhould have been the Soldiers Prey. The taking of *Norba* put an end to this War, which had been the occaſion of ſo many miſeries to both ſides, and by Fire and Sword to all *Italy*. And now, the better to ſecure the Victorious Party, *Sylla*'s Lieutenants went through all the Towns, and placed Garriſons in ſuch as were ſuſpected; and *Pompey* had Commiſſion to go and purſue the Remainder of the War in *Africa* againſt *Carbo*, and in *Sicily* againſt thoſe ſtill held his Party.

XXII. *Sylla* now become Maſter of *Rome*, called an Aſſembly of the People; where having ſpoken haughtily of his Actions, and ſaid a great many things to ſtrike terror into the People, he concluded his Diſcourſe with ſaying he would make the people's condition better than it was, ſo they would obey him, but he would pardon none of his Enemies; on the contrary, there ſhould be no Puniſhment nor Calamity which he would not make them undergo: And ſince *Scipio* had broke his Word with him, would likewiſe do all he could to deſtroy thoſe had favoured the contrary Party, without ſparing Pretors, Quæſtors or Tribunes. The Aſſembly was ſcarce broke up, but he proſcribed forty Senators and ſixteen hundred Knights; for it is ſaid that he was the firſt Inventor of the Proſcription of Heads, and the firſt that propoſed Rewards to Murderers and Diſcoverers of thoſe Unfortunate Wretches that hid themſelves, and decreed Penalties againſt thoſe who diſcovered them not. Some time after he added likewiſe other Senators to the number of the Proſcribed; ſome of which were ſlain before they heard any thing of it, in whatſoever place they were found; in the Streets, in their Houſes, in the Temples. They hanged ſeveral whom they came and threw dead at *Sylla*'s feet; they dragged along others, ſet their feet upon their Throats, whilſt at all theſe horrible Spectacles no one durſt ſay a word. Some they drove from the City, deſpoiled others of their Goods: And thoſe ſent into the Country to ſearch for them that fled, ran up and down every where, ſearched in every hole, and murdered as many as they could find. The Allies who had obeyed the Orders of *Carbo*, *Norbanus* or *Marius*, or their Lieutenants, fared no better; all places were filled with Maſſacres,

cres, Plundring and Baniſhment. Throughout all *Italy* they ſet themſelves to inform of theſe things, as of greate crimes, to be ſeverely puniſhed, who had born Arms, commanded Troops, furniſhed Money, or done any Service againſt *Sylla*, though it were but giving Counſel to his Enemies; ſo that Men accuſed their Hoſts, their Friends, their Creditors and their Debtors. Some were made criminal for only having given ſome relief to thoſe of the contrary Faction, and ſome for but travelling upon the Road with them. But above all, the rich Men were in greateſt danger. After the Accuſations againſt particular Perſons were over, *Sylla* undertook to puniſh whole Bodies of People, which he did in divers manners; he demoliſhed the Forts and raſed the Walls of ſome, layed great Fines upon others, tormented others with cruel Exactions, tranſplanted others to another Country, that he might give their Lands to his Soldiers who had ſerved him in the War; to the end, that they being planted in the moſt commodious places of *Italy*, might reduce all people under his Obedience; which fixed the Soldiery to his Intereſt for the whole Courſe of their life: For they knew they could not maintain themſelves in thoſe Inheritances, unleſs all that *Sylla* had done ſtood good; and therefore were always ready to maintain his Authority, even after his death. Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, *Carbo*, who had eſcaped out of *Africa* into *Sicily*, with many Perſons of Quality, was taken flying from thence to *Corcyra* by people ſent after him by *Pompey*, with Orders to kill all the reſt, without permitting them to ſee him; but for *Carbo*, though he had been three times Conſul, he ſuffered him to lie bound at his feet; where, after he had ſaid a thouſand cruel things, he cauſed him to be put to death, and ſent his head to *Sylla*. After he had thus treated his Enemies to his hearts content, ſo that there remained none of the contrary Faction but *Sertorius*, and he a great way off, he ſent *Metellus* into *Spain* againſt him, and began to diſpoſe of the Affairs of the City at his pleaſure. There being now no regard to the Laws, or Votes, or any of the ancient Formalities; all people hiding themſelves for fear, or at leaſt holding their peace, the People and Senate of *Rome* ratifyed all that *Sylla* had done, as well in his Charge of Conſul as in the Quality of Pro-Conſul; and cauſed to be erected for him in the place for Orations a guilt Statue on Horſe-back, with this Inſcription.

To Cornelius Sylla, *Emperor the Happy.*

For his Flatterers called him happy, becauſe of the continual Succeſs of his Arms againſt his Enemies; and it was only Flattery gave him that Sirname. I my ſelf found in certain Memoirs, that in the ſame Seſſions of the Senate, they gave him the Title of THE GRACIOUS; which I the eaſier believe becauſe himſelf afterwards took the name of FOELIX, not much different in ſignification from that of GRACIOUS. There was likewiſe found an Oracle which confirmed him in the Reſolution of undertaking all theſe things; and ran thus,

Believe, brave Roman, Venus *guides thy Fate,*
Knowing thee ſprung from Great Æneas *Line:*
By mighty Actions then advance thy State,
Sure of Aſſiſtance from the Powers Divine.
But let not Gods their Favours caſt away;
Delphian Apollo *waits for Gifts of thine.*
And when War brings thee to Mount Taurus, *pay*
A Golden Axe to Carian, Venus *Shrine.*

However it were or whoever it was that wrote either of theſe two Epithites on his Statue, in my Opinion good Raillery might be made of either. But they ſtopped not here to gain the good Grace of the Conqueror; they ſent to that place an Axe with a Crown of Gold, and put on it this Inſcription.

Great Venus, *let this Gift Acceptance meet,*
Which Sylla, *head of* Rome, *lays at thy Feet,*
Dreaming he ſaw thee ready for the Fight:
Provoke his Soldiers to maintain his Right.

Being then in Effect King or Tyrant, ſince he mounted not to this Supreme Power by the conſent of the People, or the Authority of the Senate, but by force; yet ſtanding in need of ſome pretence, that he might ſeem lawfully elected, he made uſe of this Artifice.

XXIII. Formerly in *Rome* the moſt vertuous were Kings; and when any King died, the Senators by turns from five days to five days preſided over the Government of the Commonwealth, till ſuch time as another, elected by the Votes of the people, ſucceeded in the Kingdom; and this Five-Days-Magiſtrate was called *Inter-rex*. Afterwards when the Republick was governed by Conſuls, inſtead of Kings; only thoſe Conſuls going out of Office, had Right to call an Aſſembly for the naming new; and if by any Accident they happened to be wanting, they created an *Inter-rex* to preſide in the Aſſembly. According to this cuſtom *Sylla* took the occaſion now there were no Conſuls in the Commonwealth, *Carbo* being cut off in *Sicily*, and *Marius* in *Præneſte*; and retiring for ſome time out of the City, ſent word to the Senate, they ſhould create an *Inter-rex*. The Senate having received his Orders, gave that Dignity to *Valerius Flaccus*; hoping that by this means they ſhould ſoon have an Aſſembly for the Election of new Conſuls. But *Sylla* writ to *Flaccus*, to acquaint the Senate from him, that the preſent Eſtate of Affairs required they ſhould name a Dictator; not for a certain time, as the ancient Cuſtom which had laſted four hundred years required; but till the Affairs of the City, of *Italy*, and of the whole Empire, which till now had been ſhaken with continual Wars, were ſettled and put in better order. There is no doubt this new Propoſition meant only himſelf, and indeed he was not ſhy in ſhewing he deſired it; for in the end of the Letter he wrote, that if the Fathers thought good, he offered himſelf to render that Service to the Commonwealth. When this Letter was read in the City, the Senate and people of *Rome* were grievouſly perplexed: They ſaw now they muſt no more hope for a lawful Aſſembly, and that they were no longer Maſters; wherefore under the Maſk of an Aſſembly, they willingly accepted of this falſe Appearance of Liberty granted them, and created

Sylla

Sylla Tyrant, with an abſolute Power for as long time as he pleaſed; for formerly the Dictatorſhip was a bounded Tyranny, for a certain time of ſhort continuance: But having taken away theſe Bounds, there wanted nothing to make it an accompliſhed Tyranny. Yet they gave him a more honeſt name; ſaying, that he was created Dictator to make ſuch Laws as he ſhould judge profitable to the Commonwealth, and to apply neceſſary Orders. Thus the People of *Rome*, who had been under the Dominion of Kings about a hundred *Olympiads*; and almoſt as long under Popular Government, where Conſuls preſided, and changed every Year; returned under a Form of Royalty in the Seventy fifth *Olympiad* of the Greeks: there was now no fighting at the *Olympick* Games, nor any other Exerciſe but running: For *Sylla*, after the War with *Mithridates* was ended, and the Inteſtine Diſorders appeaſed, ſent for all the Combatants, and whatever elſe could give any pleaſure to the City, under pretence to recreate the people, wearied with ſo many Toyls. And that he might not ſeem to incroach upon the ancient form of Government, he permitted the People to chuſe Conſuls. They gave that Dignity to *M. Tullius* and *Cornelius Dolobella*, but he, in Quality of Dictator, reigned abſolutely, even over the Conſuls themſelves; for they carried before him four and twenty Axes, as they did before the other Dictators, and as formerly before the Kings; and he always went encompaſſed with Guards: Beſides, he cancelled Laws, and made new ones. Among others he made one, by which he enacted, that none for the future ſhould receive the Office of Prætor till he had been Quæſtor, nor be Conſul till he had been Prætor, nor obtain one Dignity twice until ten years after he had exerciſed it. As for the Tribuneſhip, he ſo enfeebled it, that it ſeemed quite under foot; making a Law, by which it was enacted, that after being Tribune, no Man ſhould be admitted to any other Dignity; ſo that no Perſon either of Quality, or deſirous of Honour, would accept that Charge. Yet it is not poſitively certain whether it was he that transferred it from the People's Choice to the Senate's, as it is at preſent. However it were, ſeeing the Senators reduced to a ſmall number by reaſon of the Tumults and Wars, he added three hundred, whom he took from the principal Cavaliers; yet not till having firſt demanded the Suffrage of the Aſſembly for each of them. He augmented likewiſe the number of the People with all the Slaves of the Proſcripts, whom he found well made, and in the Flower of their Age, to the number of ten thouſand; firſt giving them their Liberty, then the Right of Freedom, with the name of Cornelians, as their Benefactor. Thus he had always ten thouſand Citizens ready at the firſt beck. And to make himſelf Creatures throughout all *Italy*, he divided, as hath been ſaid, among twenty three Legions great Parcels of Land, part Publick, and part confiſcated from the Cities who favoured the contrary Party. But he was ſo terrible haſty and cholerick upon the leaſt occaſion, that he cauſed *Lucretius Offella*, who took *Præneſte*, and gave the laſt ſtroke to the War, to be ſlain in the midſt of the place, becauſe being only of the Order of Knights, and having never paſt the Degrees of Quæſtor or Prætor, againſt the new Law, he ſtood for the Conſulate, contrary to the Dictator's mind, and in deſpight of thoſe warnings he had given him to deſiſt the purſuit of it; grounding himſelf upon this, that he had ſerved him well in his War. After this Action, he thus ſpoke in full Aſſembly;

The Oration of *Sylla.*

KNow, Gentlemen, and take my Word for it, that Lucretius *was ſlain by my Order, becauſe he would not do what I commanded him.* Then he added this Fable; *A Labourer troubled with Lice that bit him as he wrought, twice interrupted his Work, to ſearch his Shirt; but finding they bit ſtill, he pulls off his Shirt, and throws it into the Fire. This I tell you, that the Vanquiſhed may be adviſed, leſt Fire be the Puniſhment of their third Relapſe.*

So that having terrified them by this diſcourſe, he rendred them ever after abſolutely ſubmiſſive to his Will and Command. After this he triumphed for the Victory obtained againſt *Mithridates*; and in time of Triumph all men having liberty to ſay what they pleaſe, there were ſome gibeing People that called his Government a diſavowed Royalty; becauſe, though he was King in effect, yet he would not take the Title: Others, on the contrary, called it by its proper name, that is to ſay, a manifeſt Tyranny. This City being fallen into this ſad degree of Miſery by the Civil War, and *Italy* in like manner: The Provinces were not exempt, ſome having been ruined either by the Pyrates or by *Mithridates*, or by *Sylla*; others almoſt undone by new Impoſts, after the Publick Treaſure had been exhauſted by the continual Seditions. For all Nations, all Kings in Amity, all Cities; not only thoſe Tributary, but likewiſe the Allies, and thoſe that for Services done the State had been made free: In a Word, all that depended on the Roman Empire, were conſtrained to pay Tribute, and ſubmit to the Will of *Sylla*; in ſo much that ſome places, to which by ſolemn Treaties they had granted Ports and Lands, were not exempt. We have elſewhere ſpoke of a certain *Alexander*, Son to another *Alexander*, King of *Egypt*; who being bred up in the Iſle of *Coos*, the Inhabitants delivered him to *Mithridates*: Now this *Alexander* flying for Refuge to *Sylla*, and gaining his favour, he gave him to *Alexandria* for their King, under pretence that there were no more Males of the Royal Line, and that the Daughters of the Blood-Royal could not marry, unleſs to one of their Kin; and indeed, out of hope to draw good ſtore of Money out of ſo rich a Kingdom. But when this new King, upheld by *Sylla*'s Favour, began to reign too inſolently, the Alexandrians drew him out of his Palace on the nineteenth day of his Reign and ſlew him in the midſt of the Place for Exerciſes; ſo much boldneſs they ſtill had, either becauſe of their vaſt Riches, or becauſe they were ignorant of the Calamities of other Nations, of which they had no experience.

XXIV. The Year following *Sylla*, though Dictator, permitted the making of Conſuls, to repreſent ſome Form of a Commonwealth; and was himſelf Colleague with *Metellus Pius*: From whence perhaps that Cuſtom took Birth, which is to this day practiſed by the Roman Emperors; who have the power to create Conſuls at their pleaſure, to take that Honour to themſelves, and think it a fine thing to joyn the Conſulſhip to the Sovereign Authority. The Year following, the People, to flatter *Sylla*, having offered him the Conſulate, he would not accept it, but gave that Dignity to *Servilius*

lius Iſaurius and *Claudius Pulcher*. And for his part, not long after he depoſed himſelf voluntarily from his Dictatorſhip, without any Man's propoſing it to him: Which certainly appears to me a thing worthy of all Admiration, that this man, the moſt powerful of the Age he lived in, ſhould of his own accord quit ſo great an Empire; not to his Son, as *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*, *Ariobarzanes* in *Cappadocia*, and *Seleucus* in *Syria*; but in favour of thoſe over whom he had exerciſed an inſupportoble Tyranny, and indeed it ſeems quite contrary to Reaſon; for why ſo much Toyl and Labour? Why expoſe himſelf to ſo many dangers, to raiſe him to this high Authority? Only to lay it down by his own Free Will. And I wonder no leſs at this; that *Rome* being ſtill peopled, after having loſt more than a hundred thouſand Men in this War, of whom ninety were Senators of the contrary faction, fifteen Conſulars, two thouſand ſix hundred Knights, comprizing thoſe baniſhed of that Order, whoſe Goods had been confiſcated, and many of their Bodies left without Burial. *Sylla*, notwithſtanding finding himſelf in Security both at home and abroad; without fearing thoſe whoſe Forts he had demoliſhed, whoſe Walls he had thrown down, whoſe Goods he had pillaged, whoſe Immunities he had deprived them of, returns of himſelf to the Condition of a Private Man, ſuch was his Boldneſs or his good Fortune. It is ſaid, that when he depoſed himſelf from his Dictatorſhip, in the middle of the place he cryed aloud, that he was ready to render an Account of his Actions to any one that demanded it, and at the ſame time ſending away his Lictors with their Axes, diſmiſſed his Guards, and walked yet a long time with ſome few of his friends only, before all the Multitude, aſtoniſhed at this Change as at a prodigy. In the Evening he returned to his houſe, none preſenting themſelves to complain againſt him; ſave one young Fellow, who not being hindred by any, had the Impudence to revile him with words: And he who had poured out his Anger againſt ſo great men, and againſt whole Cities, ſuffered with patience the reproaches of this Correction, by ſaying as he went into his houſe, either by natural Foreſight or Inſpiration from above; *This Boy will be the occaſion, that if any after me obtains the like Dignity, they will never lay it down.* The Event of which Prediction ſoon after happened: For *Cæſar* mounted to a like Eſtate, would not deſcend. *Sylla* then immoderate (at leaſt in my Opinion) in all he deſired, being by the favour of Fortune, from a private man become a Monarch; would from a Monarch become a private man, and ſpend the reſt of his life in the Country. So retiring to an Eſtate near *Cuma*, he divertized himſelf with Fiſhing and Hunting, not that he was weary of a private life in the City, or need be troubled for want of Armies to Command, if he had a deſire to undertake any thing, for he was yet young and vigorous, and had throughout all *Italy* about Sixſcore Thouſand Men bred up in Fighting under his Banners, and who poſſeſſed Lands and great Eſtates by his Liberality; beſides the Ten Thouſand *Cornelians* of the City fixed to his Intereſt, with thoſe of his Faction who all together hated and feared by the contrary Party, and could no way hope to avoid the revenge of thoſe miſchiefs they had done to others, but by his preſervation. But I believe that finding himſelf glutted with Wars, and Dominion, and City Affairs, he began to love a Country life. After that he had laid down the Soveraign Power, the people ſeeing themſelves delivered from Tyranny, and from the fear wherein they lived, ſuffered themſelves by little and little to be carried on to new ſeditious, matter to which was furniſhed by the Conſuls themſelves, *Catulus* one of them was of *Sylla*'s faction, and his Colleague

Emilius

Emilius Lepidus on the contrary party, they mortally hated each other; and from the beginning of their Conſulate, ſo little concord was perceived between them then, that no man doubted but their diviſion would cauſe new miſeries in the Common-wealth. Mean while *Sylla* retired in his ſolitude, dream'd one night that Deſtiny called him; wherefore as ſoon as it was light he roſe, and after having told his Friends his Dream, that day made his Will, which was no ſooner ſealed, but the Fever ſeiſed him, ſo that the night following was the laſt of his life. His death immediately gave occaſion of new troubles; for one ſide were of opinion, that his Body ſhould be carried in Funeral Pomp through *Italy*, and ſo being brought to the City, they ſhould give him Burial in the place at the publick Expence: which *Lepidus* and thoſe of his Faction oppoſed: however *Catulus* and *Sylla*'s Party carried it. So his Body was brought through *Italy* upon a Litter all covered with Gold, and adorned wirh Royal Ornaments, before which marched at the ſound of a great many Trumpets Men carrying Axes and other Enſigns of the Dictatorſhip: the Light Horſe, and Men at Arms armed Cap-a-pee followed next all about the Litter, which was followed by his Lieutenants and Tribunes in Arms, all following each other in their Order and Degree to honour his Funerals. The People likewiſe ran in from all parts in ſuch vaſt numbers, that never were ſuch crowds ſeen; but when the Corps entred the City, the Pomp augmented much, before were carried above two thouſand Crowns of Gold, which the Cities and Legions which he had commanded, and his own particular Friends had cauſed to be made to preſent him with: beſides there were many other Magnificencies not to be expreſſed; and becauſe there was ſome reaſon to fear for the great concourſe of Soldiery which were in the City, endeavours were uſed to bring things in order. The Corps then being conducted by the Prieſts and Veſtals, each in their degree, after them marched all the Senate with the Officers, adorned with marks of their Dignity, next a Troop of Roman Knights, and at laſt a multitude of Soldiers that had ſerved under him; for upon the report of his death they made all the haſte they could to come to his Funerals, with gilt Enſigns and Bucklers inlaid with Silver, as the faſhion is at this day. There were likewiſe between diſtance and diſtance Trumpets that ſounded ſome mournful air. There was nothing heard but fortunate acclamations of the Senate, Knights, Soldiers and People. Some lamented *Sylla*, others feared him yet, though dead, and the preſent ſpectacle did not terrifie them leſs than the remembrance of his paſt actions; ſo that his Friends and Enemies remained of accord in this, that to the laſt day of his life he was uſeful to the one, and dreadful to the other: his Corps being ſet down in the place for Orations, the moſt eloquent Orator of the Age, mounting the Tribunal, made his Funeral Oration, becauſe his Son *Fauſtus* was not yet of age to pay him that Office. After the Oration, ſome of the ſtrongeſt Senators took the Litter upon their Shoulders, and carried it to the Field of *Mars*, where they had been accuſtomed to give Rights of Sepulture to none but Kings, and whilſt the Corps burnt, the Knights and all the Soldiery kept marching round about the Pile.

XXV. Scarce were *Sylla's* Funeral Ceremonies finiſhed, but the Conſuls, as they returned began to quarrel with each other, and the people of the City were divided in their favour. *Lepidus*, to curry favour with the people of *Italy*, having ſaid, That he would reſtore them the Lands *Sylla* had taken away; whereupon the Senate, who feared them both, obliged them to promiſe

promiſe upon oath they would not take up Arms. Mean while, *Lepidus*, to whom *Gallia Ciſalpina* fell, in dividing the Provinces, ſtaid till after the Aſſembly for election of Magiſtrates, as if the year of his Conſulate being paſt, he had been diſcharged from his Oath, and free to make War upon *Sylla*'s Party. But his Deſigns being known to all the world, the Fathers ſent him command to return to the City, and he knowing the cauſe of his revocation, ſets forward with all his Forces, with a reſolution to enter *Rome* with them, which being forbid him, he cauſes his command to be proclaimed in the City for all thoſe of his Party to take up Arms. *Catulus* on his part does the like, ſo there was a Battel fought between them, a little diſtance from the Field of *Mars*. *Lepidus* was defeated, and forced to fly into *Sardinia*, where he died of Sickneſs; and his Army, after having troubled and over-run ſome places of *Italy*, mouldred away by little and little, what remained of it was carried by *Perpenna* to *Sertorius* into *Spain*, who being the only General remaining of all *Sylla*'s Enemies, made yet eight years War upon the Romans; they had a vaſt trouble to put an end to this War, having not only the Spaniards to deal with, but likewiſe their own Citizens under the conduct of *Sertorius*, who having obtained the Government of that Province in the time he commanded *Carbo*'s Forces againſt *Sylla*, had retired into *Spain* in Quality of Prætor, after having taken *Sueſſa* during the Truce. This Government was diſputed with him by thoſe that commanded, for they were of *Sylla*'s Party, but he having joyned with thoſe Forces he led out of *Italy* ſome Auxiliaries of the Celtiberians drove them out, and *Metellus* himſelf being by *Sylla* ſent againſt him, he defended himſelf generouſly. At length his valour having gained him a fair reputation, he formed a Council of three hundred of his Friends, which he called a Senate, in deriſion to that at *Rome*. *Sylla* being dead, and ſome time after him *Lepidus*, *Sertorius* recruited with the Forces brought him by *Perpenna*, thought himſelf in a condition to march into *Italy*, and poſſibly he had done it, if the Senate, who were fearful of it, had not ſent *Pompey* with a new Army to joyn the firſt: *Pompey* was yet but a young man, but already in high eſteem for thoſe brave things he had done under *Sylla* in *Africa*, and likewiſe in *Italy*: ſo he undertook this Expedition with great courage, and to paſs the *Alpes* after the example of *Hannibal*, he made a new way between the Springs of the *Po* and the *Rhoſne*, which are ſeparated one from the other only by ſome ſmall Mountains, from whence theſe two Rivers go to diſcharge themſelves in two different Seas, the *Rhoſne* into the Tyrhene Sea, taking its courſe through the Tranſalpine Gaul, and *Po* into the bottom of the Adriatick Gulf, gliding along the Ciſalpine Gaul. As ſoon as he got to *Spain* he loſt a Legion, which he had ſent to convoy his Foragers Beaſts of Loading, and Boys; nor could he hinder *Sertorius* from taking and pillaging the Town of *Aurona* in the ſight of him. In the taking of this Town a certain Woman, exceeding the ordinary ſtrength of her Sex, with her Fingers thruſt out the eyes of a man that would have raviſhed her, which coming to *Sertorius*'s knowledge, he put the whole Cohort to death, though they were all Romans, becauſe they had already committed the like crimes. Hereupon, Winter being come, the two Armies ſeparated; but at the beginning of the Spring they again took the Field. *Metellus* and *Pompey* ſetting forth from the Pyrænean Hills where they kept their Winter Quarters, and *Sertorius* and *Perpenna* from * *Luſitania*, they met near *Sucrona*, and gave Battel; where as they were hotly engaged, there not being a Cloud to be ſeen juſt before, on a ſudden the Air was full of Thunder and Lightning, which would have paſſed for a Prodigy with ſome other

* Portugal.

ther Armies; but theſe being all old Soldiers minded it not, nor did it hinder them from making a great Butchery on one ſide and the other: *Metellus* having defeated *Perpenna*, pillaged his Camp; but on the other Wing *Sertorius* having wounded *Pompey* on the Thigh with a Javelin, routed him, ſo that it is incertain which ſide had the better. *Sertorius* had a tame white Hind which had uſed to go at liberty in the Fields, ſhe having been ſome days wanting, he counted it an ill preſage, and as long as he thought her loſt, would not fight with the Enemy, who ſcoffed at him; but ſeeing her come running to him, he took the Field, and rejoycing at her return as a good Augur, began himſelf the Skirmiſh. Short time after there was another great Battel fought near † *Saguntum*, which laſted from Morning to Evening, without advantage on one part or the other: but at laſt *Pompey* was fain to yield, after having loſt ſix thouſand Men, and *Sertorius* three thouſand; and for *Metellus*, he likewiſe cut in pieces five thouſand of *Perpenna*'s Men. The next day *Sertorius* taking along with him a great number of Barbarians, went in the Evening to aſſault *Metellus* his Camp, who doubted of no ſuch thing; and he had certainly forced it, if *Pompey* bringing timely relief had not put him by his Enterpriſe. Mean while, the Summer being ſlipped away, both Armies parted, and went to their Winter Quarters. The year following, which agrees with the hundred ſeventy ſixth Olympiad, the Roman Empire encreaſed two Provinces by the laſt Teſtament of two Kings, *Nicomedes* having left to the Romans *Bythinia*, and *Ptolemy* ſirnamed *Apion*, of the Race of the *Lagides*, the Province of *Cyrene*: but they had likewiſe great Wars; in *Spain* this we are now ſpeaking of; in the Eaſt with *Mithridates*; over all the Sea with the Pyrates; about *Crete* with the Inhabitants of the Iſland, and in *Italy* againſt the Gladiators, who roſe all upon a ſudden, and gave them a great deal of trouble. Though they had ſo many Affairs upon their Hands, yet they forbore not to ſend to the Army they had in *Spain* two Legions, which being arrived, *Metellus* and *Pompey* came down from the Pyrænean Mountains; and *Sertorius* and *Perpenna* left *Portugal* to go meet them; when they drew near, a great number of *Sertorius*'s Soldiers went and yielded to *Metellus*, which ſo angred *Sertorius*, that he treated many others with great cruelty, and by his ill conduct got the hate of all the reſt. But the greateſt complaint his Army made againſt him, was, that inſtead of Romans he had taken Celtiberians for his Guard, and choſe rather to truſt his perſon with Strangers than thoſe of his own Nation. They could not endure to be accuſed of infidelity, though they bore Arms under an Enemy of the Roman People; and that which troubled them the more, was, that he, for whoſe ſake they had been perfidious to their Country, would not truſt them; beſides they thought it very unjuſt, that they ſhould be puniſhed for Runaways, they who had kept conſtant to their duty. Moreover, this gave occaſion to the Celtiberians to tell them upon all occaſions, that they doubted of their fidelity. However, *Sertorius* was not quite forſaken, the Soldiers ſtanding in need of ſuch a General; for indeed there was not any in this age more ſucceſsful, nor that better underſtood War: wherefore the Celtiberians becauſe of his activity and diligence, called him *Hannibal*, whom they eſteemed the moſt hardy and moſt prudent General of all the Earth. Upon theſe wavering inclinations of *Sertorius*'s Army, *Metellus* went dayly out in parties, and never returned without bringing in whole Troops of Priſoners: and *Pompey* beſieging *Palenza* had undermined the Walls, ſo that they were only ſupported by Stanchions of Timber; but *Sertorius* coming on, he was forced to raiſe his Siege, and the beſiegers having ſet fire

† Morviedra.

fire to the Stanchions, retreated with *Metellus*. *Sertorius* having repaired that part of the Wall that was fallen, ſet himſelf to purſue the Enemies, and overtook them on the Borders of *Calagyra*, and ſlew three thouſand Men, and this was all paſſed in *Spain* this year. In the beginning of the next the Roman Generals finding themſelves the ſtronger, aſſailed without fear thoſe Cities that held on *Sertorius*'s Party, whoſe Affairs were now in an ill condition, and their firſt ſucceſſes having heightened their courage, they made great progreſs, yet there was no ſet Battel; but having continued the War till the next year, they began to deſpiſe *Sertorius* in ſuch manner, that they waſted all his Province. For when he ſaw fortune had turned her back to him he gave ground too, and abandoned himſelf in ſuch manner to the pleaſure of Wine and Women, that he never afterwards engaged the Enemy but he was beaten. He grew likewiſe extremely cholerick, his paſſion took fire on the leaſt ſuſpicion, puniſhing with cruelty, and confiding in no man; ſo that *Perpenna*, who after *Lepidus*'s Death was come of his own accord to joyn him with conſiderable Forces, began to fear, and having ſuborned ten Soldiers, took a reſolution to deſtroy him, but the conſpiracy was diſcovered, ſome of the Conſpirators puniſhed with death, and others eſcaped by flight, *Perpenna* was ſo fortunate beyond his own hopes, as not to be compriſed in the accuſation, which haſtened ſo much the more the loſs of *Sertorius*; for ſeeing he never went unguarded, he invited him to a Feaſt, where, after having made him drunk, and his Guards too, he executed his enterpriſe. The Soldiers at the firſt knowledge of it deteſted the Parricide, and changed into good will all the hatred they bore *Sertorius*, as ordinarily all anger is appeaſed by the death of him from whom we believe we have received an offence, they now ſtood no longer in fear of him, and compaſſion recalled into their minds the memory of his virtue: beſides, they conſidered the danger to which they were now expoſed to, *Perpenna* was deſpiſed by them as a vulgar man; whereas they believed, that on *Sertorius*'s valour only depended the ſafety of the whole Army. In this general hate of *Perpenna* the Barbarians were moſt violent, eſpecially the Portugals, for whom the dead General had always a particular eſteem. But when after opening his Will they found his Murderer amongſt his Heirs, it is ſcarce poſſible to believe, how much it added to their horrour of this Villany, committed upon the perſon, not only of his General, but likewiſe of his Friend and Benefactor. And poſſibly they had done him ſome violence, if he had not appeaſed them, ſome with gifts, and ſome with promiſes, and killed ſome with his own hands to ſtrike terrour into others. He went likewiſe from City to City, making Orations to the people; and to gain their good Will ſet at liberty thoſe *Sertorius* had laid in Irons, and returned the Hoſtages he had taken from the Spaniards. Theſe good deeds ſweetened in ſome meaſure the minds of men; ſo that they obeyed him in quality of Prætor, and Succeſſor to *Sertorius*; but yet they were not quite appeaſed: for as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf ſettled, he grew extraordinary cruel, killing three Roman Gentlemen had fled to him for Refuge, and putting to death his Brother's Son. After *Sertorius*'s death, *Metellus* withdrew to the other ſide of *Spain*, thinking there was no danger in leaving *Pompey* alone to deal with *Perpenna*. They ſeveral times engaged, and for divers days skirmiſhed together to try their Men, but the two Armies ſtirred not till on the tenth day, when they had a Battel: both one Party and the other thinking it convenient to come to an end of the buſineſs; for *Pompey* ſlighted *Perpenna*, whom he thought no great Captain; and *Perpenna* fearing leſt his men would not long continue in good order and

duty, made as much haſte as he could to try the fortune of Arms. The Fight was not long, *Pompey* having to deal with an ordinary Captain, and an Army weak and diſcontented, ſoon got the advantage: ſo that ſcarce any Stand being made, *Perpenna* took his flight in diſorder, and fearing to fall either into his Enemies, or his own mens hands, he hid himſelf in a Thicket, from whence he was pulled out by ſome Horſemen that found him. The Soldiers began to revile him, calling him the Murderer of *Sertorius*; and he began to cry out aloud, that he had many things to diſcover to *Pompey*, touching the Seditions of the City, whether it were true, or only an invention to make them carry him alive before *Pompey*. But *Pompey* commanded them to diſpatch him before he ſaw him; for fear leſt if he told them any new thing it might occaſion freſh calamities in the City; and ſurely he did prudently; and all men praiſed his diſcretion. Thus the death of *Sertorius* put an end to the Wars of *Spain*, which certainly had laſted longer, and not been ſo eaſily determined, had he longer lived.

XXVI. About the ſame time *Spartacus* a Thracian by Nation, who had formerly born Arms in the Roman Militia, and was now a Captive in *Capua* to ſerve as a Gladiator, perſwaded about ſeventy of his Comrades to fight rather for their own liberty, than to pleaſe the ſpectators, and breaking Priſon he gave them ſuch Arms as he took from Paſſengers, and went and poſted himſelf on Mount *Veſuvius*. Store of fugitive Slaves, and likewiſe ſome free people of the Country flocking to him upon the news of his Revolt, he received them, and began to make Incurſions and Robberies in the Neighbouring Places, he made *Oenomaus* and *Crixus* two Gladiators his Lieutenants, and becauſe he equally divided the Prey among his Companions, in a ſhort time he gathered together ſo great Forces, that firſt *Varinius Glaber* and then *P. Valerius* being ſent againſt him not with formed Bodies, but ſuch men as they could get together as they paſſed along, were beaten: for the Roman People eſteemed theſe only a concourſe of Thieves, and not worth the name of a War. *Spartacus* in the Fight took *Varinius*'s Horſe, and there miſt little but that the Gladiator had taken the Pretor. After theſe Victories ſuch multitudes came in to him, that he ſoon beheld ſeventy thouſand Men under his Command. He then ſet himſelf to provide Arms, and to make great Preparations; ſo that the Conſuls were ſent againſt him with two Legions, one of which engaging with *Crixus* near Mount * *Gorganus*, the Gladiator was killed with thirty thouſand of his Men, ſcarce a third part of his Army eſcaping: *Spartacus* having taken his March by the *Aventine* to gain the *Alpes*, and thence paſs into *Gaul*, one of the Conſuls got before him to ſtop his paſſage, and the other Conſul followed him at the Heels. He fell upon them one after the other, and made them give ground, and indeed put them to flight, in which the Vanquiſher having taken three hundred Roman Priſoners, he cut their Throats, and offered them in ſacrifice to *Crixus*'s Ghoſt, his forces being afterwards ſwelled to ſixſcore thouſand Men, he marched directly towards the City, and to make the quicker way, cauſed all the Baggages to be burnt, his Priſoners murdered, and his Beaſts of Loading ſlain. Upon the way ſeveral Runaways offered themſelves to him, but he would accept of none. And when the Conſuls to ſtop his March, engaged him once more in the Country of † *Picene*, he defeated them with a great loſs of their Men. However, he changed his deſign of going to the City, becauſe he found himſelf too weak, his Army not being ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſary for War: for he was not aided by any Commonalty; and all his Forces were compoſed

* *Mount S.* Angelo.

† *Marches of* Ancona.

poſed of fugitive Slaves and Runnagate People. He went therefore and ſeiſed upon the Mountains, and likewiſe of the City of *Turine*, and cauſed Proclamation to be made, that he forbid all ſorts of Merchants to bring any Gold or Silver into the Camp, and all Soldiers to keep any: ſo with what they had they bought Iron and Copper, without doing any wrong to thoſe which brought it; and by this means they got together abundance of Materials, with which they fixed themſelves up Arms of all ſorts. Mean while they went dayly out a skirmiſhing, and having once more encountred the Romans, gained the Victory, together with a good ſtore of Spoil and Booty. It was now three years that this formidable War had laſted, which only for having contemned it at firſt, becauſe of the meanneſs of the Authors of it, was ſo prodigiouſly augmented, and withal the ancient Roman Valour was ſo baſtardiſed, that when the Aſſembly was held for naming of Prætors, there was none found that demanded that Dignity, till *Licinius Craſſus* a man of Quality, and mighty rich, reſolved to accept of the Pretorſhip offered; and with ſix other Legions marched againſt *Spartacus*, there were joyned to him the other two Legions which the Conſuls had, but he firſt decimated them as a puniſhment of thoſe ſhameful loſſes they had ſuffered: though ſome ſay, that going to aſſault the Enemies with all the Legions together, and being beaten by their fault, he then decimated them without conſidering the great number of Men, amounting to no leſs than four thouſand by which he weakened his Army. However it were, after having managed ſo his Affairs, that his own men were more afraid of him, than of the Enemy: ten thouſand of *Spartacus*'s Army being encamped ſeverally, he fell ſuddenly upon them, and made ſo great a ſlaughter, that ſcarce a third part eſcaped into the Groſs, commanded by their Captain. Soon after he undertook *Spartacus* himſelf, defeated him, and drove him to the Sea ſide, where, as he laid a deſign to get over into *Sicily*, to hinder him, he ſhut him up with a Circumvallation he drew round his Camp, with a Ditch and Paliſade. *Spartacus* ſeeing himſelf inveſted, endeavoured to break his way out, to get into the Country of the * Samnites, but *Craſſus* made him turn in again, after having killed him ſix thouſand Men in a Morning, and as many in the Evening, with the loſs of only three of his own, and ſeven wounded, ſo much did the recent memory of their chaſtiſement contribute to the Victory. After which *Spartacus*, who expected ſome Horſe which were to come to him from elſewhere, durſt no more engage with all his Forces, but contented himſelf to incommode the Beſiegers with frequent ſallies, which he made ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on another, and with throwing flaming Faggots into the Ditch, to burn the Paliſade, and hinder the Work. Mean while he cauſed one of the Roman Priſoners to be hanged up in the middle of the Place between his Camp and *Craſſus*'s Trenches, to let his men know what they were to truſt to, if they did not gain the Victory. The news of this cruelty coming to the City, moved their ſpirits to indignation, that a War ſhould laſt ſo long againſt Gladiators. So that judging the Remains of it were not deſpiſeable, they gave order to *Pompey*, newly returned from *Spain*, to go thither. But *Craſſus* fearing leſt *Pompey* ſhould carry away all the Glory of the end of this War, did all that he could poſſible to draw *Spartacus* quickly to a Fight. On the other ſide, *Spartacus*, who thought it not convenient to ſtay *Pompey*'s coming, ſent to demand peace from *Craſſus*, which being refuſed him as a thing unworthy the Grandeur of *Rome*, and ſome Horſe being come to him, he reſolved to try the fortune of a Battel, and having with all his Army froced the Circumvallation, he took his way towards

Brundusium, pursued by *Crassus*: but when he understood that *Lucullus* returning to *Rome* after his Victory against *Mithridates*, was landed, he lost all hopes of Retreat, and drew his Forces (which were yet numerous) into Battalia. The Fight was very fierce, *Crassus* having to deal with so many thousand desperate people, till such time as *Spartacus* wounded in the Thigh with a Javelin, fell upon his Knees, where still he defended himself for a while, covered with his Buckler, but at last was killed with all that were fighting about him, all the rest were presently routed, and there was so great a Butchery, that the dead could hardly be counted, nor could they find the body of *Spartacus*. The Romans lost scarce a thousand men. Those that remained of *Spartacus*'s Men fled to the Mountains, whither *Crassus* having followed them, to give the last stroke to the Victory, they formed of what were left forty Battalions, and in that posture yet defended themselves valiantly, till they were all killed, save six thousand, who were afterwards hanged along the way between *Capua* and *Rome*. *Crassus* having done all this in six Mouths, thought now he yielded nothing to *Pompey* in Glory, and kept his Army as well as he. They both demanded the Consulate, *Crassus* having passed the charge of Pretor according to *Sylla*'s Law, whereas *Pompey* had neither been Pretor nor so much as Questor, and not above four and thirty years old, but he promised the Tribunes to re-establish their ancient power. Thus these two Generals designed Consuls, did not dismiss their Armies, but kept them near the City, and shewed their reasons for it, *Pompey* that he waited for *Metellus*, who ought to triumph at his return from *Spain*; and *Crassus* that *Pompey* ought first to dismiss his Forces. Now the people seeing this difference tended to new Dissentions, and that the City was besieged by two Armies, besought the Consuls who were eminently seated in the view of all in the great place, to be reconciled, at first both the one and the other rejected their Prayers; but when the Divines told them that the City was threatened with great miseries if the Consuls did not agree, the people weeping, and casting themselves upon their Knees, renewed the same entreaties, for they had not yet lost the memory of those miseries caused by the Dissentions of *Sylla* and *Marius*. Hereupon *Crassus* beginning first to be moved, rises from his Seat, and goes to present his hand to his Colleague, as a sign of reconciliation: the other rising likewise went to meet him, and having joyned hands, all the people made acclamations of joy, wishing them all happiness; so that before the Assembly broke up, both Consuls dismissed their Armies. Thus was the Common-wealth happily delivered from the fear of a Civil War. And this happened sixty years after the death of *Tiberius Gracchus* the first mover of Seditions.

The End of the First Book of the Second Part.

APPIAN

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
ROME.

PART II.

BOOK II.

The Argument of this Book.

I. CAtiline's *Conſpiracy.* II. Cæſar *returned from* Spain, *renounces the Triumph, and obtains the Conſulate by the means of* Craſſus *and* Pompey. III. *During his Conſulate he endeavours to get the favour of the People and Knights, and obtains the Government of* Gaul. IV. Cicero *baniſhed by*

by Clodius, *and recalled by the favour of* Pompey- V. Pompey *underhand foments the Diſorders of the Commonwealth, to oblige the Citizens to create him Dictator:* Milo *kills* Clodius, *and* Pompey *created Conſul without a Colleague.* VI. Pompey, *Sole Conſul, iſſues out Warrants againſt thoſe that had any way abuſed their Charges.* VII. Cæſar *demands the Conſulate, which* Pompey *ſecretly oppoſes.* VIII. Curio *declares for* Cæſar *againſt* Pompey; *but at laſt in ſpight of* Curio, *the Senate gives Power to* Pompey *to Arm againſt* Cæſar. IX. Curio, Anthony *and* Caſſius, *Tribunes, go to* Cæſar; *who receives them as Friends.* X. Cæſar *paſſing the* Rubicon, *ſtrikes a general terrour into* Rome. XI. Pompey *leaves* Rome, *goes to* Capua, *the Conſuls and moſt of the Senate follow him: He carries over his Forces to* Dyrrhachium, *which he makes his Seat of War.* XII. Cæſar *comes to* Rome; *thence goes to* Spain, *to make War with* Petreius *and* Afranius. XIII. Curio *goes to* Africa, *is defeated and ſlain.* XIV. Cæſar *appeaſes a Mutiny of his Army at* Placentia, *and prepares to paſs into* Epire. XV. Pompey *having made his Preparations, makes a Speech to his Army, and ſends Garriſons into* Theſſaly. XVI. Cæſar, *after encouraging thoſe Forces he finds at* Brunduſium, *goes over Sea in Winter, and takes ſome places.* XVII. Cæſar *endeavouring to ſeize* Dyrrhachium, *is prevented by* Pompey. XVIII. Cæſar *endeavouring to come over Sea himſelf to fetch the Remainder of his Forces out of* Italy, *being driven back by Storm, ſends* Poſthumus *in his ſtead.* XIX. Anthony *being landed with the reſt of* Cæſar's *Forces in* Dalmatia, *ſome light Skirmiſhes happen.* XX. Pompey *gains a great Victory over* Cæſar. XXI. Cæſar *retreats with his Army into* Theſſaly, *and encamps about* Pharſalia. XXII. Pompey *hopes to overcome him by Famine, without fighting.* XXIII. *At length he yields to give him Battel.* XXIV. *Number of the Forces on both ſides.* XXV. Pompey *and* Cæſar *encourage their Armies.* XXVI. *They draw into Battel, and give Orders.* XXVII. *The Battel of* Pharſalia. XXVIII. Pompey *eſcapes into* Egypt, *where he is murdered.* XXIX. Cæſar *follows, revenges his death, and thence goes againſt* Pharnaces *in* Aſia. XXX. *He returns to the City; where after appeaſing his mutinous Soldiers, he reſolves on his Expedition into* Africa. XXXI. *He defeats* Scipio, *and the reſt of* Pompey's *Party.* XXXII. *The death of* Cato *at* Utica, *and the end of the African War.* XXXIII. Cæſar *returns to the City, triumphs, and rewards his Soldiers.* XXXIV. *He goes into* Spain, *and puts an end to the whole War.* XXXV. *He returns to the City, where he takes on him the Sovereign Authority.* XXXVI. *Lays a Deſign of War againſt the Parthians, and is thereupon ſlain in the Senate.* XXXVII. Brutus *and* Caſſius *retire to the Capitol.* XXXVIII. *They treat an Accommodation with* Lepidus *and* Anthony. XXXIX. *Queſtion put in the Senate, if they ought to be juſtified; which* Anthony *with much Artifice oppoſes.* XL. *He comes to the place of Orations, where the People applaud him; he ſpeaks againſt* Brutus *and* Caſſius *in open Senate.* XLI. Piſo *about to produce* Cæſar's *Will:* Brutus *and* Caſſius *endeavour to juſtifie their Action.* XLII. *They deſcend from the Capitol, but are forced to leave the City:* Cæſar's *Funeral Honours celebrated.* XLIII. *His Elegy, and Compariſon between him and* Alexander.

THe Dominion of *Sylla*, and all thoſe things which paſſed afterwards in *Spain* under the Conduct of *Sertorius* and *Perpenna*, were followed by divers Commotions, till the Civil War of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, which ended by the death of *Pompey*; after which *Cæſar* himſelf was ſlain in the Senate, as may be ſeen in this Second Book of the Civil Wars. Now when *Pompey* had cleared all the Seas of Pyrates, than whom a greater Number was never ſeen in the Memory of Man; brought to his end *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and reduced his Kingdom and thoſe other Countries he had conquered into what Form he pleaſed. *Cæſar* was yet but a very young Man; he was Eloquent, Capable of great things, Hardy, Preſumptuous, Ambitious beyond his Power; and being yet but Ædile and Prætor, was run prodigiouſly in debt to gain the favour of the People, which is uſually given to the moſt prodigal. *Catiline* now likewiſe appeared at *Rome*, being of one of the beſt Families of the City, but of no ſound Wiſdom; and beſides, of an ill Reputation, being ſuſpected to have committed a Parricide on his own Son, that he might eſpouſe *Aurelia Oriſtilla*, whom he was in Love with, and who would not contract Marriage with him as long as he had Children. He was with all this, a great Friend of *Sylla*'s, and very affectionate to his Party. Being fallen into Poverty by his ambitious Profuſeneſs, and yet conſiderable among many powerful Perſons, as well Men as Women, he ſet himſelf to demand the Conſulate, as a Step to raiſe him to the Tyranny: But he fell from his hopes; moſt Men having conceived an ill Opinion of him, becauſe they perceived him affect an Authority not fit to be ſuffered in a Free City. Being then refuſed the Conſulate, which was given to *Cicero*, a Man well ſpoken of, and very eloquent, he began to mock at the Suffrages of the People who had choſen this Conſul, whom out of Raillery he called New Man (for they had got a cuſtom to give that name to thoſe who rendred themſelves Illuſtrious, not by the Glory of their Anceſtors, but their own proper Vertue) and becauſe that he was not born in the City, they ſaid that he was an Inmate, like thoſe that lie in hired Lodgings. After that time he medled no more with the Government of the Commonwealth; judging that it expoſes Men to Trouble and Envy, and ſets them not a Round higher towards mounting to the Tyranny. Notwithſtanding, he drew great Summs of Money from many of thoſe Women, who, weary of their Huſbands, hoped to get rid of them if any Change happened in the State: and with ſome Senators, a quantity of Roman Knights, Plebeians, Slaves, nay, very Strangers, formed a Conſpiracy to ſeize on the Commonwealth: But his greateſt Confidents in this Affair were *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, at that preſent Prætors of the City. He ſent likewiſe throughout all *Italy* people to ſolicite thoſe who being enriched in *Sylla*'s time, had ill ſpent what they had ill got, and would be very well content to reach at ſuch another Fortune. He ſent *C. Manlius* to *Feſulæ*, and others to the Marches of *Anzona*, and into *Pouilla*, ſecretly to levy Soldiers. The firſt advice of all theſe ſecret Preparations was given to *Cicero* by *Fulvia*, a Woman of Quality, with whom *Q. Curius* (one of the Conſpirators, expelled the Senate for his ſcandalous life) was deeply in Love: He boaſted to his Miſtreſs, that in a ſhort time ſhe ſhould ſee him a great Lord. Already the noiſe of the Attempts of thoſe who had been ſent throughout all *Italy* increaſed, when the Conſul ſet Guards in the City, and ſent certain Perſons of Quality to the ſuſpected Places. But *Catiline*, though no one durſt yet arreſt him, becauſe

becauſe the buſineſs was not abſolutely diſcovered, was fearful leſt Delay ſhould increaſe the Suſpition; and hoping that the greateſt diligence would be moſt advantageous to him, ſent Money before to *Feſulæ*, gave Order to the Conſpirators to kill *Cicero*, and be night to ſet fire on divers Quarters of the City; and he cauſing Rods and Axes to be bore before him as a Pro-Conſul, and raiſing Soldiers all the way he paſſed, goes to find out *Caius Manlius*, with deſign to fall upon the City as ſoon as it ſhould be ſet on fire with all the Forces he could get together. As for *Lentulus*, after having given to the Conſpirators every one his Quarter, *Cethegus* and he agreed that as ſoon as they ſhould have advice that *Catiline* was arrived at *Feſulæ*, they ſhould go with Daggers under their Robes very early in the morning to *Cicero*'s Houſe, where by reaſon of their Offices they might without difficulty get entrance; and drawing him into a private place under pretence of ſome ſecret Conference, ſtab him. That at the ſame time * *Lucius Sextus* ſhould aſſemble the People, and accuſe *Cicero*, that being fearful by Nature, and ſuſpitious without cauſe, he unſeaſonably and to ill purpoſe troubled the City; and that the night following with a Band of Conſpirators they ſhould ſet fire in twelve places, pillage the City, and kill all the honeſt people they met with. Whilſt *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius* and *Caſſius*, who were the Heads of the Conſpiracy, formed theſe Deſigns, and waited only for Opportunity to execute them, the Deputies of the † Allobroges being come to *Rome* to complain of their Magiſtrates, were drawn into this Conſpiracy out of hopes they would cauſe the Gauls to riſe againſt the Republick. *Lentulus* being about to ſend them to *Catiline*, accompanied with *Vulturtius* of *Crotona*, who carried Letters without Superſcription: The Allobroges, irreſolute what they had to do, diſcourſed the matter with *Fabius Sanga*, Protector of their City; for it is the cuſtom of the Provincials, that each Nation hath his Protector at *Rome*. *Cicero* having received this advice from *Sanga*, gave Order to arreſt the Deputies as they were upon their Return, and with them *Vulturtius*; who being brought into full Senate, confeſſed all that they had negotiated with *Lentulus*, and atteſted that they had often heard him ſay, that the Deſtinies had promiſed the Dominion of the City to three *Cornelius*'s; of which *Cinna* and *Sylla* had been the two firſt, and he ſhould be the third. Hereupon the Senate degraded *Lentulus* of his Dignity of Senator, and *Cicero* went to cauſe the Conſpirators to be arreſted; whom having placed under ſure Guards in the Prætors Houſes, he returned to the Senate to deliberate. Mean while the knowledge of this Affair not being yet publick, a great Tumult was raiſed about the Palace; and all the Accomplices of the Conſpirators took the Alarm; in ſo much, that the Slaves and Freed Men of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* having raiſed a great number of Artiſans, uſed their endeavours to break open the Back Doors of the Prætors, to take thence their Maſters by force: Which being told *Cicero*, he came haſtily out of the Senate; and having placed Courts of Guard every where, returns and preſſes the Senate to give their Judgments. The firſt whoſe Advice was demanded was *Sillanus*, deſigned Conſul; for it is the Cuſtom to begin to demand Opinions by thoſe nominated to that Dignity, becauſe, as I imagine, the Execution of the Senate's Decrees regarding them, they ought to utter their mind with more Circumſpection and Prudence. His Advice was, the Conſpirators ſhould be puniſhed with death; in which many others followed him. *Nero* ſpeaking in his turn, was of opinion they ſhould for ſome time be kept Priſoners, till *Catiline* was defeated, and they more fully informed of the matter; which was alſo the Opinion of *C. Cæſar*, who was in ſome kind ſuſpected as if a Partner in their deſigns,

* *Tribune of the People.*

† *Savoy and the Dauphinate*

designs, or at least to have had knowledge of them: of which however, the Consul spoke not a word; not daring to cope with a Man so beloved of the People. He added to *Nero*'s advice, that they should be distributed in the Cities of *Italy*, such as *Cicero* should chuse; and after the War was finished, be called to Judgment; for it was not reasonable to condemn Persons of that Quality, without granting them a formal Tryal. This seemed just, and many returned to this Opinion, till *Cato* openly declaring his suspition of *Cæsar*, and the Consul fearing that the night following a multitude of Conspirators which were now in the Palace, and in fear for themselves, should attempt some desperate Action, brought back the greatest part of the Senators to the Opinion, that the Conspirators being taken in a Flagrant Offence, ought to suffer without being allowed the Formality of a Process. In so much, that before the Senate rose, *Cicero* himself caused the Accused to be brought from the particular Houses where they were guarded, to the Prison; where, without the knowledge of the People, he caused the Sentence of death to be executed in his presence; then going to the place, attested to all the World, they were no longer among the Living. Hereupon the rest of the Conspirators dispersed, every one contenting himself that he had escaped; and the City was that day delivered from great Inquietude. *Catiline* had already assembled twenty thousand men, about the fourth part of which were armed; with which he took his March towards *Gaul*, where he hoped to compleat his Preparations: But *Anthony*, the other Consul, overtaking him near the *Alps*, defeated him without much pains; for as he had laid this Design with little Prudence, so he as imprudently managed it, and was forced to fight before he was prepared. Notwithstanding, most true it is, that neither *Catiline* nor any of those Persons of Quality with him would fly, but were all slain fighting in the midst of their Enemies. The death of *Catiline* was the end of this Conspiracy, from which *Cicero*'s Prudence secured the Commonwealth: So that being before known only for his Eloquence, he in this Occasion made himself famous for his Actions; and no Person doubted but he had saved his Country from the Ruin wherewith it was threatned. Wherefore publick thanks were given him: and after many Acclamations, *Cato* saluting him, called him *The Father of his Country:* Which is indeed an Appellation so glorious, that *Cicero* having been the first to whom it was given for his Merit, it is the Custom to this day to honour only such Emperors with it as are worthy: For as soon as any come to the Monarchy they joyn not this Title with their other Sirnames, nor is it granted but by a publick Decree, and as a Testimony of accomplished Vertue.

II.

As for *Cæsar*, being ready to go for *Spain*, the Government of which he had obtained, he was arrested by his Creditors, whom he could not pay, having dreined himself by Ambitious Expences; and he was heard at that time to say, that he wanted * two Millions and five hundred Thousand Deniers to be worth nothing. He agreed with them as well as he could; and being entred into his Government, he amused not himself to go from City to City to hear talk of Affairs, or to administer Justice; such things had no Correspondency with the Greatness of his Designs: But he began to raise Soldiers, and to make War with the rest of the People of *Spain*; whom after having plundred their Territories, he made Tributary to the Romans: In so much, that having sent a great Summ of Money to the Treasury, the Senate granted him the Honour of Triumph. As they were making in the Suburbs Magnificent Preparation for his Entry, the day designed for the

* *According to* Buda's *Computation, this will not amount to above forty thousand Pounds.* Plutarch *says he owed one hundred and thirty Talents; which according to the same Compatation of* Buda, *will be one hundred ninety five thousand Pounds.*

Election of Conſuls drawing nigh, of neceſſity thoſe who demanded that Dignity muſt be preſent; and it was not permitted after entring the City without Pomp, to make another Entry in Triumph. He had a long time paſſionately deſired the Conſulate, and the things neceſſary for his Triumph were not yet ready: Wherefore he preſented a Requeſt to the Senate, that he might have permiſſion to demand that Dignity by his Friends, which he knew had been granted others, though it were forbid by the Law. The laſt day being come whereon thoſe that pretend to the Conſulate muſt give in their Names, and *Cato* continually oppoſing *Cæſar*'s Requeſt, he renounced his Triumph, entred into the City, and made his Declaration, expecting the day of the Aſſembly. Mean time *Pompey*, Illuſtrious and Powerful, becauſe of the great Actions he had done againſt *Mithridates*, demanded of the Senate the Ratification of many things he had granted to Kings, Tetrarchs and Cities, which many oppoſed out of the Envy they bore this Great Man: But eſpecially *Lucullus*; who being recalled out of *Aſia* when he had quite weakned the Forces of that King, having left the ſame *Pompey* that War eaſie to terminate, vaunted that the Honour of that Victory belonged to him; and had drawn *Craſſus* to his ſide. *Pompey* vexed that his Deſigns were oppoſed, makes Alliance with *Cæſar*, promiſing him upon Oath that he would ſerve him to get the Conſulſhip; and ſoon after by *Cæſar*'s means *Craſſus* was reconciled to *Pompey*. Thus theſe three great Men ſerved one another, to obtain what they deſired: And the Hiſtorian *Varro*, who writ a Book of their Union, calls it the Three-headed Conſpiracy. Wherefore the Senate beginning to ſuſpect their Power, gave to *Cæſar*, *L. Bibulus* his Enemy for his Colleague; between whom there ſoon happened ſuch a difference as made them take up Arms, one againſt the other.

III. But *Cæſar* knowing the Art of Diſſembling, made in full Senate an Oration to *Bibulus* upon the Subject of Concord, as if he would prevent their Diſſentions from cauſing any Inconveniency to the Commonwealth. Now, whilſt it ſeemed in all outward appearance that he endeavoured ſeriouſly for Peace, and that the other, who doubted nothing, ſtood not upon his Guard, all on a ſuddain he comes to the Senate accompanied with a great Multitude of People, and propoſes a Law in favour of the Poor: He diſtributed Lands to them; gave to them that were Fathers of three Children *Campania*, the moſt fertile Territory belonging to *Italy*; and by this means got the Love and favour of the People, for there were twenty thouſand found under that Qualification. And when many of the Senate oppoſed the Publication of theſe Laws, he withdrew from the Palace, as if not able to endure their Injuſtice; and all that Year there was no more Seſſion of the Senate. But he
II went to the place for Orations; and mounting the Tribunal, demanded of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, who ſtill aſſiſted him, if thoſe Laws did not to them ſeem reaſonable, and after having received their approbation, demanded the ſuffrages of the people, who came to that Aſſembly with Arms under their Gowns. As for the Fathers (for the Senate could not Aſſemble but by the order of both Conſuls) they held ſome private meetings in *Bibulus* houſe, but all that did nothing againſt the Power and Intereſt of *Cæſar*, yet they ceaſed not to provoke *Bibulus* to oppoſe the Laws of his Colleague, whatever ſhould happen by it: That it might rather be ſaid he was overcome by the Malice of another, than by his own remiſſneſs. He ventured therefore upon the place one day as *Cæſar* was making an Oration to the people, and a Tumult ariſing about ſome words they had together, they came to blows. *Bibulus* his Rods were broken,

and

and ſome Tribunes that took his part wounded, but he without being daunted, preſented his naked Neck to *Cæſar*'s Faction, with theſe words; *If I cannot perſwade my Colleague what is juſt, I will at leaſt by my death make him Criminal and Execrable.* However, his Friends pulled him thence, and cauſed him to enter the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, which is nigh the place. Then *Cato* being ſtrong and vigorous, overthrew all thoſe ſtood in his way, got up into an eminent place, and began to ſpeak; but thoſe of *Cæſar*'s Party drew him out of the place: which yet made him not give over; for he returned again by another way, crying out continually againſt *Cæſar*; till being again carried away by force, the Conſul got the Laws paſt. The People having ſworn to obſerve them, they would have the Senators take the ſame Oath; which ſome by *Cato*'s perſwaſion having refuſed to do, he propoſed to the People, to declare Criminal whoever would not ſwear: And this Declaration being paſſed, they all took the Oath for fear; even the Tribunes themſelves, who had oppoſed in vain, ſince the Law was ratified. Mean while a certain man of the People called *Vetius* ran into the middle of the place, crying out he was ſent by *Bibulus*, *Cicero* and *Cato*, to kill *Cæſar* and *Pompey*; and that Dagger was to that purpoſe put in his hand by *Poſthumius*, Lictor to *Bibulus*. Though this matter were much ſuſpected, *Cæſar* made uſe of it to embitter the Multitude, and referred the Information till the next day; but *Vetius* was the night following killed in Priſon. This Accident admitted of divers Interpretations; but *Cæſar* caſt the fault on ſome who had a ſenſe of their being guilty; and managed things ſo, that the People permitted him to take Guards, to ſecure him from ſuch Attempts as might be made upon his Perſon. And now *Bibulus* quitted abſolutely the Government of the Commonwealth, and remained in his houſe as a private Perſon all the Remainder of his Conſulate. But his Colleague ſeeing himſelf Maſter of all, without troubling himſelf to make any Information about *Vetius* buſineſs, laboured to make more Laws in favour of the People; and according to his promiſe, made all that *Pompey* had done to be approved. In theſe times the Knights, who were the middle Order, between the Senate and the People; powerful, both by reaſon of their proper Riches, and the Profits which they made of the Impoſts which they farmed from the People, highly courted *Cæſar*; in ſo much, that ſupported by his favour, they preſented their Requeſt to the Senate for an Abatement of the Rent of their Farms: And when the Fathers demurred upon, and withſtood it, without taking notice of their Oppoſitions, by the ſole conſent of the People he abated them a third part. Whereupon the Knights having received a greater favour than they demanded or durſt hope for, cryed up to the Skies him from whom they had received it: And now *Cæſar* grew ſtronger than he was before in the favour of the People, for by this only benefit he gained a great number of intereſſed Perſons to ſuſtain his Dignity. Beſides all this, to gain ſo much the more the good Grace of the Citizens, he gave them often the Divertiſements of Shows and Chaſes; by which he ran in debt every where, much beyond what he was worth, every day ſurpaſſing himſelf in the Magnificence of his Gifts, and the Profuſeneſs of his Largeſſes. At laſt he brought Matters ſo about, that they gave him the Government of the Gauls, as well on this ſide as beyond the Mountains, for five Years, with four Legions. After having obtained it, knowing that he muſt be a long time abſent from the City, and that Envy has more power than Favour, he gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Pompey*; not but that they were already very good Friends, but he was fearful leſt the too great Succeſs of his Arms might ſtir up Envy even in a Friend. More-

over, he deſigned for Conſuls the Year following the ſtouteſt of his Faction, *A. Gabinius*, one of his greateſt Confidents; and *L. Piſo*, his Father in Law, with whom he had lately Allyed himſelf (*Cato* perpetually crying out that theſe Marriages tended to a Tyranny) and for Tribunes of the People he nominated *Vatinius* and *Clodius Pulcher*. This *Clodius* was infamous for having ſlipped into the Sacrifices of the good Goddeſs, where none but Women ought to enter: in which place he had layed a Blemiſh upon the Chaſtity of *Cæſar*'s own Wife; who yet never expreſſed any Reſentment, becauſe this Man was beloved by the People; but however he repudiated his Wife, there were ſome who afterwards made him come to a Tryal as a Prophaner of Sacred Things. *Cicero* pleaded his Accuſation, and *Cæſar* himſelf was called in as a Witneſs; but he depoſed nothing againſt him: On the contrary, he advanced him to this Office of Tribune in hate to *Cicero*, who frequently uſed to blame the Union of * theſe three Men, as tending to the Ruin of the Publick Liberty. Nor thought he much to pardon one of his Enemies the Affront he had received, ſo he might be revenged of another, who had only offended him in ſuſpecting he had an ill Deſign; ſo much was his Ambition more violent than his Love. And yet there is ſome appearance that *Cæſar* received the firſt Obligation from *Clodius*, who ſerved him with all his Credit and Intereſt when he demanded the Government of the Gauls. However it were, this is what paſſed in *Cæſar*'s Conſulate; which being expired, he went into the Province in Quality of Pro-Conſul.

Pompey, Craſſus, Cæſar.

IV. After his departure from the City, *Clodius* cauſed *Cicero* to be called to Judgment, for having contrary to Law put to death *Cethegus* and *Lentulus* before they were condemned. But he bore this Accuſation with as much Cowardice, as he had ſhewed Courage in the Noble Action he did; for he went through the Streets with his Beard grown, his Hair unkembed, clad in a ſad Colour, and begging of every one he met to aſſiſt him, he was not aſhamed to be importunate with People that were utterly unknown to him; in ſo much, that having no regard to Decency, whilſt he would have moved Compaſſion, he made himſelf ridiculous; and that Man who all his life had managed others Affairs with ſo much Courage, ſuffered himſelf to fall into the Exceſs of Fear in his own Cauſe. It is reported, the like happened to *Demoſthenes* in *Athens*; and that Orator who had ſo bravely defended ſo many accuſed, being accuſed himſelf, choſe rather to fly than to defend himſelf before the Judges. In like manner *Cicero* ſeeing that *Clodius*, whom he followed through the Streets in the poſture of a Suppliant, derided his Prayers and Submiſſions, and reviled him with words, loſt all hope, and reſolved to go into a Voluntary Exile, whither many of his Friends followed him, the Senate having given him Letters of Recommendation to all Kings and Sovereigns where he deſigned to make his Retreat. Whereupon *Clodius* demoliſhed his Houſes as well in the City as the Country; and became ſo fierce and arrogant, that he eſteemed himſelf equal to *Pompey*, the moſt powerful Man of that time in the City. Wherefore *Pompey* made an Agreement with *Milo* his Colleague, a Man of Enterprize; to whom he promiſed the Conſulate, to ſerve him againſt *Clodius*, and obliged him to propoſe to the People the Return of *Cicero*; believing that being returned, he could talk no more of the preſent Eſtate of the Commonwealth, that he would have in mind the benefit newly received, and be always ready to oppoſe the deſigns of *Clodius*. Thus *Cicero* baniſhed by *Pompey*'s means, was by the favour of the ſame *Pompey* again recalled to his Country, about ſixteen

ſixteen Months after his departure, and his Houſes both in City and Country were rebuilt at the Publick Charge. When he returned there went ſuch a Concourſe to meet him at the Gates, that the whole Day was ſcarce enough for their Complements; which happened alſo to *Demoſthenes*, when after his Exile he was received into *Athens*. Mean while *Cæſar*, glorious for the great things he had done in *Gaul* and *Brittany* (as we have ſaid, ſpeaking of the Affairs of *Gaul*) and loaden with vaſt Riches, repaſſed into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, that he might a little refreſh his Army, wearied with continual War. As ſoon as he was arrived there, and that he had ſent ſtore of Silver to a great many Perſons in the City, the Officers of the Commonwealth for that Year, together with all the other Governors of Provinces, and Generals of other Armies, came to ſalute him; ſo that there was ſometimes ſixſcore Rods about his Perſon. There came likewiſe more than two hundred Senators; ſome to thank him for Favours received, ſome to get Money of him, or ſomething elſe of that kind. For now he alone could do all things, having ſo many Forces at his Service, and ſo much Money in his Coffers; and beſides, he was always ready to oblige all the World. *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, the Companions of his Power, being come as well as others to ſee him, they conſulted together about their Affairs; and agreed, that *Pompey* and *Craſſus* ſhould take the Conſulate, and ſhould prolong to *Cæſar* the Government of *Gaul* for other five Years; after which they parted. At the time for Election of Conſuls, *Domitius Ænobarbus* ſtanding up Competitor with *Pompey*, and the day of Nomination being come, they came both before Day to the place where the Aſſembly is held; and after ſome ſharp words, fell to blows. In the Tumult he that carried the Light before *Domitius* received a Wound with a Sword, upon which all his People fled, and he with much hazard eſcaped to his Houſe: *Pompey*'s Robe was alſo brought home bloody; ſo much danger did they both run in this ſudden Broil. *Craſſus* and *Pompey* having obtained the Conſulate, gave *Cæſar*, according to their promiſe, the Government of *Gaul* for five Years longer, and between themſelves they divided the Provinces and the Armies. *Pompey* had the Governments of *Spain* and *Africa*, whither he ſent Friends to command in his place, and he ſtayed in the City: And *Syria*, with all the Neighbouring Countries remained to *Craſſus*; for his Head run upon a War againſt the Parthians, as a thing eaſie, and which would yield no leſs Glory than Profit. But when he left the City to go towards it, there happened a great many ill Preſages: The Tribunes of the People forbad him to go to make War againſt the Parthians, from whom the People of *Rome* never received any Cauſe of Complaint: And becauſe he did not forbear at their defence, they curſed him with publick Execrations; in contempt of which having paſſed farther, he periſhed in the Enemy's Country, with all his Army, together with a Son he had of the ſame name; for of a hundred thouſand Men he lead thither, ſcarce ten thouſand eſcaped into *Syria*. But we have ſpoke of this Defeat in what we have already writ of the Affairs of *Parthia*.

V. The People about this time being oppreſſed with Famine, gave to *Pompey* the Superintendence of Proviſions; and as he had done before in the Pyratick War, ſo now he named twenty Senators for his Lieutenants in this Employ: By ſending of whom into the ſeveral Provinces, he in a ſhort time filled the City with great abundance of all things neceſſary to the Life of Man; which much augmented his Glory and Power. At the ſame time *Julia*, *Pompey*'s Wife, dyed great with Child, and by her death left all the City

City in Alarm, for fear leſt the Alliance between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* being exterminate, they ſhould not e'er long take up Arms againſt each other; for now for a long time there had been nothing but Diſorder and Confuſion in the Commonwealth. No Dignities were attained to but by Factions, or by Gifts, or by Criminal Service, and ſometimes by blows of Stones and ſtrokes of Swords. No man was aſhamed to buy Votes, for the People ſold them in open Aſſembly. In ſhort, there was one, who, to obtain an Office in the Commonwealth, ſpent * eight hundred Talents. Beſides, the yearly Conſuls now made had no hopes to make War or to command Armies; being excluded by the Management and Workings of the three ſworn Friends. Ill men enriched themſelves with publick Moneys, or by taking Bribes from thoſe they deſigned for their Succeſſors; wherefore no honeſt Man would put in for an Office; in ſo much that in this Diſorder the Commonwealth was eight Months without Officers. *Pompey* ſet his hand to all this, that they might be obliged to chuſe a Dictator; and it was openly talked already in the Companies, that there was no other Remedy for the Preſent Diſtempers, than by giving the Sovereign Authority to ſome Perſon of Probity and Power. This Diſcourſe could mean no other than *Pompey*, who commanded great Armies, and ſeemed affectionate to the Publick Good, reſpectful to the Senate, modeſt, prudent and deſirable by all Men for his Courteſie, whether true or feigned. *Pompey* appeared by his words, not to be at all rejoyced with the Opinion the Citizens had of him; nay, he ſeemed to be troubled at it: but yet he did all that was poſſible ſecretly to advance the Execution of his Deſigns. He fomented the Diſorders of the Commonwealth by leaving it without Magiſtrates: And though *Milo*, who was now Tribune, had ſerved him in the reducing of *Clodius*, yet he hindred him from demanding the Conſulate; ſtill temporizing, till *Milo*, vexed to ſee himſelf ſo deceived, left the City, and retired to *Lavinia*, the place of his Birth: That City is reported to be the firſt built by *Æneas* in *Italy*, nineteen Miles from *Rome*. As he was going, *Clodius* on Horſe-back was by chance returning out of the Country, to the City: they met about *Bovilles*, and paſſed by without ſaluting each other; but a Servant of *Milo*'s, whether he had received Command to do it, or that of his own accord he would rid his Maſter of an Enemy, fell upon *Clodius*, and with his Sword cut him into the Head that he fell: His Groom carried him into the next Inn, whither *Milo* with all his Followers haſting to him, in the uncertainty he was in, whether he were yet dead, or that there was ſome life left in him, thruſt him into the Belly; proteſting, that what had before paſſed was without his order or conſent, but he willingly finiſhed a Crime, for which he knew he muſt anſwer. The People aſtoniſhed with the report of this Accident, ſpent all that night in the place in Arms; and when it was day, the Body was brought before the Tribunal for Orations: Soon after it was taken up by ſome Tribunes his Friends, aſſiſted by the Multitude: Who, whether it were to honour this Man of the Senatorian Order, or to ſhame the Senate, who by their negligence ſeemed to favour ſuch Actions, carried him into the Palace; where ſome of the moſt violent of them, breaking down the Benches, made a Pile; and ſetting fire to it, burnt not only the Body, but likewiſe the Palace and ſome Private Houſes adjoyning. As for *Milo*, he ſtill had ſo much boldneſs, that the fear he ſtood in of being puniſhed for ſuch an Aſſaſſinate was much leſs than his indignation to ſee ſo much Honour payed to the Memory of *Clodius*. Therefore taking in his Train great numbers of Country People, together with his own Houſhold: And having gained the People by Largeſſes, and corrupted

About one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds Sterling.

rupted *M. Cecilius*, Tribune, with Money, he came to the City full of Confidence. As soon as he appeared, *Cecilius* arrested him in the midst of the Street, and led him as it were by force into the place where those who had received his Presents were assembled, under pretence of making him answer for his Action. The Tribune seemed to be so enraged against him, that he would not grant him any time to prepare himself for his Defence: But indeed he pressed the business out of hopes that *Milo* being acquitted by this Judgment, might not be obliged to answer before other Judges. *Milo* having at first declared that this Death was not premeditated, for had he any such design he would never have taken his Wife and whole Family along with him to execute it, spent the rest of his time in Invectives against *Clodius*, who he would have pass for a debauched Cast-away, and the Head of those Debauchees who, in burning his Body, had burnt the Palace. Before he had finished his Speech, the other Tribunes of the People and the Citizens who had not been corrupted by his Presents, came running into the place, from whence *Cecilius* and *Milo* withdrew disguised like Slaves; yet they failed not to make a great Slaughter, making no distinction between *Milo*'s Friends and others; but charged indifferently on the Citizens and those that were none; especially on those were best clad, or had about them any rich Ornaments which they had a mind to; for there being no Form of a Commonwealth, in the first Tumult that happened every Man gave himself over to Rage and Passion. And because in this Occasion numbers of Slaves had taken Arms against People that had none, they set themselves to rob, and run into Houses to see what they could catch, under pretence to seek for *Milo*'s Friends. Thus some Days passed in these Disorders, wherein Fire and Stones, and all other Instruments of Fury and Rage were made use of. Mean while the Senate affrighted, assembled in the Palace, and cast their eyes on *Pompey*, as if they designed him presently Dictator; and indeed there appeared no other Remedy for the Miseries wherewith the Commonwealth was oppressed. But *Cato* disswaded the Fathers, and brought them to his Opinion, to make him Consul without a Colleague; so that he might have the Power of a Dictator, disposing all things alone, but was subject to be called to an Account of his Administration, according to ancient Custom. Being then the first that ever was created Consul alone, Governor of two great Provinces, General of an Army, and powerful in Treasure; he obtained the Sovereign Authority in the Commonwealth by the Advice of *Cato* himself; who gave him his Vote for fear he should hinder his Voyage to *Cyprus*, whither he was to go to reduce that Kingdom into the Form of a Province. *Clodius* had got it so decreed, to revenge himself of *Ptolemy*, King of that Island; who, out of Covetousness, had contributed but two Talents to redeem him from Pyrates when he was formerly taken. And *Cato*, when he went, had not much trouble to settle the Affairs of *Cyprus*; for as soon as the King had advice of the Decree of the Senate and People of *Rome*, he threw all his Treasure into the Sea, and killed himself.

VI. At first Entrance into his Charge *Pompey* brought to a Tryal all those who stood accused of any Crime, particularly of Corruption or Ill Administration in their Offices; for this he thought the Original of all Publick Miseries; and that having purged that Humour, the Commonwealth would soon recover its former Vigour. He therefore made a Law, by which leave was given to demand an Account of all those who had exercised any Office from the time that he was first made Consul, to his present Consulate. Now this

this ſpace of time being almoſt twenty years, compriſed likewiſe the Conſulate of *Cæſar*, and thoſe of his Party had ſome ſuſpicion that it was done to affront him; for why run ſo far back? they remonſtrated therefore to *Pompey*, that it was more convenient to provide againſt preſent Evils, than to go to rip up old ſores, and put to pain ſo many conſiderable perſons, among whom they named *Cæſar* himſelf. He ſeemed to take it amiſs they had alledged *Cæſar*, as not being ſuſpected with any of thoſe crimes; notwithſtanding he reduced the time to begin from his ſecond Conſulate, but he would not utterly ſuppreſs the Law, ſaying, that the puniſhment of theſe crimes was of great importance towards the re-eſtabliſhment of a perfect good order in the Common-wealth. After this Law was ratified, great number of Proceſſes were formed, and that the Judges might be free from all fear, himſelf ſate Preſident, attended by a ſtrong Guard of Soldiers. The firſt condemned in their abſence were *Milo* for the death of *Clodius*, *Gabinius* convicted to have violated Humane and Divine Right, by entring armed into *Egypt* without the order of the Senate, and againſt the prohibition of the Sibyls; with *Hypſæus*, *Memmius*, *Sextus*, and many others for having bought their Offices. As for *Scaurus*, when many people tumultuouſly entreated for him, *Pompey* cauſed the Uſher with a loud voice to tell them they ſhould expect the ſentence of the Judges; and becauſe notwithſtanding they continued to make a great broil with the Accuſers. *Pompey*'s Soldiers fell upon and killed ſome of them; ſo after ſilence made, *Scaurus* was condemned to Baniſhment; and for *Gabinius*, beſides Baniſhment his Goods were confiſcate. The Senate after having given praiſes to *Pompey*, augmented his Forces with two Legions, and extended his authority over all the Provinces of the Empire. Some days after, the Law of *Pompey* promiſing impunity to whoever would accuſe another: *Memmius* one of the condemned ſummoned to Judgment *L. Scipio* Father-in-law to *Pompey*, and guilty of the ſame crime: upon which, *Pompey* having changed habit: imitated him; and *Memmius*, after having complained of the ill orders in the Common-wealth, let fall his ſuit.

VII. And now as if the time of his Dictatorſhip were expired, *Pompey* made *Scipio* his Colleague for the reſt of his Conſulate. Notwithſtanding he laboured hard for thoſe were to ſucceed him in that Dignity, keeping the ſame power he had before, and diſpoſing alone of all things in the City; for the Senate had ſo great an affection for him, that *Cæſar* grew jealous. And indeed in his Conſulate he had not at all conſidered that ſupreme Order, whereas *Pompey* in a little time had reſtored the languiſhing Common-wealth, without diſobliging any of the Senators, unleſs where his Office forced him to it: but though the baniſhed men from all parts gathered themſelves about *Cæſar*, giving him counſel to have a care of *Pompey*'s Law, of which he was the principal object; he ſeemed not to believe any thing of it, and comforting them in their misfortunes, ſtill ſpoke of *Pompey* with applauſe. However, he obliged the Tribunes to paſs an Ordinance by which he had leave to make a demand of the Conſulate the ſecond time, though abſent, the which was granted him by the conſent of *Pompey* himſelf yet Conſul. But doubting the Senate owed him no good will, and fearing if he deſcended to the condition of a private man, his Enemies would treat him but ill, he contrived all ways poſſible, that he might not quit his Army till he was deſigned Conſul; wherefore he demanded of the Senate the continuation of his Commiſſion for ſome time, at leaſt in the hither *Gaul*, if he could not obtain it in both. *Marcellus*, who ſucceeded *Pompey*,

Pompey, oppoſed it; whereupon *Cæſar* told him that brought him the news, *This here ſhall gain it*: clapping his hand on the Hilt of his Sword. He had formerly founded the new *Coma* under the *Alpes*, and given to the City the Privileges of the Latine Cities, that is to ſay, whoever had been Magiſtrate a whole year together was by right a Freeman of *Rome*, which gave another occaſion to *Marcellus* to ſhew his ſpite; for finding at *Rome* an Inhabitant of *Coma*, who the year before had exerciſed the Magiſtracy, and was therefore reputed a Citizen of *Rome*; to affront *Cæſar*, he cauſed him to be beaten with Rods (a puniſhment they never make a Roman Citizen ſuffer, what ever his crime be) and treating him as a Stranger, bid him go find out *Cæſar* and ſhew him the print of his ſtripes. So arrogant was this man; nay, ſo far did malice tranſport him, that he would have ſent Succeſſors to *Cæſar* before the time of his Commiſſion was expired; but *Pompey*, whether he thought it diſhonourable for him to ſuffer it, or that he ſeemed to be *Cæſar*'s Friend, would not let that brave man who had ſo well ſerved his Country receive an affront for ſo ſhort a time. Beſides, none doubted but at the time limited he muſt return to the condition of private perſons; wherefore they deſigned Conſuls for the approaching year *Emilius Paulus*, and *Clodius Marcellus* Nephew to that *Marcellus* we were ſpeaking of. And the Dignity of the Tribune of the People was given to *Curio* a man in favour with the multitude, and withal very eloquent. Theſe were three declared Enemies to *Cæſar*, of whom *Clodius* would never be drawn to his Party what ever money he offered him; *Paulus* by means of* fifteen hundred Talents was wrought upon ſo as not to be againſt him; and *Curio*, who was almoſt ruined with his debts, gave himſelf wholly up to him for ſomewhat a greater ſum. *Paulus* with his money built a moſt magnificent Palace, which is ſtill to be ſeen, called by his own name, and is one of the moſt beautiful Works of the City. *Curio*, that he might not appear to paſs all of a ſudden to the contrary Party, propoſed a Law for the reparation of the High-ways, of which he demanded a Commiſſion for five years, he had no thoughts of gaining it, but only ſought an occaſion of Rupture with thoſe of *Pompey*'s Party, who he knew would not fail to oppoſe it; in which he was not deceived.

* *About two hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds.*

VIII. *Clodius* then ſpoke of ſending Succeſſors to *Cæſar*, becauſe the time of his Commiſſion was paſt; whereupon *Paulus* kept ſilence: *Curio*, who ſeemed concerned for neither Party, applauded *Clodius*'s motions; but he added, that *Pompey* ought likewiſe to quit his Provinces, and diſmiſs his Armies, and thus the Common-wealth delivered from all fear, would be in perfect liberty. And when ſeveral alledged that not to be juſt, *Pompey*'s time not being expired, *Curio* began to cry out aloud, and proclaim to all, that they ought not to ſend Succeſſors to *Cæſar*, if *Pompey* did not likewiſe quit his Governments, and that they being one jealous of another, the City would never be in peace, but by taking the command from both. He ſaid all theſe things becauſe he knew *Pompey* would keep his Provinces and his Armies; and perceived well that the people had an averſion for him, becauſe of the Law he had made againſt Largeſſes and Bribes; wherefore the people, who thought this opinion generous, highly praiſed *Curio*, who only for the defence of the publick liberty, did not ſtick to oppoſe himſelf to the hatred of both of them; ſo that ſometimes they brought him to his Houſe with univerſal applauſes, ſtrewing Flowers in his way as he paſſed, who like a couragious Wreſtler durſt engage in a Combat ſo hard and adventurous; for nothing was accounted more daring than to oppoſe *Pompey*:

yet at this time he was not in the City, being ſick and gone to take the Country Air, from whence he wrote to the Senate: his Letter began with praiſing *Cæſar* for his noble Actions; then he proceeded to amplifie what he had done himſelf, and that the third Conſulate being offered him, together with the Provinces and Armies, he had not accepted of all theſe things, only to ſettle a better order in the Common-wealth: *But*, ſaid he, *what I have accepted almoſt againſt my will, I will willingly reſign to thoſe that would reſume them, without expecting till the time limited by the Command be paſt.* This Letter was writ with much artifice to perſwade all the world of *Pompey*'s integrity, and make *Cæſar* at the ſame time odious, who even after the time of his power expired, would not lay down Arms. Being returned to the City, he talked after the ſame manner, nay, promiſing at preſent to depoſe himſelf, and ſaying, that *Cæſar* his Friend and Ally would not think it hard to do the like; and that it was eaſie to believe, that after long and laborious Wars againſt the moſt warlike people of the world, and having ſo far extended the Dominion of his Country, he would be content to paſs the reſt of his life in Honours, in Sacrifices, and in Repoſe, of which he ſtood in need. He ſaid not all this but with deſign to haſten the ſending Succeſſors to *Cæſar*, whilſt he contented himſelf to promiſe. But *Curio* diſcovering his cunning, told him, it was not enough to make promiſes if they were not preſently executed, that *Cæſar* ought not to diſarm unleſs he diſarmed alſo; and that it was neither advantageous for him to foment private enmities by this authority; nor for the Common-wealth, that ſo great power ſhould be in one man's hands; whereas being divided between two, one would curb the pride of the other, if he attempted any thing againſt the Senate and People of *Rome*. He purſued his Diſcourſe, declaming againſt *Pompey*, ſaying, that he aimed at Sowereign Power, and if the fear of *Cæſar* could not keep him within bounds of Duty, he would never be kept in; and therefore it was his advice, that if they would not obey the authority of the Senate, they ſhould declare them both Enemies, and raiſe Forces to make War upon them. *Curio* deceived all the world by uttering this his judgment, and quite cancelled the opinion, that ever he had been corrupted by *Cæſar*'s Gift; but *Pompey* grew angry, and after having ſeverely threatened him, retired in diſcontent to a Houſe he had in the Suburbs, that the Senate began to enter into diſtruſt both of the one and the other. However, they eſteemed *Pompey* more affectionate to the publick good; for they had not yet forgot the odious Conſulate of *Cæſar*. There were likewiſe ſome who ſeriouſly believed, that the City could not be ſecure if *Pompey* firſt diſmiſſed his Forces, becauſe his Rival puffed up with the ſucceſs of his Arms was abroad extremely powerful. *Curio* thwarted that opinion, by ſaying, that on the contrary they had need of *Cæſar* to reduce the other. But ſeeing they could not follow his advice, he diſmiſſed the Senate without any thing reſolved on; for the Tribunes of the People have power to do it, which gave cauſe to *Pompey* to repent his having re-eſtabliſhed the authority of the Tribunes which *Sylla* had almoſt utterly quaſhed. Yet it was agreed in the Senate before they parted, that *Pompey* and *Cæſar* ſhould each ſend a Legion into *Syria*, to defend that Province, which might be invaded after the loſs ſuſtained in *Parthia*. That being reſolved on, *Pompey*, purſuing his old cunning, ſent to redemand of *Cæſar* a Legion he had lent him when *Triturius* and *Cotta* his Lieutenants were defeated; whereupon *Cæſar* gave every Soldier * two hundred and fifty Drachms, and ſent them to the City with another of his own; but becauſe danger appeared towards *Syria*, they paſſed their Winter Quarters at *Capua*.

* Twenty five Crowns.

Thoſe

Thoſe that led them ſowed a great many ill reports of *Cæſar*, and aſſured *Pompey*, that *Cæſar*'s Army tired with long labour, and willing to ſee their Country, would without any difficulty ſubmit themſelves to him ſo ſoon as he ſhould paſs the *Alpes*; which they either ſaid to deceive *Pompey*, or out of ignorance; for *Cæſar* had none but good and faithful Soldiers, whether it were that being accuſtomed to War they loved it, or that led by intereſt, they were fixed to him, by thoſe profits which ordinarily attend Victories, together with the liberality of their General. Indeed he gave profuſely to them to prepare them to the execution of his Deſigns, of which they were not ignorant, nor therefore became they leſs affectionate to him; but *Pompey* giving credit to the reports brought him, neither made any Levies of Men, nor any other preparations capable to ſuſtain ſo great a War. To proceed, when they next in Senate debated this Affair, and that the Fathers ſpoke their opinion one after the other, the Conſul by a wile having demanded them apart if they were of the opinion to take away *Pompey*'s Command, many were of a contrary mind, and after asking if they thought it convenient to ſend a Succeſſor to *Cæſar*, they all agreed to it: But *Curio* then asking anew if they would not that both ſhould diſmiſs their Forces, there was but two and twenty contradicted it; and three hundred and ſeventy all affectionate to the publick good, followed *Curio*'s judgment: whereupon the Conſul diſmiſſing the Aſſembly, cryed out, *Well then, take* Cæſar *for your Maſter*. Soon after a falſe rumour coming that *Cæſar* had paſſed the *Alpes*, and was marching directly to the City, all the World was allarm'd, and the Conſuls propoſed to the Senate to ſend for the Legions were at *Capua*, to employ againſt him as an Enemy of the State. Whereupon *Curio* ſaying that the news was falſe, the Conſul grew angry, and ſaid, *Since in conſulting of Affairs with all the Senate, I am hindred from providing for the ſafety of the Common-welth, I will provide alone according to the power which I have*. After which, going out of the City with his Colleague, and preſenting a Sword to *Pompey*: *We order you*, ſaid he, *my Colleague and I to march againſt* Cæſar, *and fight for your Country, and to that purpoſe we give you that Army is at* Capua, *or in any other place of* Italy *with power to raiſe Forces at your diſcretion*. He declared he would obey them, becauſe it was their command, but adding withal theſe words, *If no better Expedient can be found*. Which he did craftily to perſwade them of the ſincerity of his intentions.

IX. Though *Curio* had no farther power in the Adminiſtration of the Common-wealth, a Tribune not being permitted to go out of the circuit of the Walls, yet he deplored in all Aſſemblies of the People the preſent ſtate of Affairs, and was ſo bold as to demand in full Senate, that all People ſhould be forbid enrolling themſelves in the Forces levyed by *Pompey*: but ſeeing he laboured in vain, and loſt all hopes of being able to ſerve his Friend, the time of his Tribuneſhip being almoſt paſt, and likewiſe growing fearful for himſelf, he departed on a ſudden to go and find out *Cæſar*, who being lately returned from *England*, had croſſed that * *Gaul* which is bounded by the *Rhine*, and paſſed the *Alpes* with five thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe: He met him on the way to *Ravenna*, which is the Frontier of *Italy*, and the laſt Town of his Government, where he received *Curio* with all poſſible teſtimonies of good will; and after having thanked him for the ſervices he had done him, deſired his counſel in what he had to do. *Curio* adviſed him to ſend as ſpeedily as he could for his Forces, and lead them to the City; but *Cæſar* choſe rather firſt to try ſome way of Accommodation, wherefore

* France.

wherefore he writ to his Friends that they ſhould endeavour to obtain of the Senate, that he might only keep two Legions with the Government of the hither *Gaul* and *Illyria*, till ſuch time as he was named Conſul, and that he would deliver up, to whoever they ſhould ſend for Succeſſor, all the reſt of the Province, and all the remainder of his Forces. *Pompey* was content with this propoſition; but becauſe the Conſuls oppoſed it, *Cæſar* writ to the Senate a Letter, which *Curio*, having rode * three thouſand and three hundred Furlongs in three days, gave to the new Conſuls as they entred the Palace the firſt day of the year. In the beginning he ſpoke in advantageous terms of the great things that he had done; then he proteſted that he was ready to quit his command, ſo *Pompey* would do the ſame, but if *Pompey* kept it, he would keep it too, and ſhould ſuddenly be in the City to revenge the outrages done as well to him as to his Country. When they heard theſe laſt words, they all cryed out that he declared War by this Letter, and immediately nominated for his Succeſſor *L. Domitius*, who departed ſoon after with four thouſand Men new levied: and becauſe *Anthony* and *Caſſius*, Tribunes of the People, were of *Curio*'s mind, the Senate grew ſo much the hotter againſt him, and giving *Pompey*'s Army the name of the Army of the Common-wealth, declared that of *Cæſar* Enemy to their Country. And at laſt *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* Conſuls ordered thoſe Tribunes to go out of the Senate, for fear leſt without having regard to their Dignity, though ſacred, they ſhould be evilly treated. Then *Anthony* leaping from his Seat in Choler, invoked with great cries the faith of men and Gods, and lamented that an authority which had hitherto been held ſacred was no longer in ſecurity, and that they ſhamefully drove from the Senate thoſe who propoſed ſaving advice, as if they had been guilty of Murder, or ſome other crime. After having ſaid theſe words, he departed in a fury, foretelling, as if he had been a Divine, the Wars, Proſcriptions, Baniſhments and Confiſcations wherewith the City was threatened, and making horrible imprecations againſt thoſe who were the cauſe of all their miſeries. *Curio* and *Caſſius* withdrew likewiſe with him (for *Pompey*'s Soldiers were already come to environ the Palace) and they departed all three together in the Habit of Slaves upon hired Horſes, and ſo got to *Cæſar*. He ſhewed them in the condition they were to his Soldiers, to enrage them the more, telling them, that after all their great ſervices they were declared Enemies to their Country, and that thoſe great men had been ſhamefully driven out of the Senate, becauſe they had only ſaid a word in their defence.

* *About four hundred and ten Miles.*

X. The War being thus declared on both ſides, the Senate, who believed that the Army out of *Gaul* could not come in a long time to *Cæſar*, and that with ſo few Forces as he had he would not take the Field, gave order to *Pompey* to ſend for out of *Theſſaly* thirteen thouſand Men that were of the old Soldiers, and to enrol men in pay of the moſt warlike Nations circumadjacent, with power to take money out of the Treaſury to defray the expence of the War; and in caſe the publick money ſhould fail, there were ſeveral private men would advance it, till ſuch time as it could be levyed upon the Cities of *Italy*, which they laboured to do with much haſte and rigour. For *Cæſar*'s part he had ſent people to bring his Army, but being accuſtomed to ſucceed more by diligence, ſtriking a terrour and hardineſs, than any mighty preparations, he reſolved to begin this great War with his five thouſand Men, and ſeiſe of ſome places of *Italy*, were commodious for him: firſt he ſent before to *Rimini* ſome Centurions and

Men

Men who were to enter the City as Passengers, and then all of a sudden to seise on that City (the first that offers it self coming from *Gaul*) and himself in the Evening going out as if he had found himself ill after a Feast, leaves his Friends, and mounting in a Chariot drove himself the same way, followed at a distance by his Cavalry; when he came to the Banks of *Rubicon* he stopped some time, looking upon the water, and thinking of the calamities he went about to be the cause of, if he passed that River in Arms. At length turning to those of his Train; *My Friends*, said he, *if I pass not this River immediately, it will be to me the beginning of all misfortunes; and if I do pass it, I go to make a world of people miserable*: and therewithal as if he had been pressed forward by some Divinity, he drave into the stream, and crossing it, cries with a loud voice; *The Lot is cast*. From whence continuing on his way with speed, he seised on *Rimini* by break of day, and all in an instant places Garrisons in all the good places of that Country, which he reduced either by force or favour. Mean while, as it happens in these unexpected Allarms, the whole Country was filled with people flying, the Countrymen forsaking their Habitations, and nothing was to be heard but Cries, and Lamentations, and Groans, yet no man knew from whence this disorder came, but all imagined that *Cæsar* was upon them with all his Forces. The Consuls receiving the news, gave not *Pompey*, who perfectly understood War, leisure to prepare himself, and take his own time, they began to press him to be gone out of the City, and make Levies of Forces in *Italy*, as if *Rome* had been in immediate danger of being taken and plundered. And the Senate surprised with so unlooked for an irruption, were terrified, and began to repent they had not accepted those reasonable conditions offered by *Cæsar*; but this was not, till fear had opened their eyes, and led them back from Partiality to Reason; for now men talked of a great many Prodigies and extraordinary Signs which had appeared in the Heavens, that it had rained Blood in many places, that in others the Statues of the Gods had sweat, that many Temples had been struck with Thunderbolts, that a Mule had engendred, besides an infinite of other things which seemed to foretel the change of the present state, and the ruine of the Common-wealth, so as it should never be re-established; wherefore they made Vows and Prayers as in a publick Consternation. And the people remembring again the miseries they had suffered because of the Dissentions of *Sylla* and *Marius*, cryed out, that they ought to take away the Command as well from *Cæsar* as from *Pompey*, since that was the only means to prevent a War: *Cicero* himself was of opinion that Deputies should be sent to *Cæsar* to treat an Accommodation, but the Consuls absolutely opposed it. *Favonius* quipping at *Pompey* because of a word he had once said with too much arrogance, *Bid him stamp on the ground with his Foot, and see if any armed Men would rise*. To which *Pompey* answered, *You will want none so you will follow me, and are not troubled to leave the City, and* Italy *it self if there be occasion: for people of courage*, said he, *do not make liberty consist in the possession of Lands and Houses, they cannot want in any place they come to; and if they lose not their courage, will soon recover their Houses and Lands.*

After having said these words, and protested he would hold him for an Enemy, that out of fear to lose what he possessed, deserted the Common-wealth in extreme danger, he went out of the Palace, and soon after out of the City, to joyn the Army that was at *Capua*. The Consuls followed him presently, but the other Senators weighed it a little longer, and spent all the night XI.

night in the Palace, without reſolving any thing: and at length as ſoon as it was break of day the greater part followed the ſame way after *Pompey*. Mean time, *Cæſar* having reached at *Corfinium L. Domitius*, whom they had ſent for his Succeſſor with four thouſand Men; of which he had already loſt a part, he beſieged him in the City, from whence endeavouring to eſcape, the Inhabitants ſtopped him at the Gate, and brought him to *Cæſar*, to whom the Remainder of his Forces yielded themſelves; he received them kindly, that he might draw others by their example, and without doing any wrong to *Domitius*, he ſuffered him to go whither he pleaſed, with all his Equipage, hoping by this courteſie to oblige him to take his Party, yet without hindring him from going to find out *Pompey*. Theſe things being done in ſuch an inſtant, *Pompey* on the other ſide marches from *Capua* to *Nucera*, and from *Nucera* to *Brunduſium*, that he might from thence paſs to *Epire*, where he deſigned to eſtabliſh the Seat of the War, he writ to all Provinces, and thoſe that commanded them, to Kings themſelves, to Sovereigns, and particular Cities, that with all convenient ſpeed they ſhould ſend him what Forces they could ſupply him with, in which every one laboured with all his power. He had his own particular Army in *Spain*, ready to march at his firſt command, and for thoſe Legions he had with him he gave one part of them to the Conſuls, whom he ſent before into *Epire*, they embarquing at the ſame time at *Brunduſium*, happily croſſed the Gulf, and landed at *Dyrrachium*, which ſome by miſtake think to be *Epidamnum*; for *Epidamnus* King of the Barbarians, who inhabited thoſe Countries, built near the Sea the City to which he gave his own name; and *Dyrrachus* his Grand-ſon by his Daughter, whom they ſaid was begot by *Neptune*, added to this City a Port which they call *Dyrrachium*. This *Dyrrachus* being in War with his Brother *Hercules*, returning from *Erythrea*, aſſiſted him on condition to have a part of the Country for his reward. Hence comes it that the Dyrrachians call him their Founder, as having part in the Lands which they poſſeſſed, not that they diſavow *Dyrrachus*, but they are well pleaſed out of vanity to derive their original from a God, rather than a Man. 'Tis reported, that in the Fight *Hercules* ignorantly ſlew *Ionius* the Son of *Dyrrachus*, and after having payed him all Funeral Honours, threw the Body into the Sea, which from him was called *Ionian*. Some Phrygians having deſerted their Country, ſeiſed afterwards on this, and on the City it ſelf, where they remained a long time, till after them the like was done by the Taulantieni, who are a people of *Illyria*; and again by the Liburnians another Nation of *Illyria* who uſed to rob their Neighbours in very ſwift Brigantines, which the Romans afterwards making uſe of, called Liburnicks. The Dyrrachians chaſed away by the Liburnians, having called to their aſſiſtance the Corcyrians, powerful by Sea, drove out again the Liburnians, and received into their City part of the Inhabitants of *Corcyra*, to whom in all likelyhood they gave habitation in the Port; and becauſe the name of *Dyrrachium* was thought a name of ill Augury, they called it *Epidamnum*, after the name of the City which ſtands at a good diſtance from the Sea: and ſo *Thucydides* calls it, though to this day the old name carries it, and it be called * *Dyrrachium*. The Conſuls were already arrived, when *Pompey* led the reſt of his Forces to *Brunduſium*, expecting the return of the Fleet to tranſport them; and *Cæſar* coming thither to beſiege him, he hindred his forming a Siege till ſuch time as the Fleet arriving in the Evening, he embarqued, leaving only to defend the Walls a party of his beſt Soldiers, who mounting the ſame night on thoſe Ships he had left for them; and having the Wind favourable, ſoon reached

* Durazzo.

reached the other. Thus all *Pompey*'s Forces left *Italy*, and passed over into *Epire* with their General.

Cæsar hereupon found himself at a stand, he knew not on which side to turn himself, or where he should to his most advantage begin the War. He saw that from all parts Forces came to *Pompey*, and he was fearful lest the Army of old Soldiers he left in *Spain*, should fall into the rear of him, if he went to pursue those that seem'd to fly from him. In the end he resolved to march first of all for *Spain*, and having drawn off five Bodies of Armies, left one at *Brundusium*, another at * *Hydrunto*, another at *Tarentum* for the Guard of *Italy*; he sent *Q. Valerius* with another to seise on *Sardinia*, because it was fruitful in Corn; and *Asinius Pollio* went by his orders with another into *Sicily*, where *Cato* commanded. At his first coming *Cato* asking him if it were by Decree of the Senate, or Ordinance of the People, that he thus entred armed into a Province of which another was Governour, he made him only this short answer; *He that is now Master of* Italy *sent me hither*. To which *Cato* having replyed, That for the good of the Province he forbore to revenge the affront till another time, embarqued himself for *Corcyra*, to go and seek out *Pompey*. As for *Cæsar* himself having drawn off some Forces towards the City, he came thither, and finding the people affrighted with the miseries they had undergone in *Sylla*'s time, he reassured them, exhorting them to have better hopes, making them fair promises, and justifying his clemency to his Enemies by the example of *Domitius*, who being fallen under his power, he had sent away with all his Equipage, not doing him the least displeasure. After which he broke open the Treasury, and notwithstanding the opposition made by *Metellus* Tribune of the People, whom he threatened to kill if he gave not over, carried away that Treasure which no man till then durst touch. Some say it was put there during the invasion of the Gauls, with publick execrations on whoever durst be so bold as to touch it, unless it were to make War upon the same Gauls: but *Cæsar* said he delivered the Common-wealth from those imprecations when he conquered the Gauls; and so there was no more danger on that side. He gave to *Emilius Lepidus* the Government of the City, and to *Marc. Anthony* the Command of all the Forces of *Italy*, and of *Italy* it self. As for the other Provinces he nominated *Curio* Successor to *Cato* in *Sicily*; to *Quintus Valerius* he gave the Government of *Sardinia*, to *C. Antonius* that of *Illyria*, to *Licinius Crassus* the Cisalpine *Gaul*. He likewise gave order for the speedy fitting out two Fleets for the Guards of the Ionian and Hetrurian Seas, of one of which he made *Hortensius* Admiral, and of the other *Dolabella*. Having thus sufficiently fortified *Italy* against any attempts *Pompey* might make, he advanced towards *Spain*, where being arrived he set upon *Petreius* and *Afranius Pompey*'s Lieutenants, over whom he at first got no advantage, being encamped near the Enemy about * *Ilerda* in a high place surrounded with Rocks, whither he could not cause any Corn or Forage to be brought him, but over the Bridges of the River *Segre*, the River swelling on a sudden with the Winter Rains, broke down the Bridges, so that those who were gone to guard the Carriages that were to come to *Cæsar*'s Camp, not being able to repass the River by reason of this accident, were all cut in pieces by *Petreius*'s Men; and *Cæsar* himself with the rest of the Army were hardly put to it, to pass over the rest of their Winter, being to fight against Famine, ill Weather, and the Enemy, who in a manner held them besieged. But Summer being come, *Afranius* and *Petreius* retreating into the farther *Spain* to joyn another

XII.

* Otranto.

* Lerida.

ther Army newly ſet on Foot, *Cæſar* got before and croſſed them in their March, continually intrenching himſelf in their way, and gaining the Paſſages. One Evening part of their Army being advanced with deſign to chuſe a place proper to encamp in, found themſelves inveſted; ſo that ſeeing no way to eſcape the Soldiers, by lifting up their Bucklers made a ſign that they yielded. But *Cæſar*, to gain his Enemies by clemency, ſent them to *Afranius*, without ſtopping one, or ſuffering a Dart to be thrown at them, which occaſioned that there was continual entercourſe between the two Camps, and in common diſcourſe they began to talk of an accommodation; for already were *Afranius* and many of the Officers of opinion, that they ſhould quit *Spain* to *Cæſar*, ſo he would grant them a ſafe retreat to *Pompey*, when *Petreius* running through the Army began to cry out againſt this propoſition, and to kill with his own hand all ſuch of the contrary Party as he found in his Camp, and this in ſo great madneſs, that he run his Sword into the Body of one of his own Tribunes who would have ſtopped him in this fury; whereby the Soldiers enraged at this cruelty did but the more eſteem the clemency of *Cæſar*. It happened by chance that he cut off their way to go to water, which put *Petreius* and *Afranius* into a neceſſity of demanding a Conference between the two Armies. It was agreed that they ſhould quit *Spain*, on condition that he would conduct them to the River *Var*, and from thence would permit them to retreat to *Pompey*. When they were arrived at the Banks of that River, he cauſed all the Romans and Italians they had in the Army to be drawn together, and ſpoke to them in this manner:

The Oration of *Cæſar*.

YOu know, my Enemies, (for you will underſtand me beſt by that name) that I did no injury to thoſe who were ſent before to mark out a place to encamp in, they yielding to diſcretion: nor to your ſelves when I had reduced you to want of water; though Petreius *finding a Party of my Men on the other ſide the* Segre *cut them all in pieces: if you think your ſelves obliged to any acknowledgments for theſe kindneſſes, pray make report of them to all* Pompey's *Soldiers.*

After having ſaid theſe words, he ſuffered them in all ſaftety to paſs the River, and made *Q. Caſſius* his Lieutenant in *Spain*.

XIII. At the ſame time *Actius Varus* commanding *Pompey*'s Forces in *Africa*, aſſiſted by *Juba* King of *Mauritania* in favour of their amity and alliance: *Curio* had a deſign to go make War upon him, and paſſed out of *Sicily* with two of *Cæſar*'s Legions upon twelve long Ships, and ſome other Ships of Burthen: being landed at *Utica* he put to flight ſome Numidians in a ſmall Engagement of Horſe; and thereupon ſuffered his Army drawn up in Battalia to proclaim him Emperour. This was an Honour which formerly Soldiers gave to their Generals as a Teſtimony of their Valour, and which the Generals accepted after having done ſome exploit in War: but at preſent, as far as I can underſtand, this acclamation is made to none but who had ſlain ten thouſand of their Enemies. But to proceed, whilſt *Curio* was yet upon

upon the Sea, the Africans imaginining that he would come and poſt himſelf in that place which is called the Camp of *Scipio*, as pretending to the ſame Glory which that General had gained in *Africa*, poiſoned all the waters thereabouts; and in effect they were not deceived, for *Curio* coming to encamp there, a Sickneſs ſpread through his Army. As ſoon as the Soldiers had drunk of the water, their ſight grew dim, then they were ſeiſed with a great drowſineſs, which was followed by vomiting, and at laſt by Convulſions; wherefore he tranſported his Camp near to *Utica* with great labour, making his ſick Army march over Mariſhes of ſo great extent. But when he heard of *Cæſar's* Victories in *Spain*, he took heart, and engaged the Enemy in a very ſtrait place, where after a fierce Encounter the Enemy had ſix hundred killed, beſides many more wounded, and *Curio* loſt only one Man. Mean while, as *Juba* came on with his Forces, falſe intelligence was brought to *Curio*, that the King was returned from the River *Bagrada*, which was not far off, to repulſe his Neighbours, who had made an irruption into his Kingdom, and had only left *Saburra* with ſome few Forces: *Curio* believed it, and in the greateſt heats of Summer, and about three hours in the day made his Army march towards *Saburra*, through ways full of Sand and Dirt, and no Water; for all Streams were dryed up by the heat of the Summer; and the King himſelf with *Saburra* were ſeiſed of the River; whereupon *Curio* fallen from his hopes, made a ſwift retreat towards the Mountains, equally incommoded with heat, thirſt and wearineſs. The Enemies having obſerved it, paſſed the River, and drew up their Army in Battalia, and he was ſo imprudent as to come down into the Plain with his Forces, tyred as they were, and bring them to fight. The Numidian Horſe having inveſted him, he ſuſtained them for ſome time, by giving ground, yet keeping his Battalions cloſe, but ſeeing the Enemy continued their charge, he once more regained the Mountains: *Pollio* fled in a good hour to the Camp near *Utica*, for fear leſt *Varus* taking the opportunity ſhould make ſome diſorder; and *Curio* again raſhly renewing the Fight was killed, and all thoſe with him; ſo that after *Pollio* not one returned to *Utica*. After this ill ſucceſs of *Curio*'s raſhneſs near *Bagrada*, the Enemies cut off his Head, which they carried to King *Juba*: and when the news was brought to the Army which he had left near *Utica*, *Flamma* who commanded the Ships got off to Sea with his Fleet before any of the Land Soldiers could embarque; ſo that *Pollio* was forced to get into a Boat to go and entreat ſome Merchants which were about to enter the Port of *Utica*, to bring their Ships cloſe to ſhore without the City, and take in his Soldiers. His prayers were ſo urgent, that ſome of them in the night came near the Beach, but the Soldiers thronged ſo faſt into them, that ſome of them ſunk to the bottom, and thoſe who got out to Sea were thrown over-board by the Mariners for the Money they had about them. Thoſe who ſtayed behind at *Utica* fared not a whit better; for next morning yielding themſelves to *Varus*, *Juba* coming thither, made them all be ſet upon the Walls, and ſaying they were part of his Spoils, cauſed them to be ſlain with Darts, notwithſtanding all the entreaties of *Varus* to ſave their lives. Thus two Roman Legions going into *Africa* under the conduct of *Curio* periſhed with all their Horſe, light armed Foot and Baggage: and *Juba* thinking he had done *Pompey* a great piece of ſervice returned into his Kingdom.

About the ſame time *Anthony* was defeated by *Dolobella* one of *Pompey's* Lieutenants in *Illyria*; and another Army of *Cæſar's* that was at *Placentia* mutinyed againſt their Officers, under pretence that they ſpun out the War XIV.

in length, and that they payed not the Soldiers the thirty Minas * a Head, which *Cæsar* had promised them at *Brundusium*. As soon as he had advice of it, he hastened from *Marsellia* to *Placentia*, where finding the Soldiers still disorderly, he spake to them in this manner:

* *About thirty Crowns.*

The Oration of *Cæsar*.

YOu know my usual diligence, and see well, that the length of time whereof you complain proceeds only from our Enemies flight, whom we cannot yet overtake; and yet notwithstanding, you who have enriched your selves in Gaul, *serving under me, and are engaged to me not for a part of this War, but till it shall be quite finished, forsake me in the height of the business, you mutiny against your Officers, and would command those you ought to obey; wherefore being a testimony to my self of the affection I have always born you, I will treat you according to* Petreius's *Law, and decimate the ninth Legion because they have been the first Mutiniers.*

At these words all the Legion began to weep, and the Tribunes threw themselves on their Knees to beg their pardon. At last *Cæsar* after some denyals suffered himself to be overcome, and pardoned the whole Legion, save only six and twenty Soldiers, who appeared to be the Ring-leaders of the Mutiny, of whom yet he put only twelve to death, to whom the Dice proved unlucky; and it being made evident, that one of these twelve was absent at the time of the Mutiny, *Cæsar* in his stead condemned to death the Centurion who had impeached him. The Mutiny of *Placentia* thus appeased, he returned to the City, which he struck with a general fear; and without staying for a Sessions of the Senate, or the suffrage of any one Magistrate, created himself Dictator; but either thinking this supreme Degree of Honour might expose him to envy, or possibly judging it superfluous, eleven days after (as some say) he designed himself Consul with *Servilius Isauricus*, and made Governours of Provinces, or changed those already in Command as he pleased. To *M. Lepidus* he gave *Spain*; to *A. Albinius Sicily*; to *Sextus Peducæus Sardinia*; and to *Decimus Brutus* the new Province of *Gaul*. He likewise distributed Corn to the People, then much straitened with Famine; and at the request of the same people consented to the return of the Exiles, except only of *Milo*. But when they demanded a Release of their Debts, into which they had been forced to run by reason of the Wars and Tumults, it being impossible for them to pay, because the inheritances they might otherwise sell to clear themselves were now valued at nothing, he absolutely refused it; yet he created Censors to put a value on things to be sold, and ordered that the Creditors should take them as ready Money, and in part of so much of their Debts as they should be valued at. That done, about the depth of Winter he sent Commissaries of War to all his Armies, to bring them to the Rendezvous he had appointed at *Brundusium*; and departed from the City in the Month of *December*, without staying for the first day of the next year, as his Quality of Consul obliged him. The people went out in great crowds to attend him, both to pay him that Honour, and to beg of him to make a reconciliation with *Pompey* (for it was more than likely that which soever

of

of the two got the Victory would become Master of the Common-wealth) and he by great journies went on towards *Brundusium*.

Pompey on the other side without any intermission caused Ships to be built, Forces to be raised, Money to be gathered in; and having taken forty of *Cæsar*'s Ships in the * Superiour Sea, waited for his passing over. Mean while he continually employed his Soldiers in some exercise, where himself was still present, and in person began any work even beyond what his age seemed to give leave to, which gained him all Mens Hearts, who thronged in from all parts as to some Spectacle to see his Exercises. *Cæsar*'s Forces were composed of ten Legions: and for *Pompey*, he had five Legions which went over out of *Italy* with their Horse, two of which remained of *Crassus*'s Forces which he had led against the Parthians, and some part of those who went into *Egypt* under *Gabinius*, all amounting to eleven Legions of Italians, and about seven thousand Horse, besides the Auxiliary Troops of *Ionia*, *Macedon*, *Peloponnesus*, *Bœotia*, the Archers of *Crete*, and the Slingers of *Thrace*; he had likewise some Gaul and Galatian Horse, and Comagenians sent him by *Antiochus*, Cilicians, Cappadocians, and some Soldiers of *Armenia* the less, *Pamphylia*, and *Pisidia*. He designed not to make use of all these Strangers to bear Arms, but destined the greatest part of them to labour in the Trenches and other Works, wherein he would not employ the Italians, that he might not divert them from the Exercise of Arms. These were his Land Forces; for the Sea he had six hundred long Ships fitted and armed for War, a hundred of which besides Seamen were filled with Roman Soldiers, on whom was the chiefest relyance, besides a great many Ships of Burthen which carried his Ammunition and Provisions; the Command of all this Fleet was committed to several Vice-Admirals, over all whom *M. Bibulus* was Admiral. Things thus prepared, he caused all the Senators and Knights he had with him to assemble together, and at the Head of his Army thus spake to them: XV.

* Ionian.

The Oration of *Pompey*.

THe Athenians (Gentlemen) formerly deserted the Walls of their City, when they fought in the defence of their Liberty, because they thought the Men composed the City, and not the Buildings, by which means they soon recovered them, and in a short time after built them much more beautiful than before. Our Predecessors likewise went out of Rome, *when the Gauls like a Torrent invaded them, and* Camillus *returning with them from* Ardea, *regained it in the same condition they had left it. In a word, those that are wise think their Country every where, where they can preserve their liberty. These examples and the hopes of a like success have obliged us to come hither, not to forsake our Country, but the better to prepare our selves to defend it, and to revenge it's cause upon him, who having a long time designed to oppress it, is become Master of it by their means whom he hath with gifts corrupted. He, I say, who being by you declared Enemy to the Common-wealth, hath by his audacious Enterprises invaded the authority of the Senate and Roman People, and given the Government of your Provinces to those of his Faction, to some that of the City, and to others that of* Italy. *Judge after this, what violence and cruelty he will forbear to exercise towards his Country, if we be so unhappy to let our selves be*

overcome. He, who commits ſuch inſolencies in the beginning of a War whereof he fears the event, and whilſt he is liable to receive the puniſhment of his Crimes, which is what we ought to wiſh and hope to ſee by the Divine Aſſiſtance; for he hath in his Party none but Wretches corrupted by the Money he hath drawn out of our Province of Gaul, *who choſe rather to be his Slaves than to live equally with other Citizens: for my part I never was wanting, nor ſhall not be wanting to expoſe my ſelf to all ſorts of Dangers; I offer my ſelf to perform the Function of General or Soldier; and if I yet have the ſame good fortune and the ſame experience which hitherto have made me every where victorious, I beſeech the Gods they may prove advantageous to my Country, and that I may not be leſs happy now when the Diſpute is whether I ſhall prevent it's being oppreſſed, than when I extended the Bounds of its Empire. We have reaſon to have confidence in the protection of the Gods, and in the Juſtice of our Cauſe: for never can any be more juſt and honeſt to whoever loves his Country and the Common-wealth. Beſides thoſe great preparations we have made both by Sea and Land, and the Forces will come in to us from all parts as ſoon as the War is begun, is ſufficient to encourage us; for all the Levant Nations as far as thoſe bordering on the Euxine Sea, whether Greeks or Barbarians, are of our ſide, and all the Kings of thoſe people who are either the Romans Friends or Allies or mine, will ſend us Soldiers, Arms, Proviſions, and all things neceſſary. Let us go then, and give to our Country the aſſiſtance it merits, which your Virtue exacts from you, and my good Fortune demands from me; but remember always* Cæſar's *Pride, and with readineſs to obey my Orders.*

Pompey's laſt words were followed by a general acclamation of the whole Army, Senators and other perſons of Quality, who all deſired him to lead them whither he thought fit. But he conſidering that it was the very worſt ſeaſon of the year; and beſides, imagining that *Cæſar* impeded in the City the creation of Conſuls, would not attempt to croſs a Sea uſually tempeſtuous, before the end of Winter, gave order to thoſe commanded the Sea Forces to guard the paſſage, and ſent his Army into Garriſons in *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*; ſo little foreſight had he of what might happen.

XVI. As for *Cæſar* he departed, as we have ſaid, in the Month of *December* for *Brunduſium*, that by this unlooked for diligence he might ſtartle the Enemy, and finding neither Proviſions nor Military Preparations, nor indeed thoſe Men he hoped to find, he aſſembled thoſe were there; and thus ſpoke to them:

The Oration of *Cæſar.*

THough we are now (Fellow Soldiers) in the depth of Winter, and that other Troops that ought to have been here are not yet come, nor ſuch Preparations made as I expected, yet I am ſo firmly perſwaded, that diligence has been the principal thing has given me ſucceſs in all my Undertakings, and ſo much aſſured of your Generoſity, that nothing can retard the reſolution I have taken to paſs over into Epire. *Wherefore let us leave here our Baggage and Servants, that the Ships not being over-peſterd may with more conveniency carry us, and we croſs the Sea without being perceived by our Enemies, let us oppoſe*

our

our good Fortune to the bad Weather; and if our numbers be but ſmall, let our courage ſupply that defect, let us furniſh out our wants at the Enemies Expence. All thoſe things they have in ſuch abundance will be ours as ſoon as we are landed, and we ſhall fall on the braver when we know we have no hopes but in Victory. Let us go then and make our ſelves Maſters of their Munitions; of their Proviſions, of their Baggage, of their Servants, whilſt the cold ſhuts them up in their Houſes, and Pompey *thinks I am ſpending the Winter in the City in the pomps of the Conſulate, and in Sacrifices. Your ſelves know how much ſudden ſurpriſes are advantageous in War. I will perform a brave exploit only by going before, ordering things neceſſary, and preparing a ſecure retreat for thoſe are to follow us. I could heartily wiſh you were already on board, that the time I waſte in talking might be ſpent in ſailing; ſo great an earneſtneſs I have to let* Pompey *ſee me whilſt he thinks I am amuſing my ſelf in exerciſing the Conſulate in the City. Though I am ſure of your good will, yet I expect your anſwer.*

All the Soldiers cryed out he ſhould lead them whither he pleaſed: as ſoon as he deſcended from the place whence he had ſpoke to them, he cauſed five Legions and ſix hundred choſen Horſe to march towards the Sea, who being embarqued, rode at Anchor, becauſe of a Storm that happened, as is uſual in the Month of *December*. The contrary Winds (do what they could) ſtayed them till the firſt day of the following year, when two Legions more coming to *Cæſar*, he cauſed them to embark on the Ships of Burthen; for he had left thoſe few long Ships he had for the Guard of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. They then ſet ſail all together; and the whole Fleet being carried by the Storm to the Ceraunian Rocks, there landed them, and went immediately back to fetch the reſt of the Army. *Cæſar* with thoſe he had marched towards *Orica*, but becauſe the ways were rough and narrow he was often forced to file off; ſo that had there been any ſuſpicion of his March, it might eaſily have been prevented, becauſe of the craggineſs of the ways. At length having about break of day with much labour got together all his Army, he preſented himſelf before the City, where he that commanded, by conſent of the Inhabitants, who thought it not convenient to ſhut the Gates againſt a Roman Conſul, brought him the Keys, and afterwards continued on his Party in the ſame Quality of Governour of that place. *Lucretius* and *Minutius* who were on the other ſide of *Orica* with eighteen long Ships to guard the Ships of Burthen which carried Corn to *Pompey*, hearing of this Surrender, ſunk the Ships and Corn to the bottom, and fled to *Dyrrachium*. From *Orica* *Cæſar* haſtened to *Apollonia*, where the Inhabitants having opened the Gates, *Tiberius* the Governour left the City.

Cæſar after theſe fortunate Beginnings, drew together his Forces, and let them know how by the means of his diligence and the favour of Fortune he had ſurmounted the Difficulties of the Seaſon, croſſed a great Extent of Sea, with Ships, taken *Orica* and *Apollonia* without fighting, and already (as he had foretold) gained from the Enemy what things they wanted, even before *Pompey* had knowledge of it. *But if now we can,* ſaid he, *make our ſelves Maſters of* Dyrrachium, *where* Pompey's *Magazines both of Munition and Proviſion are, all that he with ſo much Coſt and Pains has been ſtoring up together will become your Recompence.* Having ſaid theſe words, he went right to the City, continuing his March Night and Day by long and difficult XVII.

ways.

ways. *Pompey* receiving advice hereof, advances from *Macedonia* to prevent him, cauſing all along as he paſſed, trees to be cut down, Bridges broken, and all Proviſions to be burnt, to retard *Cæſar*'s March if he ſhould come that way; for he thought (as indeed it was true) the preſerving of his Stores was of no ſmall importance. The Soldiers of both Armies were ſo eager to gain *Dyrrachium* firſt, that if in any place they ſaw at a diſtance either the duſt raiſed by their Fellows, or Fire, or Smoak, they preſently imagined it was the Enemy, and run as if they had been to run a race; they gave themſelves neither time to eat, nor to ſleep, but with Shouts and Hollas encouraged one another, preſſing their companions forward to follow the Guides, which in the night carried Torches before them, and which ſometimes cauſed great tumults, and as often Allarms as if the Enemy had been upon them; ſome quite tired threw away their Baggage, and others privately withdrawing out of the Body, ſtopped in the Valleys to take a little repoſe which they ſtood in need of, and preferred before the fear or danger they might be in of their Enemies. Yet in the end of this Contention between the two Parties, *Pompey* got firſt to *Dyrrachium*, and encamped near the Walls, he ſent preſently his Fleet to *Orica*, which returned under his obedience, and after cauſed the Sea to be guarded with more diligence than before. *Cæſar* pitched his Camp directly againſt him, on the other ſide of the River *Alora*, which parted the two Armies, where yet there happened ſome Horſe Skirmiſhes, now one Party and then another paſſing the River, but neither would engage with all their Forces, becauſe *Pompey* thought good firſt to exerciſe his Forces that were newly levyed, and *Cæſar* expected thoſe that were to come from *Brunduſium*. He thought if they ſtayed till Spring, and then ſhould come over with Ships of Burthen (and he had no other) they could no way be ſecured, *Pompey* having ſuch a number of Galleys to defend the paſſage; but if they embarqued during Winter, they might ſlip by their Enemies, who now lay harboured in the Iſlands, or if they were engaged, might open themſelves a paſſage by the violence of the Winds, and the Bulk of their Veſſels, wherefore he did all he could to haſten their coming.

XVIII. And therefore out of impatience that the reſt of his Army came not from *Brunduſium*, he reſolved himſelf to go privately over, thinking they would ſooner follow him than any other; wherefore without diſcovering his deſign to any one, he ſent three of his Slaves to a River not above twelve Furlongs diſtant, to ſecure ſome very light Boat, and a good Pilot, as if he had an intention to ſend him upon ſome deſign, and feigning himſelf ill, roſe from Table where he deſired his Friends to continue, and taking the habit of a private man, mounting his Chariot, came to the Boat as *Cæſar*'s Meſſenger. He had given orders to his Slaves to command the Mariners what they had to do, whilſt he kept himſelf concealed under coverlids and the darkneſs of the night. Though the wind were contrary, and very raging, the Slaves made the Pilot put off, bidding him be of courage, and make uſe of his time to eſcape the Enemy, who were not far from them, they laboured ſo hard, that by force of Oars they got the Mouth of the River, where the Waves of the Sea beating againſt the ſtream of the River, the Pilot (who on the other ſide was afraid of falling into the Enemies hands) did all was poſſible for man to do, till ſeeing they gained nothing, and the Seamen not able to pull any longer he left the Helm. Then the Conſul diſcovering his Head, cryed out, *Courage, Pilot, fear no ſtorm, for thou carrieſt* Cæſar *and his fortune.* Whereupon the Pilot and his crew aſtoniſhed

ſtoniſhed at theſe words, redoubling their force paſſed the Mouth of the River, got out to Sea; but becauſe the Winds and the Waves ſtill drove them towards the Lee ſhore in ſpite of all their endeavours, and day approaching, the Mariners fearing to be diſcovered by the Enemy, *Cæſar* angry at fortune that envyed him, ſuffered the Pilate to regain the River, and the Boat preſently running afore the Wind, came to the place from whence they ſet out: *Cæſar*'s Friends admired at his boldneſs; others blamed him for having done an action more proper for a private Soldier than a General; and he ſeeing his deſign had not ſucceeded, and that it was impoſſible for him to paſs over without being known, ſent *Poſthumius* in his place. He firſt had charge to tell *Gabinius* that he ſhould preſently embark the Army, and bring it to him; and if he refuſed, then to addreſs himſelf to *Anthony*, and at laſt to *Calenus*, and if none of theſe three had ſpirit enough to execute theſe orders, he had a Letter for the Army in general, by which the Soldiers were exhorted to come over and follow *Poſthumius*, landing at any place they could, without regarding the Ships; for he had more need of Men than Ships, ſo much confidence had he in fortune, indeed more than in prudence.

Pompey then judging he ought no longer to delay, drew out his Army in Battalia, and cauſed them to advance againſt *Cæſar*; but two of his Soldiers being entred into the River to ſound the Ford, and one of *Cæſar's* Men having ſlain them both, he took this as an ill preſage, and led back his Forces into the Camp, though many lamented the loſs of ſo fair an occaſion. As for the Forces at *Brunduſium*, *Gabinius* refuſing to follow the orders brought by *Poſthumius*, with all that would follow him, went the way of *Illyria* by Land, taking ſuch long Marches, that his Men being quite tired, the Inhabitants of the Country cut them all in pieces, for which *Cæſar* could not yet be revenged, being engaged in affairs of more importance. *Anthony* ſhipped away the reſt, and having the Wind right aft, paſſed in ſight of *Apollonia* with a merry Gale; but about Noon the Wind beginning to ſlacken, they were diſcovered by twenty of *Pompey*'s Galleys, who made up towards them, they were fearful leſt the Stems of the long Ships running on board them ſhould pierce through and ſink them; however, they were preparing to fight, every Man laying hold of his Sling, his Javelin, or Arms of the like nature: when on a ſudden there ſprung up a freſher gale than the former; ſo that *Anthony* ſetting his low Sails, went ſpooning away before, whilſt the others not able to bear Sail, were toſſed too and fro, where the Winds and Waves pleaſed, and at length driven into the Narrows, and caſt upon Lee ſhores where there were neither Port nor Harbour. Thus *Anthony* ſafely recovered the Port of *Nymphæum* without loſing more than two Ships, which unfortunately running upon the Flats were taken by the Enemies. *Cæſar* having now with him all his Forces as well as *Pompey*, they pitched their Camps in ſight of each other, upon eminencies where each entrenched themſelves, raiſing out Forts, which were often attacqued by one Party and the other, one General ſtill ſtriving to block up the others Army, and cut them off from Proviſions, ſo that there happened many Skirmiſhes. In this new mode of making War, as *Cæſar*'s Men one day proved the weaker in a Fort aſſailed by the Enemy, a Centurion called *Sceva*, famous before for many gallant actions, being wounded in an eye, leaped from the Rampart, and making a ſign with his hand for ſilence, as if he had ſomething to ſay, he called to one of the Centurions of the contrary Party, a Man of Reputation, to whom he

XIX.

ſaid,

ſaid, *Save the life of one of thy own quality, ſave the life of thy Friend, ſend ſome body to lead me by the hand thus wounded as I am.* Whereupon two Soldiers ſtepping in to receive him as a Runaway, he ſlew one before he ſuſpected the deceit, and knocked the other down. He did this action out of pure deſpair he was in of being able to defend the place; but it ſucceeded better than he imagined; for this happy ſucceſs ſo raiſed the courage of his Companions, that they repulſed the Enemy, and remained Maſters of the Fort. *Minutius* who commanded had a great ſhare in the Glory as well as in the danger of this Aſſault; for 'tis ſaid his Buckler was ſix and twenty times pierced through, and he was wounded in the eye as well as *Sceva*; ſo *Cæſar* honoured them both with many Military Recompences. Mean time, he had formed intelligence in *Dyrrachium*, and upon hopes the place would be delivered to him, he came with a ſmall company to the Gate which is near the Temple of *Diana*; but his deſign being diſcovered, came off again without doing any thing. The ſame Winter *Scipio*, Father-in-law to *Pompey*, bringing him another Army out of *Syria*, was ſet upon in *Macedon* by *C. Calviſius*, whom he defeated, and ſlew him a whole Legion, fourſcore Soldiers only eſcaping. There came now no more Proviſions to *Cæſar* by Sea, *Pompey* being the ſtronger, wherefore the Soldiers were forced to make Bread of a certain kind of Herbs, pieces of which being by ſome Runaways brought to *Pompey*, thinking it would be to him a joyful preſent: inſtead of rejoycing at it, *What ſort of Beaſts*, ſaid he, *have we to deal with?* *Cæſar* now pinched with neceſſity drew together his Forces, reſolving to engage *Pompey* whether he would or no; but *Pompey* being now poſſeſſed of ſeveral good Forts, kept cloſe in his Trenches, which ſo much troubled *Cæſar*, that he undertook a work almoſt impoſſible, and ſcarcely credible, which was to incloſe all the Forts *Pompey* had, with a Trench drawn from the Sea, judging that though his deſign took not effect, he ſhould gain the reputation of a man capable of great things; for this Trench muſt have been * twelve hundred Furlongs in length. *Pompey* on his part drew Lines and Trenches directly oppoſite to *Cæſar*'s Works: thus one eluded the Enterpriſes of the other.

* *A hundred and fifty Miles long.*

XX

At length there happened a great Fight between them, wherein *Pompey* bravely repulſing *Cæſar*'s Men, and having put them to flight, purſued them to their very Camp. Many Colours they took, and had taken the Eagle of a Legion, if the Standard-bearer who carried it had not thrown it with all his force into the Trenches, that he might preſerve it for *Cæſar*; for the Roman Soldiery have a great reſpect for their Standards: *Cæſar* with other Companies came to the relief of thoſe that fled, but ſo terrified were theſe too, that as ſoon as they beheld *Pompey* at a diſtance, though they were near the Camp, it was not poſſible for *Cæſar* to ſtop them, nor to make them go in again, nor ſo much as to hearken to him, the Soldiers fled away in diſorder without ſhame, without reaſon, or without any thing to oblige them to it: *Cæſar* might well run up and down, and with reproaches ſhew them, that *Pompey* was yet a great way off. This hindred them not from throwing down their Arms, and flying, or elſe ſtanding ſtill ſilent and immoveable, fixing their eyes upon the ground with ſhame and confuſion, ſo great was that panick fear had poſſeſſed them. There was an Enſign who, as his General would have ſtopped him, preſented him the point of his Javelin, but he was upon the ſpot puniſhed by the Guards as he deſerved. Thoſe who eſcaped into the Camp were ſo caſt down, that they kept no Guard at the Gates, nor lined the Rampire, but the Trenches were left without any to defend them. All men believed that *Pompey* might have thrown himſelf into

into the Camp with the Flyers, and ſo have made an end of the War, if *Labienus*, (for God would have it ſo) had not perſwaded him rather to purſue thoſe he had routed, then march up to the Trenches; him therefore he believed, whether it were that he was not in ſuch haſte as to make an end of all at once, or that ſeeing the Camp defenceleſs, he feared ſome Ambuſcade, or elſe being victorious, ſcorn'd that little advantage. Going therefore to charge thoſe were ſtill abroad, he made yet a great Slaughter, ſo that in two Engagements in one day he gained twenty eight Colours, and twice loſt the opportunity of ruining his Enemy beyond redreſs. And *Cæſar* himſelf ſtuck not to ſay that that day the War had been ended, had his Enemy known how to make uſe of his Victory.

XXI. *Pompey* after this glorious Succeſs, wrote largely of it to the Kings and Commonalties; and conceived hopes that in a ſhort time *Cæſar*'s Army, either oppreſſed by Famine or terrified with this Diſgrace, would yield themſelves to him; eſpecially the Tribunes, fearful of being puniſhed for a fault they knew themſelves guilty of. But they and all the Soldiers touched with Repentance as by Divine Inſpiration, confeſſed themſelves Criminals; and afflicted themſelves the more, that their General ſpoke kindly to them, and granted them Pardon before they asked it: They would not forgive themſelves; but with a wonderful Change, deſired, as a Puniſhment of their Fault, they might be decimated, according to the cuſtom of their Anceſtors; but he would by no means admit it; which encreaſed their ſhame the more, that they ſhould be guilty of ſuch Cowardize in prejudice of the beſt Man of the World, and who moſt deſerved their Faith and their Services. They beſought him that at leaſt he would puniſh the Enſigns, who had been the Cauſe of this Rout; for in flying they had only followed their Colours: and ſeeing *Cæſar* could not reſolve to do that, but with much ado would conſent to the Puniſhment of a few, his Moderation begot in the minds of the Soldiers a General Joy. They began all with one voice to cry out that he ſhould lead them againſt the Enemy, that by gaining a new Victory they might wipe away their Infamy; and in the ſight of their General they ſwore by whole Companies one to the other, never to return from the Fight but Victorious. Wherefore his Friends adviſed him to take the Army at their Words, and make tryal of them upon this height of Repentance, before their Zeal grew cooler: But he anſwered them before all the Multitude, that he would chuſe a time more proper to ſhew them the Enemy; exhorting them then to remember the good Will they now proteſted: and in private he told his Confidents, that it was convenient to let that fear, which ſo late a loſs had imprinted, be worn a little out of the minds of the Soldiery; and by temporizing, let the fierceneſs of his Enemies, heightned by their late Victory, be likewiſe a little cooled. He confeſſed withal he had committed a great fault in coming to encamp ſo near *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* had all things in abundance; whereas if he had drawn himſelf farther off, they might have met with equal Difficulties. After having diſcourſed in this manner, he came to *Apollonia*, and from thence privately by Night took his March towards *Theſſaly*; and on the way, coming to a little City called *Gomphes*, that refuſed to open their Gates, he took it by Storm, and gave the Plunder to his Soldiers; who having long endured Scarcity, fed now beyond meaſure, and filled themſelves with Wine; eſpecially the * Almains, whoſe Drunkenneſs made them ridiculous to all the reſt: So that here again in all appearance, *Pompey* loſt a fair occaſion of Victory by not purſuing an Enemy he deſpiſed; but lying

* Germans.

ſtill, whilſt in ſeven days March he got into *Theſſaly*, and encamped near *Pharſalia*. It is reported there happened at *Gomphes* a thing very memorable, that in an Apothecary's Shop there were found twenty Old Men, all People of Quality, lying groveling upon the Ground, with Caps by them, in the poſture of Drunken Men, dead without any Wound; and another ſitting in a Chair, who, acting the Phyſitian, had preſented the Cups to the reſt.

XXII. After *Cæſar*'s Departure, *Pompey* held a Council of his Friends; where *Affranius* Advice was, that he ſhould employ the Sea-Forces, in which they were the ſtronger, to purſue *Cæſar* now flying and neceſſitous, and to incommode him what they could, whilſt *Pompey* with the Land-Army paſt ſpeedily into *Italy*, which favoured their Party, and where the other had no Forces; and placing good Garriſons both in *Gaul* and *Spain* without ſtirring from home, ſettle the Seat of the War in the Capital City of the Kingdom. But this Advice, though perfectly good, was not followed; they choſe rather to believe thoſe who maintained that *Cæſar*'s Army would ſoon by Famine be forced to yield to them; or if that happened not, yet after the Succeſs of *Dirrachium*, it was no great Task to give Perfection to that Victory; that beſides, it would be a ſhame to let *Cæſar* fly without purſuing him, or to let it be ſaid that the Vanquiſhed and the Vanquiſher fled each their ſeveral ways. *Pompey* therefore moved by theſe Arguments, but principally out of Conſideration of the Eaſtern Nation, and of *Lucius Scipio*, leſt any diſgrace ſhould happen to him in *Macedon*; and beſides this, aſſuring himſelf upon the Alacrity of his Soldiers, who ardently deſired to fight, followed *Cæſar*: And as well as he encamped near *Pharſalia*, at about thirty Furlongs diſtance from him, Proviſions were brought to him from all Parts; for he had before fortifyed the Paſſages, the Havens and the Forts; ſo that he had continual Supplies by Land, and every Wind brought him ſome by Sea. But *Cæſar* had no more than what he daily with much difficulty ſent out to forage for; yet, for all that, none of his Men forſook him: On the contrary, as if they had been animated by ſome Divine Spirit, they teſtifyed an incredible earneſtneſs to fight. They conſidered that being all Veterans, trained to War for ten Years together, and having to deal only with Raw Soldiers, they ſhould prove the ſtronger; but if the War were ſpun out in length, and they forced to labour in Trenches and other Works, Age already growing upon them, the conſuming more time would be to their diſadvantage: Wherefore they deſired no longer delay; thinking it better to try the Fortune of Arms, than to fight longer againſt Hunger and Famine. On the other ſide, *Pompey*, who knew all theſe things, judged there might be danger in coming to an Engagement, and committing himſelf to the hazard of a Battel with experienced Men, whom Deſpair had made capable of attempting any thing; and who were beſides commanded by *Cæſar*, the moſt fortunate General of the World: But that he might more ſecurely and with more facility defeat them, ſtreitned as they were, and already weakned with want of all things, the Country where they lay not being over fertile, and they having no Sea-Port, nor ſo much as a Ship to eſcape in: He therefore reſolved, and ſurely with a great deal of Prudence, not to fight; but vanquiſh his half-ſtarved Enemies by ſtarving them more. But having with him a great number of Senators of the ſame Quality with himſelf, the Choice of all the Roman Knights, and many Kings and Potentates, they all exhorted him to give Battel; ſome out of Ignorance, others having in their Heads the Victory at *Dirrachium*, o-

thers

thers relying upon the great number of their Forces, in which they had the advantage; and ſome, who, weary of the War, choſe rather to hazard Victory at one puſh, than attend it from good Conduct. They ſhewed him *Cæſar* provoking him to fight, and always drawn out in Battel. But he turned that Example againſt themſelves; and told them, *Cæſar* did that, being forced to it by Famine, and that he ought the rather to lie quiet, the more *Cæſar* was ſtreitned for want of Proviſions.

XXIII. And yet at laſt, ſeeing all the Army, puffed up with the laſt Victory, deſired to fight; and that many Perſons of Quality reproached him that he loved to command, and that he ſpun out the War with deſign to maintain himſelf ſo much the longer above ſo many People his Equals; that they called him King and *Agamemnon*, becauſe *Agamemnon* had likewiſe commanded Kings during the War; he was conſtrained to forego the Reſolution he had taken. And now Fortune, which had not been over-favourable to him in many other Accidents of this War, forſook him quite. He grew fainter and ſlower than ordinarily he uſed to be; and prepared for this Fight much againſt his Will, to his Ruin, and the Loſs of thoſe who counſelled him to it. *Cæſar* had that Night ſent out two Legions to go fetch in Corn; for praiſing *Pompey* for temporizing, and believing he would continue to do ſo, he endeavoured nothing more than the bringing Proviſions to his Camp from all ſides: But when he had a little notice that his Enemy was diſpoſed to give Battel, he was very joyful, conjecturing him forced to it by the head-ſtrong humour of his Soldiers; and cauſing thoſe two Legions ſent out for Forrage, ſpeedily to return, he gave all his Men Order to be in a readineſs: About Midnight he ſacrificed to *Mars* and *Venus* his Mother (for it is ſaid, that the Family of the *Julii* had their Original as well as Name from *Iulus*, Son to *Æneas*) and withal, made a Vow to build a Temple in the City in Honour of that Goddeſs. After the Sacrifice, there having appeared a ſtream of Lightning, which extended it ſelf from *Cæſar*'s Camp over that of *Pompey*'s: Thoſe of this Party promiſed themſelves a bright and glorious Victory; but *Cæſar* interpreted it to his advantage; ſaying, he was going with one blow to extinguiſh all the Glory and Power of *Pompey*. As *Pompey* ſacrificed the ſame Night, the Victims eſcaping, could not be retaken, a Swarm of Bees came and ſet upon the Altars: There was raiſed a little before Day in *Pompey*'s Army a Panick Terror; which yet himſelf going from Quarter to Quarter, appeaſed, and after ſlept ſoundly; and when his Friends waked him, told them, he dreamed he was dedicating a Temple in the City to *Venus* the Victorious: His Familiars and his Soldiers, who had heard nothing of *Cæſar*'s Vow, rejoyced mightily at it, they believed the Advantage certainly theirs, and began to deſpiſe the Enemy, and do things more by impulſe of Paſſion than Reaſon; in ſo much, that ſome crowned their Tents with Laurel, which is the Token of Victory, and made their Slaves prepare Magnificent Feaſts: Nay, ſome there were who diſputed among themſelves for *Cæſar*'s High Prieſthood. *Pompey*, who had great experience in what related to War, had an averſion for all theſe things; but he let not his Anger break forth, for it would have been a trouble to him, neither did he now think it ſecure to reprove People who loved rather to command than obey, and who by their Importunity had forced him to act againſt his Judgment. So ſtupifyed was now this Great Man, who had ever before been ſo happy; whether he were troubled that his Counſel was ſlighted, being ſo perfectly good, and that he was conſtrained to hazard the ſafety of ſo many Men, together with his own Glory, which never yet had any like it;

or whether his Genius preſenting to him his approaching Misfortune, appaled him, being juſt at the point of loſing in one moment ſo great and ſublime an Authority. However, at length having ſaid to his Friends, that whoever gained the Victory that day, would be the Commencement of infinite Calamities to the Roman People, he began to draw up his Army in Battel: from whence ſome making reflexion on theſe words which on a ſuddain heat eſcaped him, have believed that if he had been Victorious, he would have made himſelf Maſter of the Commonwealth.

XXIV. Now, to give an Account of the number of the Forces on both Parts, without having recourſe to that Multitude of Authors, who ſo ill agree in this Point, I will follow the graveſt of the Romans; who report exactly the number of the Italians, as the principal Force of the Army, and make little mention of the Auxiliaries, whom indeed they had but little conſideration of. *Cæſar* had about two and twenty thouſand Men, of whom about a thouſand were Horſe; and *Pompey* had half as many more, of whom about ſeven thouſand were Horſe: So that moſt credible Authors ſay, that there were about ſeventy thouſand Italians in both Armies; thoſe who are moſt modeſt ſay, ſixty thouſand; and thoſe who are boldeſt, four hundred thouſand; of whom ſome ſay *Pompey*'s made more than half, others that *Cæſar*'s were but one third; ſo difficult it is, exactly to know the truth. But however it were, both the one and the other Party placed their chief Relyance on thoſe of that Nation: Not but that *Cæſar* had good Auxiliary Forces; he had French Cavalry, and a great number of Tranſalpine Gauls, and Grecian Light Armed Foot of the Acarnanians, Etolians and Dolopes. But *Pompey* had a great multitude of all the Oriental Nations, as well Horſe as Foot; out of *Greece*, the Lacedemonians with their Kings, the other Peloponneſians and Bœotians; and even the Athenians came to this War. Though both Parties had cauſed it to be proclaimed by the publick Cryer, that all Perſons were forbid touching them, being Prieſts to *Ceres*, the Inventor of Laws; yet would they come to bear Arms, that they might have the Honour to fight for the Roman Empire. After the Greeks, came Troops of almoſt all Nations lying upon the Sea-Coaſts of the *Levant* Seas; from *Thrace*, from the *Helleſpont*, from *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Ionia*, *Lydia*, *Pamphilia*, *Piſidia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, *Arabia*, *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*; with Slingers from *Crete*, and all the other Iſles. There were likewiſe Kings and Sovereigns with their Forces: *Deiotarus*, Tetrarch of *Gallogrecia*; and *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*; *Taxiles* lead the Armenians from this ſide the *Euphrates*; and *Megabates*, Lieutenant of King *Artabaſus*, thoſe from beyond that River; beſides ſeveral little Sovereigns that brought what Forces they had. They ſay likewiſe, that *Cleopatra* and her Brother, yet a Child, ſent ſixty Gallies; whoſe Forces were not at the Fight no more than thoſe of the reſt of the Fleet, who lay doing nothing at *Corcyra*. And moſt certain it is that *Pompey* was not ſo prudent as he ought to have been, in not making good uſe of his Naval Forces; in which he was ſo ſtrong, that he might always have hindred the bringing from any place Proviſions to his Enemy; but chuſing rather to fight on Land againſt Men hardened to Labour, and accuſtomed to Victory: But it is apparent that the Victory at *Dyrrachium* made him ſlacken his Care, and that nothing could have been more advantageous to *Cæſar* than that loſs; for *Pompey*'s Soldiers, grown proud with that Succeſs, would no longer obey; and marched againſt their Enemies hand over head. But decreed it was, he ſhould commit this fault, to give Birth to that Empire which extends it ſelf ſo far over the Nations of the Earth.

The

The Armies being disposed and ready to fight, the two Generals by words endeavoured to encourage their Men: And *Pompey* spoke to his in this manner. XXV.

The Oration of *Pompey*.

At length, Soldiers, you are put in a posture to fight, rather by commanding me, than doing what I command: For whereas I was resolved to destroy Cæsar *by temporizing, you would needs fight him. Since you, therefore, are the Enactors of this Battel, and the Arbiters of it, shew what you are to those Enemies you so far surpass in number: Despise them as young and vigorous Conquerors should the Vanquished, surcharged with Age and tired with Labour. Besides, your advantage over them lies not only in your Preparations and Forces, but in the Testimony of your own Consciences, and in the Justice of your Cause; since we fight for Liberty, for our Country, for the Laws, for Glory, for so many Senators, and so many Roman Knights, against a Man who aims at Dominion by his Thefts and Robberies. Let us go on then in good hopes whither your Courage leads you, and remember the Day of* Dyrrachium, *when we put to flight the same Enemy; and what a great number of Colours you in one day brought away your Prize.*

Cæsar, in like manner, encouraged his Men in words to this purpose.

The Oration of *Cæsar*.

The most difficult part of our Labours is now at an end, Fellow Soldiers, we are no more to fight with Hunger and Want, we have now only Men to deal with; and this day will put an end to all, provided you do but remember the promise you made me at Dyrrachium, *and in what manner you swore to one another in my presence, never to return from the Fight without Victory. These are the Men we are come to seek from as far as the Pillars of* Hercules; *those who durst not stand us, but fled before us out of* Italy; *these, who, after we had fought ten Years together for the Glory of our Country, after that we had gained a multitude of Victories, and added to the Roman Empire four hundred Nations in* Spain, Gaul *and* Brittany; *would have deprived us of the Honours due to us, of the Triumphs and other Recompences our Services merited. In a word, these whom I could never move, neither by the Justice of my Right, nor by the Favours I have done them; for you know how many of them I have set free without doing them the least injury, in hopes they would do things reasonable for me. Remember then their Injustice; and if ever you did believe I had any kindness or good will for you, if you have ever experienced my Liberality or received my Largesses, let this Day's Actions make good your Acknowledgments. It is no hard matter for Old Soldiers to overcome Hot-headed Youngsters, unskilled in the Mystery; and who like Children, come to the business in disorder, and despising their General: for I am certainly assured he himself leads them trembling, and sore against his mind to this Battel; for seeing his Fortune grow old, he is himself grown slothful and stupid, and does not so much command as obey the Command of others.*

Hitherto

Hitherto I have yet ſpoke to you only concerning the Italians; for the Strangers, I would not have you trouble your ſelves, nor account them for any thing; nor would I have you go to charge the Slaves of Syria, Lydia *and* Phrygia, *only born for Flight and Servitude: I know it certainly, and you ſhall ſee it, that* Pompey *will not give them any place in his Battel. Engage therefore only the Italians; and if the Strangers come to run after you like Dogs, when you have routed the Italians, ſpare them as your Allies; but put all the Strangers to the Sword, to ſtrike a terror in others. But firſt of all, to perſwade me that you remember your promiſe, and that you deſire to die or overcome, as you go out of the Camp I command you, that your ſelves pull up the Paliſſade, and fill up the Trench, that we may have no hopes left but in Victory: And that the Enemies ſeeing we have no more a Camp, may underſtand that of neceſſity we muſt lodge in theirs.*

XXVI. After having thus ſpoke to his Soldiers, he left two thouſand of the oldeſt for Guard of the Baggage; and the reſt, as they came out of the Camp, pulled up the Palliſſade and filled up the Ditch with as little noiſe as might be: Which being told to *Pompey* by ſome who thought they prepared themſelves for Flight; he knowing their Confidence, began to ſigh, that he muſt fight againſt fierce Beaſts, whom he might have defeated by Famine; which is the only way to reduce Beaſts. But now there was no going back; for as the Proverb ſays, *The Knife was at his Throat.* Wherefore, leaving four thouſand Legionary Soldiers for the Guard of the Camp, he cauſed the reſt to march in Battalia between *Pharſalia* and the River *Enipeus*; where *Cæſar* planted himſelf directly oppoſite to him: So that the Front of both Battels was compoſed of the Legions, in three Bodies, at ſome diſtance one from the other; whoſe Flanks were covered with two Wings of Horſe, among whom were mixed Archers and Slingers. The Legions, in whom both Parties placed their chief Hope, being ranged in this Order, they brought on the Strangers, more for Shew than Service. *Pompey* had a great number of divers Languages, out of which he drew apart the Macedonians, Peloponneſians, Bœotians and Athenians, as more accuſtomed to keep their Ranks with ſilence, and placed them near his Legions; and for the others, *Cæſar* had conjectured he drew them into a Body apart, with Orders to environ the Enemy as ſoon as the Battel was begun, and to do what they could to break in and plunder *Cæſar*'s Camp, whoſe Works he had ſeen thrown down. *Scipio*, Father in Law to *Pompey*, was in the middle of the Battel, *L. Domitius* on the Left Wing, *Lentulus* on the Right, and *Affranius* ſtayed for Guard of the Camp. In *Cæſar*'s Army *Sylla*, *Anthony* and *Cn. Domitius* commanded; and he, according to his cuſtom, choſe his place at the Head of the Tenth Legion: Which the Enemies having obſerved, they oppoſed againſt him all their beſt Horſe; that being the ſtronger in number, they might incloſe him. *Cæſar*, on the contrary, knowing their deſign, drew off a Body of three thouſand Men of the beſt of his Foot to releive him upon occaſion; and commanded, that as ſoon as they ſaw the Enemy come to inveſt him, they ſhould charge them with their Piles, aiming chiefly at the Face; for young and unexperienced People who put value on their Beauty, would be fearful to receive any Wound might render them deformed. And now the Generals went through the Ranks to give neceſſary Orders, exhorting them to ſhew their Courage, and giving them the Word for that day; which on *Cæſar*'s ſide was, Venus *the Victorious*; and on *Pompey*'s, Hercules *the Invincible.* Thus ſtanding in Battalia, they for a long time kept ſilence on both ſides; each Party keeping his Ground, and expecting when the other

other ſhould begin the Fight. For they were moved with Compaſſion to ſee the greateſt number of Forces that had ever before been ſeen together of the Italian Nation, and all Choſen Men, about to expoſe themſelves to the Hazard and Uncertainty of a Battel, for the Intereſt and Paſſion of two Romans, envious of each other: And as the Danger approached, the Ambition wherewith they had hitherto been blinded, began to remit, and give place to Fear. Reaſon having chaſed away the furious Appetite of Glory, began to repreſent to them the greatneſs and the Cauſe of the Diſgrace wherein they might fall. That two Men diſputed for the Preheminence with contempt of their Lives, and yet neither could promiſe to himſelf the living in the meaneſt Degree, unleſs he got the Victory: And that for their Difference ſuch numbers of brave Men were about to hazard their utter Deſtruction. It came likewiſe into their Minds, that having ſo lately been Friends and Allies, and endeavoured to render each other mutual Service for the Support of their Grandeur, they ſhould now draw Swords one againſt another, and oblige to be Followers in their criminal Paſſion ſo many Generals and Officers, among whom nothing but Concord ought to have been maintained, being of the ſame City, and ſome of them Brethren; for ſo they were, having engaged themſelves unawares, as in two different Parties of ſo many thouſand Men of the ſame Nation, many extraordinary things muſt neceſſarily happen. Thus the two Generals making theſe reflections, were touched with remorſe; and becauſe this Day was to make one of them the firſt or the laſt of all Men, they could not eaſily reſolve to begin a Fight, the Succeſs whereof was ſo doubtful. Some report, that both of them ſhed tears.

XXVII. The Day was now well advanced, whilſt both Parties thus ſtood viewing one another, and the Legions ſtood firm, without moving from their places; till *Pompey* perceiving that the Strangers, wearied with the delay, kept their Ranks but ill; fearing leſt by their Example the others might take the liberty to do the ſame before the Battel began, commanded firſt to ſound the Charge; which *Cæſar* on the other ſide immediately ſeconded. And now the Soldiers, heartned by the ſound of the Trumpets, and the preſence of their Officers; who going through the Ranks, encouraged them to do well, began to march one againſt the other with an incredible Vehemence; yet with deep ſilence, like People who had often been upon the ſame Occaſions. When they came within a Dart's Flight the Light-Armed Foot gave the firſt Diſcharge, and then the Horſe fell on; where after having given great Evidences of their Valour on both ſides, *Pompey*'s had the Advantage, as being more numerous; and went about to inveſt the Tenth Legion. Whereupon *Cæſar* gave a Sign to his Reſerve appointed for that purpoſe to advance, which at an inſtant they did, throwing their Piles at the Faces of the Horſemen; who, not able to bear the Brunt of theſe deſperate Men, nor endure that they ſhould pierce their Cheeks and thruſt out their Eyes, fled away in diſorder: Which gave Opportunity to *Cæſar*'s Horſe, who before were fearful to be environed, to charge *Pompey*'s Legions in Flank, where they lay naked, being deſerted by the Horſe-men. *Pompey* adviſed of it, gave Order to his Foot not to advance farther, nor to aſſail the Enemy, nor to throw any Pile; but preſenting their Points to thoſe came at them, to fight ſtanding their Ground. Some have praiſed this way of fighting invented by *Pompey*, as advantageous to thoſe that are like to be incloſed: But *Cæſar* diſapproves it in his Commentaries; becauſe, in caſting the Pile the blow is more violent, and the motion gives life to the Courage of the Soldier, which grows

grows cold and faint by ſtanding ſtill; beſides, that it is more eaſie to overturn thoſe are only planted like Stakes, which now happened; for after *Cæſar*'s Horſe had charged upon the Flank, *Pompey*'s Right Wing, which lay naked, and ſtood ſtill whilſt they poured upon them at diſtance whole Showers of Darts: The tenth Legion came up cloſe to them in Front; and finding them in Diſorder, made them give Ground; which was the beginning of the Victory. In other places they fought with divers Succeſs, and every where made a great Slaughter; yet in a Fight of ſo many Legions there was not heard the leaſt Cry, either of the Wounded, or of thoſe that fell, ſave only the laſt dying Gaſps and Groans of them who gave up the Ghoſt in the ſame place where they had fought. The Strangers, Spectators of ſo many noble Actions, were aſtoniſhed to ſee Soldiers ſo reſolutely keep their Ranks; in ſo much, that ſurprized with their height of Bravery as at a Miracle, they durſt not ſo much as attempt *Cæſar*'s Camp, defended only by a few Old People; but ſtood like Stocks, or Men that had loſt their Senſes. But when they ſaw *Pompey*'s Right Wing, preſſed hard by *Cæſar*, begin to recoil, yet ſtill fighting in the ſame manner, they ſet a running all towards the Camp, crying out, they had loſt the Day; and after having pulled down and plundered the Tents of their own Party, fled every Man which way they beſt could. The noiſe of this Rout made the other Legions give Ground, firſt in good Order, and defending themſelves the beſt they might; but at laſt, charged home by the Enemy, who now found himſelf the ſtronger, they likewiſe betook themſelves to Flight. And now *Cæſar*, to prevent their Rallying, and to make an end at once, not only of this Battel, but of the whole War, did an Action of great Prudence in cauſing it to be proclaimed throughout his whole Camp, that they ſhould ſpare the Citizen, and put the Stranger to the Sword; for at the ſame time the Vanquiſhers purſuing the Vanquiſhed, bid them ſtay there in ſafety: And the Proclamation of thoſe Orders having paſſed from hand to hand through both Armies, that Saying, *Stay there in Safety*, ſerved as a word to *Pompey*'s Men, to make themſelves be known; and that the eaſier, becauſe being all Italians, they wore the ſame Habit, and ſpoke the ſame Language. Thus *Cæſar*'s Soldiers, paſſing by their Country-men, fell upon the Strangers; of whom they made a mighty Slaughter, they not being in any poſture of defence. *Pompey* beholding his Men fly, loſt his Courage, retreating by little and little into his Camp; and being entred his Tent, ſat ſtill a great while without ſaying a word, like to *Ajax Telamon*; to whom, as it is ſaid, ſomething like this happened at the time of the Trojan War. But few of his Men returned into the Camp, becauſe it having been told them at the time of the Defeat, that they ſhould ſtay there in ſafety; and their Enemies having done them no violence, they were diſperſed by Companies on one ſide and on the other. Towards the Evening *Cæſar* going through all his Army, began to entreat the Soldiers not to think of any repoſe, till they had taken *Pompey*'s Camp; telling them, that if they ſuffered the Enemy to rally, they were only victorious for a day; whereas by making themſelves Maſters of the Camp, they made their Victory perfect, and gave the laſt Stroke to the Work: Wherefore, ſtretching out his hands like thoſe that ſupplicate, he began himſelf to advance that way before them all. Though they were extremely tired, yet *Cæſar*'s Diſcourſe and Authority gave them new ſtrength, beſides their preſent good Fortune, and the hopes they had to force the Trenches, which they thought a thing very important; and there is no ſurer Remedy againſt Wearineſs than Hope: So they ſtormed the Palliſſade with ſcorn of thoſe that defended it. When *Pompey* was told of it, he at length

broke his profound Silence with these words; *And how! Into our very Camp.* And presently changing Habit, mounted on Horse-back; and accompanied by four of his Friends, rid all Night full Speed, and at Break of Day came to *Larissa*. *Cæsar*, as he had foretold when he was drawing out his Army, lodged in *Pompey*'s Camp, supped with Meat they had made ready for him, and the whole Army was feasted at the Enemy's Charge. As for the Dead on both sides, as well Romans as Allies, (for the number of the Strangers was so great it was hard to count them; besides, none took the pains) *Cæsar* lost thirty Centurions, and two hundred Legionary Soldiers; or according to the Account of others, twelve hundred: And on *Pompey*'s side there dyed ten Senators, among whom was *L. Domitius*, who had been sent into *Gaul*, Successor to *Cæsar*; and about forty Roman Knights of the best Families of the City; for the Soldiery, those who set down the greatest number say five and twenty thousand: But *Asinius Pollio*, one of *Cæsar*'s Captains who commanded in this Battel, writes in his Commentaries, that there were not above six thousand slain. Such was the success of the famous Battel of *Pharsalia*. Among those who did best, they give the first place to *Cæsar*; the second place to the same *Cæsar*, with the Tenth Legion, by the Consent of all the World; and the third Honour is due to the Centurion *Crastinus*, whom *Cæsar*, as he went out of the Camp, having asked, what hopes he had of the Battel? replyed with a loud voice; *We will overcome*, Cæsar; *and thou shalt this day praise me, either alive or dead.* And indeed, all the Army bare witness, that they had seen him run like a Fury through the Battalions, and do Actions almost incredible. His Body being found among the Dead, *Cæsar* adorned it with Military Rewards; and in that manner caused it to be be buried apart, with a Magnificent Tomb, near the common Sepulture of others.

Pompey departing immediately from *Larissa*, came to the Sea; and going first into a little Boat, met by chance with a Ship, and got to *Mitylene*: where taking with him *Cornelia*, and lading his Equipage upon four Galleys come to him from *Rhodes* and *Tyre*, he would go neither to *Corcira*, nor to *Africa*, where he had another Army and a Powerful Fleet; but chose rather the way of the East towards the King of the Parthians, by whose Assistance he hoped to recover all he had lost. He told his Design to no one, till being ready to land in *Cilicia*, he discovered it to his Friends; but they advised him not to trust the Parthian, against whom *Crassus* had so lately to very ill purpose made War, and was still puffed up with Victory he had gained against the Romans: Besides, it was not safe to carry among Barbarians a beautiful Woman like *Cornelia*; who was moreover, *Crassus* Widdow: They therefore proposed to him either *Egypt* or King *Juba*; the later they thought not of sufficient Reputation, but all counselled his Retreat into *Egypt*. They alledged that it was not far off, that it was a Powerful Kingdom, an Excellent Country, where he would want neither Shipping, nor Provisions, nor Money; and whose Kings, though yet but Minors, were obliged to serve him, because of the good Offices he had done their Father. So by those Reasons he was perswaded to bend his Course towards *Egypt*. There was at present a Division in the Royal Family; *Cleopatra*, who before reigned joyntly with her Brother *Ptolemy*, being driven out, now raised Forces about *Syria*; and *Ptolemy* her Brother was encamped near Mount *Cassia*, on the Frontiers of *Egypt*, to hinder her Re-entry into the Kingdom. It happened that the Wind drove *Pompey* into that place; who seeing so great an Army on the Shore, stopped; and because he judged, as it proved XXVIII.

true, that the King was there, he ſent one to give him advice of the Cauſe of his coming, and to remember him of his Friendſhip with his Father. He was yet but thirteen Years of Age; and had for Overſeers *Achillas* in what concerned Affairs of War, and *Photinus* the Eunuch for the Treaſury: Thoſe began to conſult betwixt them what they ſhould do in this Conjuncture; and having called to counſel with them *Theodatus* the Rhetorician, School-Maſter to the Infant King. He propoſed to them an execrable Advice; which was, to cut off *Pompey*, to gain the favour of *Cæſar*: Which being reſolved on, under pretence that in that place the Sea was full of Shoals, ſo that greater Veſſels could not approach, they ſent him a wretched Boat, in which there were ſome Officers of the Royal Houſe, and with them a certain Roman Soldier called * *Sempronius*, who now bore Arms in *Egypt*, but had formerly ſerved under *Pompey*. He preſented him his hand on the Part of *Ptolemy*; inviting him to enter, and go with him to his Friend, who waited for him. Mean while the Army was drawn up in Battel on the Sea Shore; in the midſt of which appeared the King, clad in his Royal Robes, as if to do Honour to his Gueſt. Though *Pompey* had already ſome cauſe to diſtruſt, conſidering this Army in Battel, the pittifulneſs of the Boat, that the King came not in Perſon to meet him, nor ſent any Perſon of Quality; yet he went into the Skiff, repeating to himſelf theſe Lines of *Sophocles*.

* Septimius *in* all other Authors

To Tyrants Courts, the Valiant and the Brave;
Though free they enter, ſoon become their Slave.

When he ſaw that after he was got ſome diſtance from his Ships no Perſon ſpoke to him, his ſuſpition increaſed. Wherefore, either knowing *Sempronius* for a Roman, or a Soldier that had ſerved under him, or conjecturing it becauſe he only ſtood up, according to the Diſcipline of the Romans, which permits not Soldiers to ſit before their General; he ſaid, turning towards him, *Surely I have known you, Fellow Soldier:* Which *Sempronius* having acknowledged, as ſoon as he turned away, he gave him the firſt blow, which was followed by many others that took away his Life. His Wife and Friends ſeeing afar off this Murther, began to cry out; and lifting up their hands to Heaven, imploring the Gods Revengers of violated Hoſpitality, with all ſpeed took their Flight. *Photinus*'s People cut off *Pompey*'s Head, which he kept to preſent to *Cæſar* when he ſhould arrive in *Egypt*, out of hopes of a great Reward; but he revenged this Murther as became him. Some one having found the Trunk of his Body, buried it upon the Sea-Shore, raiſing over it a little Tomb; upon which ſome other wrote this Inſcription;

Scarce ſhould a Temple to hold that ſuffice,
Which huddled in a little Sand, here lies.

This Sepulchre being in proceſs of time quite covered over with Sand, the Emperour *Adrian* viſiting that Country, cauſed it in theſe our times to be ſought for; and after having found it with the Copper Images which the Inhabitants of theſe Coaſts had dedicated to *Pompey*, which were fallen with age in the ruines of a Temple, he cauſed the Rubbiſh to be removed, made the Sepulchre viſible, and ſet up the Images. Thus ended this great Man his days, after having fortunately put an end to many Wars of great Importance, and augmented the Roman Empire, by which he got the Title of Great. Never before had he been vanquiſhed, and from his very youth began

began to be happy in all his undertakings; for from the three and twentieth to the eight and fiftieth year of his age, he had in effect the power of a King, though he took upon him only the quality of a private Citizen, becauſe of the diſpute for preheminence between him and *Cæſar*.

Lucius Scipio his Father-in-law, and all the reſt of the perſons of Quality that eſcaped from the Battel of *Pharſalia*, retired to *Corcyra*, where they had of purpoſe left *Cato* with other Forces and three hundred Galleys. There having divided the Fleet among *Pompey*'s chief Friends, *Caſſius* ſailed towards *Pontus* to engage *Pharnaces* to take up Arms againſt *Cæſar*; *Scipio* and *Cato* went into *Africa*, relying upon thoſe Forces *Varus* had, and the aſſiſtance they hoped for from *Juba* King of the Moors. And *Pompey*'s Eldeſt Son, with *Labienus Scapula* and another part of the Army, went by great Journeys to *Spain*, with deſign to draw that Province to their Party, to raiſe other Forces of Spaniards, Celtiberians, and even of Slaves, and to make the greateſt Preparations they poſſibly could; ſo great were yet the Wrecks of *Pompey's* Power, which by a prodigious blindneſs he deſerted and fled. The Soldiers in *Africa* offered *Cato* the chief Command; but he refuſed it, becauſe there were there preſent Lieutenants of Conſular Quality, and he had never arrived to higher Dignity in the City than the Charge of Pretor. Wherefore *L. Scipio* being choſen General of that Army, he laboured likewiſe in theſe Quarters to encreaſe and exerciſe his Forces; ſo that there were raiſed at the ſame time two powerful Armies againſt *Cæſar*; one in *Africa*, and the other in *Spain*. He for his part ſtayed at *Pharſalia* but two days after the Victory, that he might ſacrifice to the Gods in the Field of the Battel, and ſuffer the Soldiers take ſome repoſe, tired with the Toil of that Great Day. He likewiſe granted Liberty to the Theſſalians, who had ſerved him faithfully upon this Occaſion: And the Athenians coming to demand his Pardon, he forgave them with theſe words; *How often muſt the Glory of your Predeceſſors with-hold you from falling down thoſe Precipices whither your own faults lead you?* The third day he marched towards the Eaſt, whither he underſtood *Pompey* was fled: As he paſſed the *Helleſpont* upon little Boats for want of Ships, in the middle of the Strait *Caſſius* (in his way to *Pharnaces*) ſuddainly comes up with a great number of Gallies; and though he might with ſo many Bottoms have eaſily defeated his Enemy, who was infinitely the weaker; yet ſuch was the prodigious good Fortune of *Cæſar*, that the other was ſo extremely ſurprized, thinking he was come of purpoſe to meet him, that of his own accord he yielded himſelf into his Hands, demanded Pardon, and delivered up to him the Fleet; ſo powerful was the Opinion only of *Cæſar*'s continual Happineſs, for I can find out no other Cauſe; and am of Opinion, that in all the Dangers he ever encountred, his good Fortune never ſerved him to better purpoſe than now, when *Caſſius*, a Warlike Man, having ſeventy Gallies, meeting him by chance ſo ill prepared, durſt not attempt to fight him; and yet, after he had ſetled himſelf in the Supreme Power in the City, he who out of a Cowardly faintheartedneſs yielded to him in his Paſſage, killed him in the height of his Proſperities; which proves the more, that *Caſſius*, terrifyed in that manner, yielded only to the Fortune that advanced *Cæſar*. Thus eſcaping beyond his Hopes, as ſoon as he was landed, the *Ionians*, *Etolians*, and other Nations inhabiting that great *Peninſula*, which is called *Aſia Minor*, ſent Deputies to him, to crave his Pardon; which he granted: And underſtanding that *Pompey* was gone towards *Egypt*, he ſailed towards *Rhodes*; whence, without ſtaying for his Army, whom he had ordered to rendezvouz in this Iſland, he XXIX.

he embarked on *Caſſius* his Gallies, and thoſe of *Rhodes*, with thoſe Forces he had, and towards the Evening went to Sea: He told no body whither he deſigned, but only gave Order to the Pylates to follow the Admiral's Light by Night, and the Flag by Day. And when he was in the Main Sea, he commanded the Maſter of his Galley to ſtear towards *Alexandria*; where he arrived the third Day after. The King's Tutors, who were ſtill about Mount *Caſſia*, came forthwith to receive him: And having at his Arrival but few People about him, he remained for ſome time without doing any thing. In the mean time he civilly received all ſuch as viſited him, walked often about the City under pretence of being pleaſed to view it, went often to Philoſophy Schools; where ſtanding, he would hear the Profeſſors: and by this manner of living, he gained the Favour and Eſteem of all the People of *Alexandria*: But when his Army was arrived he put to death *Achillas* and *Photinus*, for their Villany committed on the Perſon of *Pompey*; and *Theodotus* then eſcaping him, *Caſſius* after finding him in *Aſia*, cauſed to be hanged. The Alexandrians hereupon taking Arms, and the King's Army coming to oppoſe *Cæſar*, they fought in ſeveral Engagements with divers Succeſs, as well about the Palace as the adjoyning Shores; ſo that once *Cæſar*, preſſed hard upon by the Enemy, threw himſelf into the Sea, and eſcaped them by ſwimming; and his Coat-Armour falling into the Egyptians hands, they hung it up in the place appointed for Trophies. But in the end, in the laſt Battel, fought near the *Nile*, where the King was in Perſon, *Cæſar* remained Conqueror. He ſpent nine Months in all theſe Affairs, till ſuch time as he ſetled *Cleopatra* in the Kingdom of *Egypt* inſtead of her Brother, and made a Progreſs with her upon the *Nile*, followed by four hundred Veſſels, to ſee the Country, or perhaps being in love with that Woman; but we will ſpeak of thoſe things in writing the Affairs of *Egypt*. When they would have preſented to him *Pompey*'s Head, he would not ſee it; and commanded it ſhould be interred in the Suburbs, where he conſecrated a Chappel to the Goddeſs *Nemeſis*, which in our time, when the Emperor *Trajan* made cruel War upon them, the Jews pulled down; the demoliſhing it being of importance to them. *Cæſar* having done theſe things in *Egypt*, cauſed his Army to march with little noiſe through *Syria*, againſt *Pharnaces*, who had already been ſucceſsful in many Occaſions; he had ſeized upon ſome places depending on the Romans; he had defeated *Domitius*, *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant, in a Set Battel; and puffed up with this Succeſs, had ſacked the City of *Amiſa* in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and publickly ſold one part of the Inhabitants, and made Eunuchs of all who had not obtained the Age of Puberty: But frightned at *Cæſar*'s coming, and repenting of what he had done; when he was come within two hundred Furlongs of him, he ſent to him Ambaſſadors to treat of Peace; with Orders to preſent him with a Crown of Gold, and very impertinently to offer him the Daughter of their King in Marriage. When he had heard the Occaſion of their coming, he made his Army march; and amuſing the Ambaſſadors with words, advances up to *Pharnaces*, Camp; where beginning to cry out, *Shall not Parricide now be immediately puniſhed*, he leaped on Horſe-back, and with the firſt Shout put the Enemy to Flight, and made a great Slaughter without any of his Army's drawing their Swords, ſave only a thouſand Horſe that firſt followed him when he began the Charge. Some Hiſtorians report that he ſhould now ſay; *O! how happy was* Pompey, *to have gained ſuch Reputation, with the Title of* GREAT, *for having to deal with ſuch People in the Mithridatick War.* And concerning this Victory he wrote to the City; *I came, I ſaw, I overcame.* As for *Pharnaces*, he was content to retire into the King-

dom

dom of *Bosphorus*, which *Pompey* left him; and *Cæsar* had not now leisure to pursue him, or lose time in these lesser Affairs, being called elsewhere by so many more important Wars; wherefore he directed his Course towards *Italy*, taking up all along as he marched through *Asia* the Tribute-Money, which much troubled the Commissioners, who had raised it upon the People with a thousand Cruelties, as we have said in writing the Affairs of *Asia*.

Understanding by Letters that he received from *Rome*, that the City was extremely tormented with new Seditions; and that *Anthony*, General of his Horse, had with the Army seized upon the Great Place; he left the Affairs of *Asia*, to make all speed thither. His Presence forthwith appeased the Tumult of the City, but there was another raised against himself: The Soldiers required to be payed what was promised them at *Pharsalia*, for having exposed their Lives; and that they might be dismissed, having served the time appointed by the Laws. He caused them in Excuse to be told, that the Victory of *Pharsalia* was not yet perfect, because War still continued in *Africa*: but as soon as that was ended, he would perform his Promise, and give them over and above a thousand Drams a Head. They with arrogance replyed, that they stood not in need of Promises, but of ready Money; so that *Crispus Salustus*, who was sent to them, was fain to save his Life by Flight. Upon report hereof made to *Cæsar*, he drew *Anthony*'s Legion, which had been left for the Guard of the City, about his House, and to the Guard of the Gates, lest the Mutineers should in their fury begin to plunder Private Houses. And himself, contrary to the Advice of all his Friends, who counselled him not to expose himself to the fury of an Incensed Multitude; with a signal Audacity of Mind, as they were in the Field of *Mars*, came suddainly upon them: And mounting on a place where he might be seen by all the Mutining Companies, they ran to him, not yet appeased, but without Arms; and saluting him, called him Emperor, according to Custom. He commanding them to tell him what it was they desired, they durst not speak of Money, because he surprized them with his Presence; but out of the hopes they were in, that he yet standing in need of the Army to make an end of the Remainder of the War, would (if they desired to be dismissed) himself speak of the Gift he had promised them, contented themselves to cry out all with one Voice, that they intreated him to discharge them: To which, without any delay, he made answer, *That he granted their Request*; and seeing them so much the more astonished at this Answer, as they least of any thing expected it, and that they stood in a profound silence, he added; *I will, notwithstanding, give you all that I have promised you as soon as I have triumphed with others.* This word filled their very Soul with Shame and Jealousie; considering what an Infamy it would be for them, if after having deserted their General under pretence of being weary of the War, new Soldiers should follow his Triumphant Chariot: Besides, they should deprive themselves of the Booty they might get in the African War, and render themselves odious both to *Cæsar* and the contrary Party. And making these reflections, they a long time kept silence, hoping *Cæsar* would at last grant them something more, and change his Mind, because of the pressing necessity. But he continuing silent as well as they; and when his Friends besought him to say something more to them, and not leave in suspence People that had served him so well, as he began to speak to them, calling them *Gentlemen*, and not *Fellow Soldiers*, which is a sign he looked upon them as discharged, they could not endure to be treated in that manner, but interrupted him; and by their Cries testifying their Repentance, XXX.

pentance, beſought him to permit them to ſtay ſtill in his Service; and becauſe he refuſed them, and deſcended from the Tribunal, they redoubled their Cries, intreating him to ſtay and puniſh their fault. Hereupon he ſtopped a good while, as if he had been in pain what to reſolve on; and at length remounting the Tribunal, told them he would not puniſh a Man; but however, he was ſorely troubled that the tenth Legion, whom he had always preferred before the others, had begun this Mutiny: And to them he added, *I give you your Diſcharge, and will pay you what I promiſed you as ſoon as I return from* Africa: *And at the end of the War I will give you Lands, not as* Sylla *did; taking them from others, or mixing the Uſurpers among thoſe are ſpoiled of them, to nouriſh perpetual Enmity between them; but I will divide amongſt you the Publick Lands, my own particular Inheritances; and if thoſe be not enough, I will buy more with my Money.* Whereupon, all the reſt with Shouts and Acclamations applauded him, but the tenth Legion was quite caſt down, believing they ſhould never regain *Cæſar*'s favour; wherefore they beſought him to decimate them, according to the Cuſtom of their Anceſtors. Till he, unwilling to afflict them any farther, becauſe he perceived their Repentance ſerious, pardoned them as well as the reſt; and ſhortly after departed to go for *Africa*.

XXXI. From *Rhegium*, paſſing over to *Meſſina*, he came to *Lylibæum*; and unſtanding that *Cato* with the Fleet and part of the Land Forces had the Guard of *Utica*, where lay all the ſtores of the contrary Party, and where ſate a form of Senate, compoſed of three hundred perſons, who had for ſome time given orders in what concerned the War, and that *L. Scipio* their General and the moſt conſiderable of the Party were at *Adrumetum* with the reſt of the Army, he went to land. There he had advice that *Scipio* was gone to meet with King *Juba*, wherefore he took the opportunity of his abſence, and drew up his Army before the Enemies Camp. *Labienus* and *Petreius Scipio*'s Lieutenants accepted the defiance and vigorouſly beat back *Cæſar*'s Men, driving them before them with contempt, till *Labienus*'s Horſe wounded in the Belly, having reverſed and thrown him down, his Eſquires carried him out of the Fight, and *Petreius* contenting himſelf with having tried the courage of his Soldiers, believing he could overcome whenever he pleaſed, cauſed the Retreat to be ſounded, ſaying to thoſe about him, *We muſt not deprive* Scipio *our General of the honour of beating them himſelf.* Thus fortune ſhewed it ſelf once more powerful for *Cæſar*; for his Enemies cooling in the midſt of the Victory, let the whole fruit of it eſcape out of their Hands. 'Tis ſaid *Cæſar* only ſtood his ground, all the reſt fled, and that with his own hand he was bringing back the Standard of a Legion to the Front of the Battalia, when *Petreius* drew off into his Camp, in which *Cæſar* willingly imitated him. This was the ſucceſs of the firſt Engagement *Cæſar* met with in *Africa*. Some time after a rumour was ſpread, that *Scipio* was coming with eight Legions, twenty thouſand Horſe, of which the moſt part were Lybians, a great number of Targetiers, and thirty Elephants, and together with him King *Juba* at the Head of thirty thouſand Footmen, twenty thouſand Numidian Horſe, ſtore of Darters, and beſides all, ſixty Elephants. The Soldiers were ſtill diſheartened with their late diſgrace, and the Enemy now ſeemed to them very formidable, both by reaſon of the number and valour of the Numidian Horſe, beſides they had not been uſed to fight againſt Elephants, But when afterwards they underſtood that *Bocchus* another King of the Moors had ſeiſed upon *Cirta*, the Reſidence of King *Juba*, ſo that recalled by domeſtick Danger he had made a

ſpeedy

ſpeedy return into his Kingdom with his Army, leaving only with *Scipio* the thirty Elephants, they took ſuch heart, that the fifth Legion deſired they might be placed before the Elephants, and having obtained it, began the Victory by the defeat of thoſe Beaſts, wherefore to this day they carry an Elephant painted in their Colours; the Fight was for a long time ſtifly maintained on both ſides, till in the end *Cæſar* remained victorious. *Scipio*'s Camp was taken and pillaged, Night prevented the further purſuit of thoſe that fled, of whom every one ſhifted for himſelf as he beſt could, and *Scipio* quitting all went away with *Afranius* by Sea in twelve open Boats. Thus this Army compoſed of fourſcore thouſand fighting Men, the moſt part old Soldiers, encouraged by the ſucceſs of the firſt Fight were utterly defeated in this one Battel, which augmented much the Glory of *Cæſar* by the confeſſion of his Enemies themſelves, who attributed this Defeat more to his good Fortune than their own remiſneſs; but they flattered themſelves, for this misfortune arrived only by the fault of their Commanders, who had not the prudence to ſpin out this war in length, whereby they might have reduced *Cæſar* (engaged in a ſtrange Country) to want of Proviſions; and beſides in not purſuing to the upſhot their firſt Victory.

Three days after the defeat, news thereof coming to *Utica*, and *Cæſar* following it at the heels, all men diſpoſed themſelves to flight, *Cato* hindred no Man, nay, he gave Ships to all ſuch perſons of quality as asked him, but for himſelf he ſtood firm; and when thoſe of *Utica* promiſed to entreat *Cæſar* for him before they did for themſelves, he told them ſmiling he ſtood not in need of any Intereeſſors, and *Cæſar* knew it well. Afterwards having put together what Money and Papers he had, he ſealed them up, and diſpoſed them in the hands of the Magiſtrates of *Utica*, towards the Evening he bathed and ſupped, ſitting as he at other times uſed, ſince *Pompey*'s death; he altered not a jot of his manner of living, but was ſerved after his accuſtomed manner, and diſcourſed familiarly with his Servants. He talked of thoſe that were gone, if they had a good Wind, how far they might be off, and if they believed that when *Cæſar* came to morrow they would be got out of ſight. When he was going to Bed he let nothing extraordinary eſcape him, only he embraced his Son with ſomewhat more tenderneſs, but not finding his Sword near his Bed according to cuſtom, he cryed out he was betrayed by his own Domeſticks, who had not left him wherewith to defend himſelf, if his Enemies aſſailed him by night; and when they beſought him not to make any attempt upon his life, but to repoſe without his Sword, he told them to oblige them to believe him: *If I had a mind to die, could not I knock my Head againſt this Wall, or ſtrangle my ſelf with the Cloaths that I wear, or throw my ſelf headlong down, or ſtifle my ſelf with ſtopping my Breath*? With theſe words and ſome others he perſwaded them to lay his Sword in its place, that done, he deſired there might be brought him that Book *Plato* writ concerning the Soul, which he read quite over, and when he thought thoſe who kept Guard at his door ſlept, he thruſt his Sword into his Belly. His Entrails coming out at the wound, ſome groan heard by thoſe at the door, obliged them to run in with Chyrurgions, who put his Entrails again ſtill warm as they were into his Body, ſowed up the wound, and after having laid to it a Plaiſter, and rolled it up, his Senſes being come to him, he feigned to repent himſelf of the fault he had committed, thanked them that they had helped him, and told them that now he ſtood in need of ſome repoſe; but after they were gone, carrying with them his Sword, and had XXXII.

had ſhut the Door that nothing might diſturb his reſt, whilſt they thought he ſlept he got off by little and little the Roller and Sewing of the Wound, and pulling out his Entrails, tore them with his Fingers and Nails, and ſo died in the fiftieth year of his age. He was eſteemed the graveſt and moſt firm in his reſolution of all men living, who judged not of what was juſt and honeſt by what the people practiſed, but by ſtrong and generous reaſons. He eſpouſed *Martia* the Daughter of *Philip*, who had never before been married, he loved her dearly, and had Children by her, and yet in favour of the Friendſhip he bore to *Hortenſius*, who had no Children, and paſſionately deſired to have one, he reſigned her over to him till ſuch time as his Friend had a Son, and then took her home again, as if he had only lent her: ſuch was *Cato*. Thoſe of *Utica* celebrated for him Magnificent Funerals; and *Cæſar* hearing the news of his death, ſaid, Cato *envyed the Glory I might have got by doing a noble Action*. And yet when *Cicero* wrote a Book in praiſe of his death, and called it *Cato*, *Cæſar* wrote another, and called his Book *Anticato*. When *Juba* and *Petreius* had heard what had happened, and ſaw that they had neither hopes of flight or ſafety, they ſlew each other with their Swords in a Chamber where they had eat together. *Cæſar* made the Kingdom of *Mauritania* tributary, and gave the Government to *Criſpus Saluſtus*. He pardoned thoſe of *Utica* together with *Cato*'s Son, and finding in that City a Daughter of *Pompey*'s with two Children, he ſent her to her Brother without doing her the leaſt unkindneſs. But he put to death all he could find of thoſe three hundred which they called a Senate. As for *Lucius Scipio* General of the defeated Army the Waves caſt him into the Enemies Fleet, from whence ſeeing no way to eſcape, he run his Sword through his Body, and threw himſelf into the Sea. Thus *Cæſar* ended the War in *Africa*.

XXXIV. Being returned to the City he entred Triumphant over four ſeveral Nations. The firſt Triumph was over the Gauls, many of whoſe people he had ſubdued and brought under the Roman Empire, and reduced to obedience thoſe that were revolted. The ſecond over *Pharnaces*. The third over the Africans that had taken up Arms for *Scipio*, wherein was led Captive the Son of King *Juba*, yet a Child who afterwards became an Hiſtorian. And the fourth, of the Egyptians defeated in a Fight by Water on the *Nile*, but this Triumph was placed between the Gaul and the Pontick. Though he triumphed not over the Romans becauſe they were his Fellow Citizens, which had been no Glory to him, and a ſhame to the Roman People, yet in the pomp were carried Pictures of all thoſe Defeats, and the Pourtraictures of the Men, ſave only *Pompey*'s, which he durſt not ſhew becauſe of the grief all men had for his loſs, yet freſh in memory: yet the people forbore not ſhedding tears for his misfortune, eſpecially when they knew *L. Scipio* General of a Roman Army, with his Breaſt wounded with his own hand, precipitating himſelf into the Sea, and ſaw *Petreius* periſh in the Dining Room, and *Cato* tearing out his Bowels like a fierce Beaſt; for *Achillas* and *Photinus* the ſight of them was as pleaſing as the flight of *Pharnaces*, which made all the world laugh. 'Tis ſaid that in theſe Triumphs they carried ſixty thouſand Talents and a half of Silver Money, with two thouſand eight hundred twenty two Crowns of Gold, weighing twenty thouſand four hundred and fourteen Pounds. He diſtributed to every Soldier five thouſand Attick Drams, to every Captain double, to the Colonels and Captains of Horſe four times as much, and to all the people a Mina by the Head; beſides he exhibited divers pleaſant Spectacles, Horſe-

racing,

racing, Muſick, Combats on Foot of a thouſand againſt a thouſand, on Horſeback of two hundred againſt two hundred, and another Fight of Horſe and Foot together, he made likewiſe twenty Elephants fight againſt twenty, he repreſented likewiſe a Sea-Fight, wherein were four thouſand Rowers, and a thouſand fighting Men on a ſide. He likewiſe cauſed a Temple to be built to *Venus*, according to the vow he had made before the Battel of *Pharſalia*, and near to that Temple built a publick Hall for the Roman People, not to uſe Traffick in, but for the pleading of Cauſes, and to render juſtice, and learn how to render it, in like manner as there are many in *Perſia*, and by the Goddeſs ſide he cauſed to be ſet up the Statue of *Cleopatra*, which is to be ſeen to this day. And laſtly, having taken the number of the people, he found them one half leſs than they were at the beginning of the War, ſo much had the Differences which had happened between theſe two Men weakened the Common-wealth.

XXXIV. For himſelf being made the fourth time Conſul, he undertook the Expedition of *Spain* againſt the young *Pompey*, which was a Remain of the Civil War, he had not reaſon to ſlight; for all thoſe people of Quality that had eſcaped out of *Africa* got thither, and the Wracks of the Pharſalian and African Defeats were here aſſembled, beſides the aſſiſtance of the moſt warlike Nations of *Spain* and *Celtiberia*, and a great number of Slaves that followed *Pompey*'s Army, who having been four years exerciſed to the War, offered to ſerve him if he would try the fortune of a Battel. This was the cauſe of *Pompey*'s overthrow; for that without delay he would go meet *Cæſar*, though the old Captains whom the Battels of *Pharſalia* and *Africa* had made wiſer, counſelled him to prolong the War, being the only means to ruine his Enemy, who could not ſubſiſt in a Country where he had no conveniencies; for *Cæſar* was come in ſeven and twenty days, counting from the day he left the City, and with ſtore of Baggage had performed a wonderful Journey. Beſides his Army never ſhewed leſs reſolution out of the thoughts poſſeſſed them, that they were to deal with a multitude of War-like Enemies, and whom deſpair would make attempt any thing, which was the reaſon *Cæſar* made no haſte to engage till *Pompey* provoking him to Battel, reproached him with faintheartedneſs, which not able to endure, he drew up his Army in Battel before *Cordona*, and that day he likewiſe gave *Venus* for his Word, as Piety was that of *Pompey*'s. When the Armies were going to cloſe, *Cæſar* ſeeing his Men go on but coldly, and ſeem to be afraid, invoked all the Gods, beſeeching them with hands lifted up to Heaven, not to let the luſtre of ſo many glorious Actions be darkened in one day, and running through the Ranks, encouraged his Soldiers, taking off his Head-piece that he might be the better known. But do what he could he could not raiſe their Spirits, till ſnatching a Buckler out of a Soldiers hand, he ſaid to the Tribunes were about him, *This ſhall be the laſt day of my life, and of your engagement to the War.* And at the ſame time made furiouſly towards the Enemy: he had ſcarce advanced ten foot but he had above two hundred Darts thrown at him, ſome of which he avoided by bending his Body, and others received on his Buckler, when the Tribunes run with emulation to get about him, and the whole Army thereupon charging with all their fury, they fought all day with divers advantage, and at length towards the Evening the Victory fell to *Cæſar*, and 'tis reported, that hereupon he was heard ſay theſe words, *That he had often fought for Victory, but that now he had fought for life.* After the Defeat, *Pompey*'s Men flying into *Cordona*, *Cæſar*, to prevent their eſcape thither, leſt they

ſhould rally and renew the Fight, cauſed the place to be inveſted by the Army, where his Soldiers being ſo tired they could not work in the Circumvallation, heaped up together the Bodies and Armour of the ſlain, which they kept piled up with their Javelins ſtuck into the ground, and lay all night under that kind of Rampire. Next Morning the City was taken. Of *Pompey*'s Captains *Scapula* getting up on a Pile of Wood burnt himſelf; the Heads of *Varus*, *Labienus*, and other perſons of Quality were brought to *Cæſar*. As for *Pompey* he fled from the Battel with a hundred and fifty Horſe, bending his courſe towards *Cartea* where his Fleet lay, he entred the Port in a Litter, and in the habit of a private Man. But ſeeing the Seamen had likewiſe loſt all hopes, he threw himſelf into a little Boat, in which as he was going out to Sea, his Foot tangling in the Cordage, one of his people going to cut the Rope, by miſchance cut his Heel, ſo that to cure his wound he was forced to go aſhore at a ſmall Village, where hearing that *Cæſar*'s Horſemen were coming, he took his flight through a Country covered with Thorns and Briars, which added to his wound, ſo that being tired, and ſitting down at laſt under a Tree, he was found by thoſe gave him chaſe, and ſlain, generouſly defending himſelf, his Head was carried to *Cæſar*, who cauſed it to be buried. Thus was this War ended by one only Fight, contrary to the opinion of all the world. Thoſe who eſcaped from this Defeat, went to *Pompey*'s younger Brother, ſirnamed *Sextus*, but he only made War like a Rover, hiding himſelf, and flying from place to place.

XXXV. As for *Cæſar*, having now put an end to all the Civil Wars, he returned to *Rome* more powerful and glorious than ever any had been before him; wherefore all imaginable Honours were done him to gain his favour. All the Tribes, all the Nations and all the Kingdoms allyed and Friends to the Roman People made Sacrifices, Shews and Offerings in every Temple, and in every publick place, his Statues were every where to be ſeen ſet up in divers faſhions, ſome adorned with Oaken Crowns, as having ſaved his Country, like thoſe wherewith the Citizens formerly honoured thoſe who ſaved their lives, likewiſe by publick Decree they gave him the Titles of Father of his Country, perpetual Dictator, Conſul for ten years, and of Holy and Sacred; and it was enacted, that he ſhould adminiſter Juſtice ſeated on a Throne of Ivory, or of Gold, that he ſhould wear the Triumphal Robe at Sacrifices, that on thoſe days whereon he had gained his principal Victories publick Feaſts and Prayers ſhould be made, and that every five years the Prieſts and Veſtals ſhould offer up Vows for his ſafety; that thoſe who entred into office ſhould ſwear not to oppoſe any of his Orders, and in Honour of his Birth-day they changed the name of the Month which they called *Quintilis*, and named it *July*. It was decreed likewiſe by an Act of the Senate, that Temples ſhould be built to him as to a God, and among others one in common to him and Clemency, where their Statues ſtood hand in hand. Thus by publick Vows they requeſted his Clemency, whoſe Dominion they ſtood in aw of, ſome likewiſe there were who would have called him King, but he forbid it with threats, ſignifying his averſion for a name which could not but be unhappy after the execrations fulminated by the Ancients againſt that Dignity, he likewiſe diſmiſſed from about his perſon the * Pretorian Cohorts, of which he had made uſe during the War, and contented himſelf with the publick Officers. As he gave audience, thus attended in the place, the Senate led by the Conſuls with the ordinary pomp came to preſent him thoſe Edicts before ſpoken of, he gave them every one his hand, but when they came in a Body roſe not from

* Regiment of Guards.

from his Seat, and ſuffered them to ſtand, which gave ſubject of diſcourſe to them who accuſed him of aiming at the Royalty. After having accepted all the other Honours, ſave only the Conſulate for ten years, he deſigned himſelf Conſul for the next year with *Anthony* General of his Horſe, and gave *Anthony* for his Succeſſor in the charge of his Horſe, *Lepidus*, then Governour of *Spain* who had his Lieutenants in that Province. He recalled all Exiles except thoſe who were baniſhed for ſome great crime, and pardoned all thoſe of the contrary Faction, even many who had born Arms againſt him. At the ſame time he gave to ſome Offices for a year, to others Governments of Provinces, or Armies to command, which gave the people occaſion to hope that he would reſtore the Government of the Common-wealth as *Sylla* had done, who was mounted to the ſame power; but thoſe hopes appeared to be ill founded. After all this, one of thoſe who would confirm the rumour ſpread abroad concerning the Royalty, having put upon the Head of one of his Statues a Wreath of Lawrel, interlaced with white Ribbands, and the Tribunes of the People *Marullus* and *Caſetius* having informed themſelves of, diſcovered and impriſoned the Author of the Action, believing thereby to oblige *Cæſar*, who ſeemed to take amiſs the ſpeaking of the name of King, he approved their proceedings, and when in the Aſſembly ſome ſaluting him gave him the Title of King, perceiving the people ſhed tears, he pleaſantly reproved them, by ſaying, *I am not King, but* Cæſar, as if they had miſtaken one name for another; but when *Marullus* iſſued out proceſs againſt thoſe had called him by that name, and cauſed them to be brought before him by the Uſhers as Criminals, he could not brook it, but complained to the Senate of *Marullus* and his Colleagues, who out of malice gave him the reputation of affecting the Tyranny, adding they were worthy of death, but he would be ſatisfied that they were deprived of their Offices, and the quality of Senators. This action confirmed the opinion of all the world, that he was glad to be called ſo, that he might prove by degrees the minds of the people, and at laſt mount to the Monarchy; for it was a crime to have called him a King, and beſides the Office of the Tribunes was hallowed and inviolable, by Oath of the Ancients, and by old Laws, and beſides they ſtayed not till the time of their Magiſtracy (which approached) was expired, which heightened the indignation of all good Men. And as ſoon as he perceived it, he repented himſelf to have exerciſed his power with too much rigour, as ſoon as he beheld himſelf in peace, and as ſome ſay, gave orders to his Friends to govern themſelves with prudence, becauſe his Enemies had already an occaſion to do him hurt; whereupon they asking him if he would not have the Spaniſh Cohorts continually about his perſon, he anſwered that nothing could be more miſerable than to be perpetually guarded, nor any condition of life be more uneaſie: yet all this hindered not the endeavours of thoſe who would have had him take the Title of King. And as he was Spectator at the Lupercal Ceremonies ſeated upon a Throne of Gold in the place for Orations, *Anthony* his Colleague in the Conſulate, running about the City naked, and anointed with Oil (as is the cuſtom for the Prieſts of thoſe Ceremonies) aſcended the place where he ſate, and planted a Diadem on his Head. He laid it down as ſoon as he ſaw how few people applauded the Spectacle; *Anthony* put it on once more, and he took it off the ſecond time. The people looked upon this Debate with ſilence, impatient to ſee what would be the iſſue; but when they at laſt perceived *Cæſar* remained Maſter, the place was filled with Acclamations and Prayers for his Proſperity.

XXXVI. After this, whether he loſt all hopes, or that he grew weary of the purſuit, he quite gave over this deſign to avoid all envy, and that he might leave the City, which he began to grow jealous of, becauſe of his Enemies, or elſe for the better preſervation of his health, never more afflicted with the Falling Sickneſs and ſudden Convulſions than when he lay idle, he reſolved upon a far diſtant Expedition againſt the Getes and the Parthians. The Getes being a people hardened to labour, warlike and almoſt bordering upon the Roman Empire, he reſolved to prevent their attempts: and for the Parthians he deſigned to revenge the Murder of *Craſſus*, which they had committed contrary to their Treaties. He therefore ſent before ſixteen Legions and ten thouſand Horſe which had paſſed the Adriatick Gulf, and forthwith a rumour was ſpread, that there was an Oracle of the Sibyls which declared that the Parthians could not be ſubdued by the Romans, unleſs they were commanded by a King. This made ſome talk publickly that in what concerned the Romans they might all call him Dictator or Emperour or ſome other ſofter name than that of King, but in regard of other Nations taxed under the Roman Empire, there needed no ſcruple be made at the giving him that Title. He having ſtill refuſed it, haſtened all he could to get out of the City where many envied him. But four days before the day appointed for his departure he was ſlain by his Enemies in the Palace, either out of malice to ſee him raiſed to ſuch ſupreme felicity and height of Command, or elſe (as themſelves ſaid) out of a deſire to reſtore the Common-wealth to its firſt Eſtate; for they feared after having overcome theſe other Nations nothing could hinder him from making himſelf King: yet as it appears to me it was only for the name ſake they attempted all things; for in the thing it ſelf there is no difference between Dictator and King. There were two Chiefs of this Conſpiracy, the Son of that *Brutus* whom *Sylla* put to death, *M. Brutus Cepio* who came for refuge to *Cæſar* himſelf after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, and *C. Caſſius* who yielded to him the Galleys in the *Helleſpont*, both of *Pompey*'s Party, and with them was joyned one of *Cæſar*'s moſt intimate Friends *Decimus Brutus Albinus*. He had always treated them honourably, and with great confidence, and when he was going to the War in *Africa*, had given them Armies, and the Government of the Gauls, to *Decimus Brutus* of the Tranſalpine, and to *M. Brutus* of the Ciſalpine: *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were at this time deſigned Prætors, and were in difference for a juriſdiction, which among the Citizens is accounted the moſt honourable of all others, whether they contended out of ambition, or only feigned to do it, leſt their Conſpiracy ſhould be perceived: *Cæſar* was Arbitrator between them, and, as 'tis ſaid, he acknowledged to his Friends that *Caſſius* had reaſon, but yet he would favour *Brutus*, ſo much he loved and honoured him, for all men believed he was his Son, becauſe he viſited *Servilia Cato*'s Siſter at the time ſhe grew with Child of *Brutus*, wherefore 'tis likewiſe ſaid, that in the Battel of *Pharſalia* he gave expreſs order to his Captains to have a great a care as poſſibly they could of *Brutus*'s life. However, whether he were ingrateful, or knew nothing of it, or did not believe it, or that he thought his Mother's incontinence a diſhonour, whether love of liberty made him prefer his Country before his own Father, or being of the ancient race of the *Bruti* who had expelled the Kings, and now pricked forward by the reproaches of the people, who on the Statues of the old *Brutus*, and on this Prætor's Tribunal had ſecretly written ſuch words as theſe, Brutus *thou ſuffereſt thy ſelf to be corrupted with gifts.* Brutus *thou art dead,*

would

would to God thou wert now alive; either thy Succeſſors degenerate, or thou haſt not begot them. He, I ſay, young as he was, chafed by theſe and ſuch like things, engaged himſelf in this Enterprize as an Act worthy his Predeceſſors.

The Diſcourſes concerning the Royalty were not then quite extinct, when juſt as they were going to the Senate *Caſſius* took *Brutus* by the hand, and ſaid, *What ſhall we do if* Cæſar's *Flatterers propoſe to make him King?* To which *Brutus* anſwered, that *He would not be at the Senate.* Whereupon, the other again demanded, *What if they ſummon us as Pretors, what ſhall we do then, my Friend? I will,* ſaid he, *defend my Country, even till death.* Whereupon, *Caſſius* embracing him, ſaid; *And what Perſons of Quality will you take for Companions in ſo brave an Attempt? Do you think there are none but Tavern-People and Artificers that put Writings on your Tribunal? Know that they are the Prime Men of the City, who expect from other Pretors only Plays and Shews; but require their Liberty from you, as the Work of your Predeceſſors.* Thus they diſcovered to each other what they had long had in their thoughts; and began to try their own Friends, and ſome of *Cæſar*'s, according as they knew them capable of good things. They engaged in their Deſign the two Brothers, *Cecilius* and *Bucolianus*, *Rubrius Rex*, *Q. Ligarius*, *M. Spurius*, *Servilius Galba*, *Sextius Naſo*, *Pontius Aquila*: And of *Cæſar*'s Friends they drew to their Conſpiracy *Decimus*, of whom I have already ſpoken; *Caius Caſca*, *Trebonius*, *Attilius Cimber*, *Minutius* and *Baſillus*. When they thought they had Companions enough, for it was not convenient to communicate this Deſign to all the World, they gave their Words one to another without either Oath or Sacrifice, and yet no one changed his mind, or ever diſcovered the Plot. There was nothing now wanting but choice of time and place. The time urged, for within four days *Cæſar* was to depart and take Guards. For the place, they thought the Palace moſt convenient; for they concluded that all the Senators, though they were not made privy to it, yet, ſeeing the Action, would joyfully joyn with them; which, as it is ſaid, happened at the death of *Romulus*, after having changed the Regal Power into Tyranny. Wherefore this Attempt would have the ſame Succeſs with that; eſpecially, being not privily executed, but in the Palace, and for the Good of the Commonwealth. That they needed not to fear any thing from *Cæſar*'s Army, being all compoſed of Roman People; in concluſion, that the Authors of this great Action doing it publickly, could expect nothing but Reward. Having all decreed the Palace for the place of Execution, there were divers Opinions concerning the manner of doing it; ſome being of Opinion they ſhould likewiſe make away *Anthony*, *Cæſar*'s Colleague, the moſt powerful of his Friends, and well beloved of the Soldiery. But *Brutus* oppoſed that; ſaying, That it was only by killing *Cæſar*, who was as a King, that they ought to ſeek for the Glory of deſtroying Tyrants; and that if they killed his Friends too, Men would impute the Action to private Enmity, and the Faction of *Pompey*. This Advice prevailing, they only expected the aſſembling of the Senate. Now the day before *Cæſar* being invited to ſup with *Lepidus*, carried along with him *Decimus Brutus Albinus*: and during Supper the Queſtion being propoſed what Death was beſt for Man; ſome deſiring one kind, and ſome another, he alone preferred the ſuddaineſt and moſt unexpected. Thus divining for himſelf, they fell to diſcourſe of the Morrows Affairs. In the Morning finding himſelf ſomewhat out of Order with the Night's Debauch, and his Wife *Calphurnia* having been frightned with diſmal Dreams, ſhe adviſed him not to go abroad; and in many Sacrifices he made, there were

none

none but affrightful Tokens: He therefore gave order to *Anthony* to diſmiſs the Senate. But *Decimus Brutus* perſwading him that it was more convenient he went himſelf, to avoid the Opinion might be conceived, he did it out of Pride or Scorn, he went to diſmiſs them himſelf, coming to the Palace in his Litter. There were at preſent Plays in *Pompey*'s Theatre, and almoſt all the Senators were at the Windows of the Neighbouring Houſes, as is the Cuſtom in the time of Spectacles. The ſame Morning the Pretors, *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, gave Audience to thoſe made Suit for it, with great tranquillity, in a Gallery before the Theatre. But when they had heard what happened to *Cæſar* in the Sacrifices, and that therefore they deferred the Senate, they were much troubled. One of thoſe that ſtood there having taken *Caſca* by the hand, told him; *You kept it cloſe from me that am your Friend but* Brutus *has told me all.* Whereupon *Caſca* pricked in Conſcience, began to tremble; but the other continuing with a ſmile; *Where then will you raiſe the Money to come to the Edility?* *Caſca* gave him an Account. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* themſelves being talking together, one of the Senators, called *Popilius Læna*, drawing them aſide, ſaid; *I pray God what you have in your hearts may ſucceed happily, but it is fit you make haſte.* At which they were ſo ſurprized, that they gave him no Anſwer. At the ſame time that *Cæſar* went to the Palace in his Litter, one of his Domeſticks who had underſtood ſomething of the Conſpiracy, came to find *Calphurnia*; but without ſaying any thing elſe to her but that he muſt ſpeak with *Cæſar* about Affairs of importance, he ſtayed expecting his Return from the Senate, becauſe he did not know all the Particulars: His Hoſt of *Gnidus* called *Artemidorus* running to the Palace to give him notice of it, came juſt at the moment of his being killed; another, as he ſacrificed before the Gate of the Senate-Houſe, gave him a Note of all the Conſpiracy; but he going in without reading it, it was after his death found in his hands. As he came out of his Litter, *Læna*, the ſame who before had ſpoken to *Caſſius*, came to him, and entertained him a long time in private; which ſtruck a Damp into the Chiefs of the Conſpiracy, the more becauſe their Conference was long: They already began to make ſigns to one another, that they muſt now kill him before he arreſted them; but in the Sequel of the Diſcourſe, obſerving *Læna* to uſe rather the Geſture of a Suppliant than an Accuſer, they deferred it; till in the end, ſeeing him return thanks to *Cæſar*, they took Courage. It is the Cuſtom of the Chief Magiſtrates entring the Palace, firſt to conſult the Divines; and here as well as in the former Sacrifices, *Cæſar*'s firſt Victim was found without a heart, or as ſome ſay without the Chief of the Entrails. The Divine hereupon telling him it was a mortal Sign, he replyed laughing, that when he went to fight againſt *Pompey* in *Spain* he had ſeen the like: and the other having replyed, that then likewiſe he had run hazard of loſing his Life; but that at preſent the Entrails threatned him with greater danger. He commanded they ſhould ſacrifice another Victim, which fore-boding nothing but ill; he fearing to ſeem tedious to the Senate, and being preſſed by his Enemies, whom he thought to be his Friends, without conſidering the danger, entred the Palace; for it was of neceſſity that the Misfortune to befall him, ſhould befal. They left *Trebonius* at the Gate to ſtop *Anthony* under pretence of diſcourſing ſome Buſineſs with him; and as ſoon as *Cæſar* was ſeated, the other Conſpirators ſurrounded him according to Cuſtom, as Friends, having each his Dagger concealed. At the ſame time *Attilius Cimber* ſtanding before him, began to intreat him to grant the Return of his Brother who was in Exile; and upon his Refuſal, under pretence of begging it with more humility, he took him by the Robe; and drawing it to him,

him, hung about his Neck, crying out; *Why do you delay, my Friends.* Thereupon *Caſca* firſt of all reaching over his Head, thought to ſtrike his Dagger into his Throat, but wounded him only in the Breaſt. *Cæſar* having diſengaged himſelf from *Cimber*, and caught hold of *Caſca*'s Hand, leaped from his Seat, and threw himſelf upon *Caſca* with a wonderful force; but being at Handy Gripes with him, another ſtruck his Dagger into his Side, *Caſſius* gave him a Wound in the Face, *Brutus* ſtruck him quite through the Thigh, *Bucolianus* wounded him behind the Head; and he like one enraged, and roaring like a Savage Beaſt, turned ſometimes to one and ſometimes to another; till ſtrength failing him after the Wound received from *Brutus*, he threw the Skirt of his Robe over his Face, and ſuffered himſelf gently to fall before *Pompey*'s Statue. They forbore not to give him many Stabs after he was down, ſo that there were three and twenty Wounds found in his Body. And thoſe that ſlew him were ſo eager, that ſome of them through vehemence, without thinking of it, wounded each other.

XXXVII. After this Murder committed in a Hallowed Place, and on a Sacred Perſon, all the Aſſembly took their Flight, both within the Palace, and without in the City. In the Croud there were ſeveral Senators wounded, and ſome killed: There were ſlain likewiſe other Citizens and Strangers; not with deſign, but without knowing the Authors, as happens in a publick Tumult; for the Gladiators, who were armed in the Morning to give Divertiſement to the People, ran from the Theatre to the Senators Houſes; the Spectators affrighted, diſperſed as faſt as their Legs would carry them, the Commodities expoſed to Sale were made Plunder of, the Gates were ſhut, and many got upon the Roofs of their Houſes to ſecure themſelves from Violence. *Anthony* fortifyed himſelf in his Houſe, judging they had a deſign upon his Life as well as upon *Cæſar*'s: And *Lepidus*, General of the Horſe, hearing upon the place what had paſſed, made haſte to the Iſland in the River, where he had a Legion; which he drew into the Field of *Mars*, that he might be in readineſs to execute the Orders of *Anthony*; for he yielded to him, both in the Quality of *Cæſar*'s Friend and Conſul. The Soldiers would very willingly have revenged *Cæſar*'s death ſo baſely murdered, but that they feared the Senate, who favoured the Murderers, and expected the Iſſue of things. *Cæſar* had no Soldiery with him, for he loved not Guards; but contented himſelf with Uſhers: Beſides, he was accompanied with a great number of People of the Robe, and whole Troops of as well Citizens as Strangers, with Freed Men and Slaves, followed him from his Houſe to the Palace; but in a moment all theſe Crouds were vaniſhed, there remained with him only three unhappy Slaves; who putting him in his Litter, and taking it upon their Shoulders, carried him, who but a little before was Maſter both of Sea and Land. The Conſpirators after the Execution had a mind to have ſaid ſomething in the Senate; but no body ſtaying to hear them, they twiſted their Robes about their left Arms inſtead of Bucklers, and with their bloody Daggers in their Hands, ran through the Streets, crying out, they had ſlain the King and the Tyrant; cauſing to march before them a Man carrying a Cap on the Head of a Pike, which is the Badge of Liberty: they exhorted likewiſe the People to the reſtoring the Commonwealth; putting them in mind of the firſt *Brutus*, and the Oath wherein he had engaged the Citizens, and with them their Poſterity. There were ſeveral others who were not of the Conſpiracy, who took Daggers, and went with them through the City; of the number of which were *Lentulus Spinther*, *Favonius*, *Aquinius*, *Dolobella*, *Murius* and *Petiſcus*; who, inſtead of the

Honour

Honour they expected, received the ſame Puniſhment with thoſe had been guilty; but none of the People joyned with them, which begot in them both trouble and fear. As for the Senate, though all the Senators who knew not of the Plot had in the Tumult taken their Flight, yet they hoped well from them, either becauſe they were Kindred or Friends to moſt of that Order, or becauſe they knew they themſelves had an averſion for the Tyranny; but they had an ill Opinion of the People, and of *Cæſar*'s Soldiers, of whom there were great numbers in the City; ſome newly diſmiſſed, to whom he had given Lands; others diſtributed by Colonies ſome time before, who were returned to follow him: They were likewiſe fearful of *Lepidus*, becauſe he was Maſter of the Legion of the City; and doubted leſt *Anthony*, againſt the Authority of the Senate, ſhould engage the People to deſtroy them. Things being in this poſture, they with the Gladiators ſeized the Capitol; where in their firſt Conſultation it was agreed that they ſhould tempt the People with Gifts; for they hoped that ſome of the People beginning to praiſe the Action, others would follow their Example out of love to Liberty, and deſire to reſtore the Commonwealth; and they imagined that the Roman People were ſtill the ſame as they had heard tell they were in the time of the firſt *Brutus*, who drave out the Kings: but they conſidered not that they deſired two things contradictory, that the ſame People ſhould love Liberty, and let themſelves be corrupted with Gifts; the laſt of which was much eaſier to be hoped for in a Commonwealth long ſince depraved, for the Multitude of the City was mixed with all ſorts of Strangers; the Freed Men lived equal to the other Citizens, the Slave was habited like his Maſter, and except the Habit of the Senators, one Faſhion was uſed indifferently among all the reſt. Moreover, becauſe of the Corn diſtributed to the Poor in the City only, all Loyterers, Beggars, and People unskilful in their Profeſſions throughout all *Italy* flocked to *Rome*: Beſides, there were great numbers of disbanded Soldiers who returned not as formerly every one to his Country; but expecting to be ſent to poſſeſs the Houſes and Lands of others, quartered together by Bands in Temples and Galleries, under only one Colours and one Captain, who was to be their Conductor to their Colony. Theſe People, after having ſold all that they had, to be the lighter to march, were ready to do any thing for Money: So that the Conſpirators had no great difficulty to gather together a multitude in the place. But though they were payed for it, they durſt not praiſe the Action out of the reſpect they bore to the Glory of *Cæſar*, and the fear they ſtood in of the Contrary Party; but as if they had in view the Publick Good, they cryed out for Peace, and demanded it of the Magiſtrates; and by this means they laboured for the ſecurity of the Conſpirators, Peace not being to be had without an Act of Oblivion. Thereupon *Cinna*, allyed to *Cæſar*, and then Pretor, joyns with them: And advancing into the midſt of them, contrary to the expectation of all the World, threw off his Prætor's Robe, deſpiſing it as being given him by a Tyrant: After which he began to declaim againſt *Cæſar*, calling him Tyrant, and thoſe who had ſlain him Tyrannicides; highly praiſing their Action, as parallel to what their Predeceſſors had done; and at the ſame time commanding they ſhould bring from the Capitol thoſe brave People who had ſo well ſerved the Commonwealth, to the end to give them thoſe Rewards they had merited. But whatever Command *Cinna* gave, this Troop ſeeing, the People who had not been corrupted were not there, would not let them be brought, but contented themſelves to continue their Cries in demanding Peace. But when *Dolobella*, a Young Man of great Reputation, whom *Cæſar* ready to depart, had deſigned Conſul for the reſt of the

the Year, being come with his Purple and the Badges of the Conſulate, and had ſpoke after *Cinna* violently and with indignation againſt the Author of his Dignity, pleading hard for the Pardon of a Crime of which he ſaid he would himſelf have been Partaker of, and propoſing (as ſome ſay) to conſecrate that Day as the Day of the Foundation of their City. Then this Aſſembly of Mercenary People took Courage, ſeeing a Pretor and a Conſul ſeemed to Authorize them, and they ſent to tell the Conſpirators they ſhould come down from the Temple. They were glad to hear what *Dolobella* had done, believing they had now at need found a Conſul young, vigorous, and of a good Family, to oppoſe againſt *Anthony*.

Yet only *Caſſius* and *Brutus* came down, the Hand of the laſt all bloody with a Wound he had received from the former when they ſtabbed *Cæſar*. Being come to the Aſſembly, neither one nor the other ſaid any thing mean or low; they praiſed each other for what they had done, as if it had been an Action of Honour by conſent of all the World: They declared that upon it depended the Proſperity of the City, which was this day made happy; gave a glorious Teſtimony of the Prudence of *Decimus Brutus*, who had very opportunely called to them the Gladiators, exhorted the People to imitate their Predeceſſors, who drove out their Kings that had not made themſelves Kings by force as *Cæſar* had, but were lawfully elected; and adviſed them to ſend for *Pompey*, the Son of the great *Pompey*, Defender of the Commonwealth, againſt whom *Cæſar*'s Party yet made War in *Spain*; and that they ſhould order the Return of *Cæſetius* and *Marullus*, Tribunes of the People, whom *Cæſar* had interdicted their Offices, and ſent into Baniſhment, where they ſtill remained. Having ſpoken to this purpoſe, they again went up to the Capitol, for they durſt not confide in this Multitude. But their Servants and Relations being already permitted to go and come to and from the Temple, they choſe ſome whom they deputed to *Lepidus* and *Anthony*, to entreat them to make Peace, to maintain Liberty, and ſecure their Country from the Miſeries attend on Diſcord. To obtain this, the Deputies praiſed not the Action (for they durſt not, ſpeaking to *Cæſar*'s Friends) but they ſaid, that in their judgments it ought to be born with; that thoſe had done it were worthy of Pardon, having undertaken it not out of any hate they bore him, but love to their Country. That the Condition of the City was deplorable, if being almoſt depopulated by the Seditions wherewith it had a long time been afflicted, they would not ſpare thoſe few good Citizens left. That it was extremely unjuſt to run the Commonwealth in hazard of utter Ruin for particular Enmities; and that inſtead of laying hold of this Occaſion to gratifie their Hatred, they ought to ſacrifice to the good of the Eſtate all the Offences they might poſſibly have received. *Anthony* and *Lepidus* wanted not Will to revenge *Cæſar*'s death, but they were fearful of the Kindred and Friends of the Conſpirators, and the Affection the Senate bore them; and above all, of *Decimus Brutus*, who with an Army held the Neighbouring *Gaul*, of which *Cæſar* had given him the Government: Wherefore they thought it more expedient to wait for a more favourable Opportunity, and in the mean time try all ways they could to draw *Decimus* Army, already well wearied, to their Party. So *Anthony* anſwered them in theſe Terms. XXXVIII.

The Oration of *Anthony*.

IT is no particular Hate makes us act, but only the blackneſs of the Action: Beſides, having promiſed to Cæſar *upon Oath we would guard him, or revenge all Attempts ſhould be made againſt his Perſon, Religion requires, that thoſe who are ſullied with the Crime of his Death ſhould be driven from among us; and that we ſhould rather live few and innocent, than draw upon our ſelves a Curſe by leaving this Attempt unpuniſhed. Notwithſtanding, ſince you deſire it, let us aſſemble in the Palace; and what ſhall be reſolved by a common Deliberation for the good of the City, let it be executed.*

Having made them this Anſwer, they thanked them, and returned with great hopes all things would ſucceed to their ſatisfaction, for they promiſed themſelves the Senate would heartily eſpouſe their Intereſt. But *Anthony* commanded the Magiſtrates to keep Watch by Night in the City, and to take by turns their Seat in the Tribunal as in Broad Day; having to that purpoſe given Orders to kindle Fires in all the Streets. The Friends of the Conſpirators ran all Night from Houſe to Houſe to ſolicite the Senators to be favourable to them, and to watch for the Good of their Country. On the other ſide, the Chiefs of the Soldiers deſtined for the Colonies ran up and down alſo, making ſtrange threats if they did not ſend them to the Lands already given them, and thoſe that were farther promiſed them. Moreover, the Citizens who would not be corrupted, hearing of the ſmall number of the Conſpirators, took heart; and calling to mind the excellent Qualities of *Cæſar*, could not agree with the others. The ſame Night *Cæſar*'s Treaſure and Writings were brought to *Anthony*'s, either at *Calphurnia*'s deſire for their greater ſecurity, or that *Anthony* commanded it. As ſoon as it was Day, the Senate was called by Order of the Conſul in the Temple of * *The Earth*, which was near to his Houſe; for he durſt not go to the Palace becauſe it was under the Capitol, whither the Conſpirators were retired with the Gladiators; nor would trouble the City by making the Army enter, which yet *Lepidus* brought in. At Break of Day came with the other Senators to the Temple of *The Earth Cinna*, having reſumed the ſame Habit which the Day before he had caſt away, as given him by a Tyrant: Some of the Citizens who had born Arms under *Cæſar* perceiving him, enraged that he who was his Kinſman had been the firſt who had blemiſhed his Reputation by a malicious Speech, began to throw Stones at him; and having forced him to ſhelter himſelf in a certain Houſe, brought Wood round about it to burn him in it, if *Lepidus*, coming in with the Army, had not hindred it; which raiſed the Spirits of *Cæſar*'s Party, and appalled the Mercenaries and Conſpirators.

* Terra.

XXXIX. In the Senate all diſintereſſed Perſons condemned the Action, but the greater part took divers ways to oblige the Conſpirators; and were of Opinion that before any thing elſe were done, they ſhould come and take their places in the Aſſembly, having acted fairly, to the end, that from Accuſed, they might become Judges: Which *Anthony* did not oppoſe, knowing well there was no likelihood of their coming, as indeed they did not. To try then

then the inclination of the Senate, ſome with vehemence praiſed the Action, giving to thoſe had done it the Title of Tyrannicides, and voting them rewards; others without ſpeaking of reward, which indeed they themſelves demanded not, were of advice only thanks ſhould be given them, as having done by it good ſervice to the Common-wealth, and others quite cutting off the Complements, ſaid, that what they had done was pardonable. Thus they argued, to ſee on which ſide the Senate leaned, that they might better propoſe the reſt. Thereupon the honeſteſt and beſt men having deteſted the Aſſaſſinate as an execrable crime, yet ſaid, that they would not hinder, but in conſideration of the Families of the Guilty, which were of the beſt of the City, they ſhould be granted impunity, but they could never ſuffer them to be honoured, as having well ſerved the State: others on the contrary ſaid, they ought to be granted all other things, with the ſecurity of their perſons. Some one having thereupon ſaid, that the Honour done to them would defame *Cæſar*: another replyed, that they ſhould rather conſider the living than the dead; whereupon another reſolutely affirming that they muſt declare *Cæſar* Tyrant, or give them their lives out of pure Grace, all the reſt holding to this point required the queſtion to be put what judgment they were to make of *Cæſar*. After having firſt every man ſwore they would ſincerely ſpeak their thoughts, without reſpect to former Oaths, which neceſſity had forced from them; for ſince he became Maſter of the Common-wealth they had loſt their liberty, and only ſpoke in fear, leſt they ſhould periſh like *Pompey* and a thouſand others. *Anthony*, who obſerved them, conceived preſently their imaginations, and judging that in this matter many true things might be ſaid that would cumber and perplex him, thought it beſt to divert them from this deſign, by making them believe they acted againſt themſelves; wherefore knowing that the greateſt part of thoſe who talked in this manner had received their Patents and Commiſſions for Magiſtracies, and Government of Armies from *Cæſar* himſelf; (for being deſigned upon a very long Expedition, he had diſpoſed of all Dignities for five years) he commanded ſilence as Conſul, and then ſpoke to this effect:

The Oration of *Anthony*.

IT's neceſſary thoſe who purpoſe to adviſe any thing concerning Cæſar, *ſhould know, that if he have governed the Common-wealth as a lawful Magiſtrate, all he has done ought to be approved: but if he have reigned as a Tyrant; his Body is to be thrown into the common Sewer, and all he has done revoked: Now (to ſay all in a word) the whole Univerſe is concerned in what he has enacted: nay, ſome things he has done, which though we would, it were not poſſible for us to diſannul, which I will let you fully underſtand in the ſequel of this diſcourſe. At preſent I will only in the firſt place put the queſtion to you concerning things that are in our power, and which concern our ſelves alone, from whence you may give an eaſie conjecture what order is to be obſerved in Affairs of more difficulty. Almoſt all of us here preſent have exerciſed or do exerciſe Offices, to which we have been nominated by* Cæſar; *and ſome there are deſigned by himſelf to poſſeſs them for the future; for you know that he has for five years diſpoſed of all the annual Dignities of the City, the Governments of Provinces, and Command of Armies, if you will all voluntarily lay them down,*

that is in your power, therefore let us first of all consult of that, and then I will speak what remains.

Having by these words let them know, that they ought rather to think of themselves than of *Cæsar*, he was silent, and at the same time they all began to cry out with one voice, rising up from their Seats, That there was no necessity of giving the people the trouble of calling new Assemblies, for the nomination of Magistrates, and that it was much better, every one should hold the Dignities they had already accepted. Many were the more vehement in this, because they could promise themselves nothing from the Assembly, being under age, among whom the Consul *Dolobella* himself was the principal, for being yet but five and twenty years of age, he could not obtain the Consulate without violating the Laws. So the precedent inclinations of the day were changed in a moment, many crying out aloud that it would be a shameful thing, if to favour Murderers, and render their impunity more glorious, Magistrates should be deprived of their Dignities: others on the contrary endeavoured to perswade *Dolobella* and the rest, that they might hope for all things from the people, who would name them to the same Dignities, and that there would be no change of the persons designed, but only the form of Assemblies lawfully held, instead of those overawed by the tyranny, besides it would be more honourable for them not to be esteemed less worthy those Honours, after the restoring the Common-wealth, than under the Monarchy. As soon as they heard these Discourses, some Prætors depos'd their Ornaments, and the marks of their Dignities on the Benches of the Authors of this opinion, in hopes to receive them more legitimately with the others, but the greater part being doubtful of the snare, believed, if they once let go what they had in their hands, they should never catch it again.

XL. Mean while *Anthony* and *Lepidus* went out of the Senate into the place where some were assembled, and demanded their presence; when they saw them coming from above, they began to cry out in confusion, and after, with much trouble, they were silenced, one of them, whether of his own motion, or suborned, cryed out, that they should prevent the Cities falling into the like calamities which they had formerly suffered. Then *Anthony* opening his Robe, shewed his Corslet underneath to incense the multitude, as if the life of the Consul himself were not secure without Arms. Thereupon some crying out, that the crime ought to be punished, and others demanding pardon for the guilty, and peace: he said to these, *As for peace, we will consider of the ways to make it so that it may last; for it is very hard to find securities for it, since the Oaths made to* Cæsar, *and those with execrations against those that violated them, were in vain.* Then turning himself to those required vengeance for this Murder, having praised them as the more religious observers of Faith and Piety, he added these words, *I would put my self at the head of you, and first of all my self cry the same thing if I were not Consul, but my charge obliges me to do not so much what is just, as what is advantageous to the Common-wealth; for so it is ordained by all those in the Palace, though that has been the loss of* Cæsar, *who pardoning those he had overcome in favour of the publick Good, has been murdered by themselves.* After these artificial Discourses made by *Anthony* to each Party, those who were for revenging the Murder, would have *Lepidus* undertake to execute the vengeance; and when he began to speak to them, the multitude who were

were too far off, cryed out, that he ſhould come down unto the middle of the place, that the people might more eaſily hear him; whereupon thinking there might be ſome change in the minds of the people, he came to the Tribunal for Orations, where with tears in his eyes, he before all the world deplored the misfortune arrived to *Cæſar*; and in the end added, *I was yeſterday with* Cæſar *in this very place, where to day I am forced to demand your opinion of his death, what would you have me do!* To which many crying out, *Let him be revenged.* The Mercenaries on the contrary cryed out, *Peace.* To whom he anſwered, *We would with all our hearts; but what peace can we make? or upon what Oaths can it be ſecured, ſince there are none ſo ſacred by which we have not ſworn to* Cæſar, *and yet they have all been violated by thoſe whom we thought good Men?* Then turning to the others; *Our* Cæſar (ſaid he) *is dead, that perſon truly ſacred, that adorable Man, and we are fearful his death will cauſe ſome great misfortune to the Common-wealth, but the Fathers will conſider of it, and the moſt part of them are of advice to take order in it.* Whereupon they began again to cry, *Do you alone do that. I would,* ſaid he, *and can alone undertake it, but it is not ſufficient that you and I would or do undertake it alone.* Upon theſe artificial conteſts, the Mercenaries knowing him inflamed with ambition, praiſed him, and offered him the High Prieſthood of *Cæſar*, which he liſtened to with much joy, and told them, *Remember what you offer me another time if you thing me worthy of it.* The hopes he conceived of this Prieſthood having given him the boldneſs to ask with more inſtance for peace, he told them, *Though reaſon and Juſtice forbid it, I will do what you deſire.* After which words he returned with ſpeed to the Palace, where in the interim *Dolobella* had ſhamefully conſumed all that time in endeavouring to have himſelf confirmed in the Conſulate. *Anthony* who expected what the people would do, beheld that with deriſion; and becauſe there was great difference of opinion, contented himſelf to be a Spectator; in the end ſeeing the people were not heated with all theſe things, he reſolved to conſent to the impunity of the Conſpirators, becauſe indeed he ſaw himſelf conſtrained to it, yet diſſembling the neceſſity, he let them underſtand, that in ſparing their lives he did them a great favour; and as to what concerned *Cæſar*, he undertook to cauſe all he had done to be ratified and confirmed by Decree. So commanding ſilence he began to ſpeak in this manner:

The Oration of *Anthony.*

WHilſt you debated, Gentlemen, about the crime committed by our Citizens; I gave you nothing of my opinion, and when you put it to the queſtion, and took votes concerning Cæſar; *I propoſed you but one thing of all he had done, which extremely perplexed you, and not without reaſon, for if we lay down our charges, we tacitly confeſs that we and ſo many great men are unworthy. Let us now conſider the other things, which it is not eaſie to expreſs. In ſo great a number of Cities, Provinces, Kings and Potentates (for almoſt all the people which* Cæſar *has ſubdued by his valour and his Forces from the Eaſt to the Weſt have received his Laws, and are obliged to his liberality and favour.) Can you believe any of them will ſuffer what they poſſeſs to be taken away, at any leſs rate than blowing up the Flames of War in all parts? you who think it it convenient to ſave wicked men becauſe the Common-wealth is weak*

and

and impotent. I will not ſpeak of people far diſtant, whom fear hath hitherto kept within the bounds of duty. Regard not only our Neighbours, but thoſe who dwell among us in Italy, *thoſe old Soldiers who have received from* Cæſar *the reward of thoſe Victories for which they expoſed their lives. They are ſtill in Bodies, and armed, and there are many thouſands of them in the City: what think you they would do, if what was given be taken from them? Will they wait for other Colonies and other Lands? You may conjecture by what you ſaw laſt night; for as you went through the City to ſolicite for the guilty, you know how they threatened you: think you they will ſtand quietly, and ſee* Cæſar's *Body unworthily dragged, and thrown into the common Sewer (for the Laws enact that Tyrants ſhould be ſo treated) do you think it would not move them who have fought under him? or that they can hope you will let them enjoy the rewards of thoſe Victories they have gained againſt the Gauls and Britains, whilſt with the extremeſt of infamy you treat him from whom they hold them? What will the people of* Rome? *what will all the people of* Italy *do? will you not draw upon your own heads the hatred and indignation of men and gods, if you condemn to that puniſhment him who has extended the bounds of your Empire from the Ocean to Nations before unknown? Will not all the world ſay we are unjuſt Judges, if we decree rewards for thoſe, who in the Palace, in a hallowed place, in full Senate, being Senators themſelves, murdered a Conſul, a ſacred perſon, and defame him, who for his Virtue his very Enemies have in veneration: wherefore let me counſel you not to think of theſe things, which are neither juſt nor poſſible; and as my opinion I declare it, that we ought to ratifie all that* Cæſar *has done and ordained, and not approve the action of thoſe who ſlew him; for that is neither juſt nor reaſonable, and cannot be done with cancelling all he had done; notwithſtanding if you think good, let their lives be ſaved out of pure grace for the ſake of their Kindred and Friends, upon condition they acknowledge the obligation.*

After theſe words of *Antonies*, there was great conteſt in the Senate, and in the end it was agreed by the conſent of all the Senatours, that there ſhould be no proſecution of *Cæſar*'s death, and that all that he had done ſhould be approved for the good of the Publick, which words were added by the Conſpirators Friends for their greater ſecurity. *Anthony* himſelf not contradicting it, as if he approved it, rather for the common Quiet than out of Juſtice. Hereupon thoſe poſſeſſed of Charges, began to demand mention ſhould be made of them as well as of the publick intereſt, and they confirmed in their Dignities, to which *Anthony* likewiſe conſented, letting the Fathers know he did it for fear, and to this Decree was added another, concerning the Colonies.

XLI. The Senate being riſen, ſome gathered about *L. Piſo* in whoſe hands *Cæſar* had depoſited his laſt Will and Teſtament, to deſire him not to produce it, nor to make any publick Funerals, leſt that ſhould occaſion new Tumults, which when they could not obtain, they threatened to ſummon him to Judgment, becauſe he thereby fruſtrated the Publick of a great eſtate which ought to be brought to the Treaſury, and ſomething they ſaid concerning Tyranny, whereupon *Piſo* called out as loud as he could, beſeeching the Conſuls to reaſſemble the Senate, who were not yet ſeparated, and then he told them:

The

The Oration of *Piſo.*

THoſe who boaſt they have ſlain a Tyrant, treat us like Tyrants themſelves, and we have many inſtead of one. They forbid us the burying of a High Prieſt, they threaten thoſe entruſted with his Will, they ſay his Goods ought to be confiſcated, as if he had been a Tyrant, they would have what he has done ratified as far as it reſpects them; but where it concerns himſelf they would diſannul it; and 'tis not Brutus *and* Caſſius *who do this, but thoſe who ſtirred them up to commit this murder. Do you conſult concerning his Funerals; and for his Will I will take care, and never abuſe the truſt repoſed in me, unleſs ſome one kill me too.*

Theſe words raiſed a Tumult and Indignation, eſpecially in the minds of thoſe who hoped to have ſome advantage to themſelves by the Will. It was therefore agreed the Will ſhould be publiſhed, and publick Funerals ſolemnized; and ſo the Senate parted. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* underſtanding what had paſſed, ſent to invite the people to come up to the Capitol, where a great multitude being aſſembled, *Brutus* ſpoke in theſe terms:

The Oration of *Brutus.*

IF we ſpeak to you now here, who ſpoke to you yeſterday in the place, 'tis not that we have taken refuge as in a Temple; for we are not Criminals, nor as in a Fortreſs; we deliver our ſelves into your hands, but what unlooked for happened to Cinna *againſt all reaſon, has forced us to retire, and becauſe our Enemies calumniouſly accuſe us, of having violated our Faith, and troubled the Peace. I ſhall be well pleaſed to plead our cauſe before you: you I ſay with whom we hope for the future to confer about all the affairs of the Common-wealth. After that* Cæſar *upon his return from* Gaul *entred armed into his Country, and* Pompey *who loved the Common-wealth had been treated as you all know, and after a great multitude of good Citizens retired into* Africa *and* Spain *were periſhed, the tyranny being eſtabliſhed, he would, and not without reaſon, for his own ſecurity have us ſwear to forget what was paſſed, and if he would have conſtrained us to promiſe upon oath not only to blot out of our remembrance the injuries we had received, but likewiſe to live under him in perpetual ſervitude, what would not then thoſe have done who ſought our deſtruction? But I believe for my part there is no true Roman who would not chuſe rather to die an hundred times than oblige himſelf by oath to ſervitude. If then* Cæſar *attempted nothing againſt our liberty, we are perjured; but if he has left to us neither the diſpoſition of Offices in the City, nor of Governments of Provinces, nor Command of Armies, nor Colonies, nor any other Honours; but that* Cæſar *alone diſpoſed all theſe things without ſo much as ſpeaking a word to the Senate, or asking the conſent of the people, where is that liberty of which we had not ſo much as the hopes left? for could we think he would be weary of our ſervitude, or would imitate* Sylla, *who after being revenged of his Enemies, reſtored to you the adminiſtration of the Common-wealth, he who undertaking ſo long an Expedition, anticipated*

pated for five years the assembly for election of Magistrates? What shall I say of the Tribunes of the people, Cæsetius *and* Marullus? *did he not shamefully drive away those Magistrates holy and inviolable? The Laws and Oath of our Fathers permit not the Tribunes of the people to be brought to judgment so long as they are in Office, but* Cæsar *has judged them, has banished them; who then, he or we, have violated the reverence due to persons holy and sacred? unless possibly* Cæsar *was hallowed and inviolable, he whom by violence, after the oppression of his Country and the death of so many great Men, we honoured with that Title, and the power of the Tribunes be not hallowed and inviolable, after that our Fathers when the Common-wealth was free, voluntarily swore them so, and pronounced execrations against their posterity if they violated it. Whither was the wealth and riches of the Empire brought? to whom did the Receivers give their Accounts? who broke up the Treasury against our will? who laid hands on a Fond never any before durst touch? and who threatened a Tribune with death that opposed it? But say they upon what Oaths can we be assured the peace now to be made shall not be violated? I will answer them, that if no person be a a Tyrant, there needs no Oaths, and our Predecessors never took any. But if any one aspire to the Tyranny the Romans ought not to observe either Faith or Religion with Tyrants. We tell you all these things in the midst of our present danger, and will never cease to speak them for the publick Good; for when* Cæsar *conferred on me all imaginable Honours, I always preferred my Country before my own proper Glory. They slander us about the Colonies to incense you; but if there be any here who have taken possession of Lands already assigned to them, or are ready to go, let them do me the favour to make themselves known to me.*

Thereupon many having made a Sign.

*You have done well, (*said he*) to come hither with the other Citizens; and surely it is but just that you do participate, and so are willing to participate equally of the Honours of the City, you testifie likewise the affection you bear your Country. The Roman People gave you to* Cæsar *to bear Arms in* Gaul *and* Britain, *having served him well you have merited Honours and Military Rewards; but he after having exacted an Oath from you, led you whether you would or no, both against the City, and against the most eminent Citizens in* Africa; *possibly you are ashamed to demand a salary for the services you have done in these last Wars; but because neither envy, time, nor oblivion can blot out those noble Actions you did in* Gaul *and* Britain, *you are sure to receive those rewards the people of* Rome *do customarily give their Soldiers. But they for that end never robbed innocent people, nor divided others Goods to those that served them; but when they had overcome their Enemies, seised not of all their Country, but a part of their Lands, whither they sent the Veterans to inhabit, and to keep the subdued people in awe; and if the conquered Country were not sufficient, they added some of the Publicks Lands, or bought with the publick Money. Thus the People of* Rome *formerly gave Lands without doing injury to any person. But* Sylla *and* Cæsar *having seised the Soveraign Power by violence and Arms, and standing in need of Guards and Armies against their Country, have not sent you every one to his own dwelling, nor bought your Lands, nor divided among you those they have conquered, nor given the ancient possessors some Money to comfort them, though they had such store which they either took out of the Treasury, or received for Confiscations. But they send you into* Italy *it self, where they had received no offence, ravishing away from the ancient Possessors (like Thieves, and not like Conquerours) their Lands, their Houses, their Sepulchres,*

their

their Temples, of which we deprive not vanquiſhed Strangers, contenting our ſelves with the Tenth of their Fruits. But they have divided among you the Lands of your own Nation, who have born Arms with you under Cæſar *himſelf againſt the Gauls, and offered Vows for the happy Succeſs of the Expedition; and againſt theſe they have led you, marching in Battel, with Enſigns diſplayed, as to a War: And indeed you cannot live in Peace, nor abide in Safety with thoſe who have been forced to give up their Lands; for he that is driven out and deſpoiled of his Eſtate ſtudies your Deſtruction, and only waits an opportunity. So the Principal Deſigns of the Tyrants was not that you ſhould have Lands, for that they might have done by other ways; but that having always Enemies ready to fall upon you, you might be firm Props to their Power, to which your Fortunes were faſt bound, ſince Tyrants have no Guards more faithful than the Companions of of their Crimes and their Fears; and to theſe, Good Gods! they have given the name of Colonies; that is indeed, the Oppreſſion of our Compatriots, and the Ruin of an infinite of innocent Perſons, whom with deſign they have made your Enemies for their private Advantage. For our parts, to whom thoſe that at preſent govern the Commonwealth ſay, they will give us our Lives out of pure Grace, our intention is, and always ſhall be, that you be confirmed in the Poſſeſſion of your Lands. We take God to witneſs, that as you do enjoy them you ſhall enjoy them, and that no Perſon ſhall take them from you; neither* Brutus *nor* Caſſius, *nor all them have hazarded their Lives for your Liberty. There is yet in this buſineſs one Difficulty, to which we will apply a Remedy which ſhall ſecure your Peace with your Compatriots, and which you ſhall underſtand with joy. We will give Order as ſoon as may be that the Ancient Poſſeſſors ſhall be payed the Purchaſe of their Lands out of the Publick Moneys, that you for the future may poſſeſs them, not only without Contradiction, but likewiſe with Security of your Perſons..*

All the World, both during the Aſſembly, and after they were all withdrawn, approved what *Brutus* ſaid as perfectly juſt; and admired theſe Men, ſo undaunted and ſo zealous for their Country. Thus having gained the Affection of the People, the Affair was adjourned till the Morrow. As ſoon as ever it was Day the Conſul publiſhed the Aſſembly, where the Decree of the Senate was read; whereupon *Cicero* made an Excellent Diſcourſe in praiſe of the Amneſty, which the People hearkened to with pleaſure, and forthwith demanded that thoſe retired to the Capitol might come down; but they refuſed to come till they gave them Hoſtages: ſo they ſent *Anthony*'s and *Lepidus* Children. Their Arrival raiſed a General Acclamation and Applauſe: and when the Conſuls would have ſpoke ſomething, the People would not hear them before they were reconciled, and had embraced each other: which was done, but begot in the Conſuls great fears and jealouſies that thoſe Men would for the future have more Power in the City than they. After this, *Cæſar*'s Will being brought, the People would have it immediately read: Where they found that he had adopted for his Son *Octavius*, born of his Siſters Daughter; given his Gardens to the People, and left to every Roman Citizen ſeventy five Attick Drams. Hereupon the People entred into Fury, underſtanding that he whom they had but now treated as a Tyrant, had an Affection for his Country: But above all, they looked upon it as a thing worthy of Compaſſion to conſider that *Decimus Brutus*, one of his Murderers, was nominated his Heir by Subſtitution; for it is the cuſtom of the Romans to nominate a ſecond Heir in caſe the firſt cannot be. It ſtruck all the World with horror, that *Decimus*, the ſubſtituted Heir of *Cæſar*, had attempted his life. But after that *Piſo* had cauſed the Body to be brought to the Place, there ran to guard it a great number of Perſons in Arms; who XLII.

with an Extraordinary Magnificence, and General Acclamation, placed it before the Tribunal. Then the Lamentations and Tears were universal. The Soldiers made a great noise with their Arms, and by little and little the whole World began to repent them of the Amnesty. *Anthony* perceiving that, lost not the Opportunity: And because he was obliged by the Duty of his Office to make his Funeral Oration as he was a Consul, being Consul himself, and his Friend and Kinsman, (for there was an Alliance between them) with his usual Artifices he spoke in this manner.

The Oration of *Anthony*.

IT is not just, Gentlemen, that I alone should undertake the Funeral-Praises of this Great Man; it were fitter his Country did declare them: Therefore I will only with the Voice of the Republick, and not my own, make Recital of those Honours which whilst he was living the Senate and People of Rome *conferred upon him for his Virtue.*

Having said these words, he began with a sad and sorrowful Countenance the Recital of *Cæsar*'s Glorious Titles; pronouncing every thing distinctly, and stopping more particularly at those whereby they had made him more than Man, by the Qualities of Sacred and Inviolable, Father of his Country, Benefactor, Prince, and many others which till that time had never been given to any Person. At every word turning himself towards the Body, and animating his Speech by his Gesture; and when he pronounced any one of those Titles, adding some intermingled Terms of Grief and Indignation: as when he recited the Decree of the Senate, calling him Father of his Country. *See there*, said he, *the Testimony of your Acknowledgments.* And in pronouncing these words, Holy, Sacred, Inviolable, and the Refuge of the Miserable, he added; *Never any that fled to him for Refuge, perished; but he himself is murdered, though made Holy and Sacred by our Decrees, without having exacted those Qualities from us, or ever desired them; and surely we are in a shameful Slavery if we give those Titles to unworthy Persons that never ask them from us. But, Oh, faithful Citizens! you purge your selves well from this Reproach by the Honours you now pay his Memory.* After this, reciting the Act of the Oath, by which they were all obliged to guard the Person of *Cæsar*, and to employ all their Forces so, that if any attempted his Person, whoever exposed not his Life for his Defence should be execrable, he raised his Voice; and extending his Hands towards the Capitol: *Oh* Jupiter! *Protector of my Country!* said he, *behold me here ready to revenge, as I have sworn: and since it is a thing resolved by the Judgment of all good Men, I beseech thee, with all other Gods to be favourable to me.* A Tumult hereupon arising among the Senators, who believed these words to be manifestly addressed to them. *Anthony* to appease them changed his Discourse, and said: *But Gentlemen, this Accident must rather be attributed to some God, than to Men; and we ought rather to provide against the present Necessities than speak of things past, since we are threatned with extreme Misery for the future, and are upon the Point of falling again into our Antient Seditions, and the seeing all the Nobility of the City perish. Let us then conduct this Sacred Person among the Gods, solemnly in mournful Elegies singing his Praises.* After having said these words, he

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tucked up his Robe as if he had been poſſeſſed with ſome Spirit; and girding it about him that he might have his Hands more at liberty, he went and placed himſelf near the Bed where the Corps lay, upon an Eminent Place; and opening the Curtain, and looking in, he began to ſing his Praiſes, as of a Celeſtial Divinity: And the better to make him be believed to be of that Race, he lifted his Hands to Heaven; reciting even to the loſs of breath, his Wars, his Combats, his Victories, the Nations he had ſubdued, the Spoils he had brought away; ſpeaking of every thing as a Miracle; and crying out many times, *Thou alone art he who haſt returned Victorious from ſo many Fights; Thou alone art he who haſt revenged the Country of the Injuries done her for three hundred Years together; and conſtrained People till then indomitable, who alone took and burnt the City, to ask Pardon on their Knees.* Having ſaid theſe things and many more as of a Divine Perſon, he lored his Voice; and in a mournful Tone, with Tears in his Eyes, lamented the unworthy Death of his Friend, begging he might redeem his Life with his own; and at length abandoning himſelf to Grief, he was ſo far tranſported as to diſcover the Body of *Cæſar*, and to ſhew at the top of a Pike his Robe, pierced with the Stabs he had received, and all ſtained with his Blood. And now the People joyned their Lamentations with his, and Compaſſion was ſoon converted into Choler; for when the Conſul ceaſing to ſpeak, they began the mournful Airs, after the manner of the Countrey ſinging his great Actions, and after that his deplorable death, and as if *Cæſar* himſelf had called by name thoſe on whom he had heaped his Favours after having been his Enemies, they heard theſe words which ſeemed addreſſed to the Conſpirators; *Muſt I then Life unto my Murderers give.* The People hereupon entred into fury, conſidering that all the Conſpirators, except *Decimus Brutus*, had been of *Pompey*'s Party; and that *Cæſar*, inſtead of revenging himſelf upon them, had given them Dignities, Governments of Provinces, and Armies to command; and that after that they had conſpired againſt him, and with them *Decimus Brutus*, whom he had loved ſo well to make him his Heir. The multitude being in this ſort moved, and already prepared for Violence, ſome one raiſed up from the Bed the Image of *Cæſar* made in Wax, for the Body could not be ſeen being layed within the Bed; but the Image turning upon a Machine, was viſible to all the World, and every Man might obſerve three and twenty Wounds, as well on the Body as the Face. At this ſad Spectacle the People giving themſelves over to tears, encompaſſed the place where *Cæſar* had been ſlain, and ſet it on fire; ſeeking every where for the Murderers, who were retired. Anger and Grief ſo far tranſporting the Multitude, that ſome meeting *Cinna* Tribune of the People, whom for name ſake they took for *Cinna* the Pretor, who had declaimed againſt *Cæſar*, he in vain told them that they were miſtaken, for they tore him in ſo many pieces, that the leaſt part of him could not be found to give Sepulture to. After this they carried Fire to burn the Houſes of the Conſpirators, but the Reſiſtance of the Domeſticks and the Prayers of the Neighbours prevented them; yet not without threats that they would return again in Arms. On the Morrow the Conſpirators privately departed the City, and the People returned to the bed where *Cæſar* lay, carrying it to the Capitol to bury it in the Temple before the Gods, as already conſecrated; but the Prieſts oppoſing it, they brought it back to the place, and upon the ſame Ground where formerly ſtood the Palace of the Kings, gathering together all the Wood they could, and with the Seats of the place and of all the neighbouring places, raiſing a magnificent Pile, they thereon placed the Body; and ſome one having caſt upon it Crowns and other Military Preſents, they ſet fire to it, and about it

the People ſpent all the Night: They forthwith erected an Altar, and at preſent there is a Temple where *Cæſar* is adored as a God; for after that *Octavius*, his Adopted Son, who changed his Name into that of *Cæſar*, had (following his ſteps) taken upon him the Government of the State, he mightily ſtrengthened and augmented that Monarchy of which he had laid the Foundations, which endures to this day; and to pay him all poſſible Honours, ranked him in the number of the Gods. From this Example it is, that to this day the People give the Title of Gods to their Emperors after their death (if they have neither been Tyrants, nor manifeſtly guilty of great Crimes) they who formerly would not ſuffer them to take the name of King whilſt living.

XLIII. Thus fell *Cæſar* on the Day which the Romans call the * Ides of *March*: an Augur had told him, that day would be fatal to him, but he laughed at it, and the very ſame morning told him jeſting, *The Ides of* March *are come*: to which the other without ſurprize made anſwer, *But not yet gone*. Yet the great Aſſurance of the Augur, nor many other Preſages could not hinder him from going to the Aſſembly; where he was murdered in the fifty ſixth Year of his Age: Happy in all things, Magnificent; and with juſt reaſon comparable to *Alexander*; for they were both beyond meaſure Ambitious, Warlike, ready in the Execution of what they had reſolved, and hardy in Dangers: they ſpared not their Bodies; and in War relyed not ſo much upon their Conduct, as upon their Bravery and good Fortune. The one went a long journey in a Countrey without Water to go to *Hammon*, happily croſſed over the bottom of the Pamphilian Gulf, the Sea being retired, as if his Genius had locked up the Waters: As another time marching in the Champian, it cauſed it to ceaſe from raining. Navigated an unknown Sea: Being in the *Indies*, firſt ſcaled the Walls of a City, and leaped down alone into the midſt of his Enemies, receiving thirteen Wounds; was always Victorious; and whatever War he was engaged in, he ended it in one or two Battels. In *Europe* he ſubdued many Barbarous People, and reduced them under his Obedience; together with the Grecians, a fierce People, and Lovers of Liberty, who never before obeyed any Perſon but *Philip*; who commanded them for ſome time under the Honourable Title of General of the Greeks. He carried his Arms almoſt through all *Aſia* with an incredible Celerity. And to comprize in a word the Happineſs and Power of *Alexander*, all the Countries he ſaw he conquered; and as he was deſigning to conquer the reſt, he died. As for *Cæſar*, paſſing the Ionian Sea in the midſt of Winter, he found it calm as well as the Britiſh Ocean, which he paſſed without any knowledge of it, in a time when his Pilots, driven by Storm againſt the Engliſh Rocks, loſt their Ships: Another time embarking alone by Night in a little Boat, and rowing againſt the Waves, he commanded the Pilot to hoiſt Sail, and rather to conſider the Fortune of *Cæſar* than the Sea. He threw himſelf more than once all alone into the midſt of his Enemies, when his Men were all ſtruck with Panick Fear: And is the only General of the Romans that ever fought thirty times in Pitch'd Battel againſt the Gauls, and ſubdued in *Gaul* forty Nations, before ſo dreadful to the Romans, that in the Law diſpenſing with Prieſts and Old Men from going to the War, the Wars againſt the Gauls are excepted, and the Prieſts and Old Men obliged to bear Arms. Before *Alexandria*, ſeeing himſelf alone incloſed upon a Bridge, he laid down his Purple, threw himſelf into the Sea; and purſued by his Enemies, ſwam a long time under Water, only by Intervals lifting up his head to take breath; till coming near his Ships, he held up his hands, was known

* *The Fifteenth.*

known, and ſo ſaved. For the Civil Wars, which he either undertook out of Fear (as himſelf ſays) or out of Ambition, he had to deal with the greateſt Generals of the Age, fighting at the Head of many great Armies; not Barbarians, but Romans, encouraged by their former Actions, and by their good Fortune: yet he defeated them all; and not one of them, but he ruined in a Fight or two. But we cannot ſay of him as of *Alexander*, that he was never overcome; for he ſuffered once a great loſs againſt the Gauls, under the Conduct of *Triturius* and *Cotta*, his Lieutenants: In *Spain* his Army was ſo near blocked up by *Petreius* and *Afranius*, that he wanted but little of being beſieged: At *Dyrrhachium* and in *Africa* they turned their Backs; and in *Spain*, againſt the young *Pompey*, they fled. But for *Cæſar* himſelf, he was always undaunted; and whatever War he engaged in, came off in the end Victorious: And the Roman Empire which now extends it ſelf by Sea and Land, from the *Euphrates*, to the Atlantick Ocean, was brought under his Power; partly by his Valour, and partly by his Clemency. He ſetled himſelf much better than *Sylla*, and governed himſelf with more moderation; for being King in effect in ſpite of all the World, he took not that name. At laſt, making his Preparations for other Wars, he was ſurprized by death as well as *Alexander*. Their Armies were alſo alike; for the Soldiers of both were chearful in Fight and hardy, but ſtubborn and mutinous when overwrought with Labour. The Deaths of both of them were equally mourned and lamented by their Armies, who attributed to them Divine Honours. They were both well made in Body, and of Noble Aſpects: both deſcended from *Jupiter*; one by *Eacus* and *Hercules*, and the other by *Anchiſes* and *Venus*. Though they were inflexible when reſiſted, they were eaſie to pardon and be reconciled, and likewiſe to do good to ſuch as they had vanquiſhed; contenting themſelves with the Victory. Hitherto the Compariſon is juſt, ſave only that their Beginnings were not equal; for *Alexander* began with the Quality of a King, in which he had been before inſtructed by his Father *Philip*: but *Cæſar* was only a Private Man; and though he were of an Illuſtrious Race, yet his Fortunes were much incumbred. They both deſpiſed the Preſages that threatned them, without injuring thoſe Divines foretold their death: and almoſt the ſame Signs happened to them, and a like Event; for in the Sacrifices made by one and the other twice, they found not the Chief of the Entrails of the Victims; the firſt time they were only threatned with great Danger: *Alexander*'s happened when beſieging the Oxidrakes, being mounted firſt upon the Wall, and the too great weight breaking the Ladders behind him, he beheld himſelf deſerted by his Men, and threw himſelf into the midſt of his Enemies; where having received many Wounds on his Breaſt, and a great blow on the Neck, he was ready to die; when the Macedonians touched with ſhame, broke open the Gates, and relieved him. The like happened to *Cæſar* in *Spain*, in the Fight between him and young *Pompey*; where, ſeeing his Men went on trembling, he advanced betwixt the two Armies, received two hundred Darts on his Buckler; till ſuch time as Fear having given place to Shame, all the Army ran in, and ſecured him from the Danger. Thus the firſt Entrails without the Chief threatned only Danger of Death, but the Second were a certain Preſage of Death it ſelf. *Pythagoras* the Divine after having ſacrificed, ſaid to *Appollodorus*, who feared *Alexander* and *Epheſtion*, that he need fear nothing, for they both ſhould ſhortly die. *Epheſtion* dying ſome time after, *Appollodorus* doubting leſt there might be ſome Conſpiracy formed againſt the King, gave him notice of the Prediction: He only laughed at it; and informing himſelf of *Pythagoras* what thoſe Preſages meant, he told him it

was

was a Sign of Death; whereupon he again laughed, praiſing *Appollodorus*'s love, and the Divine's freedom. As for *Cæſar*, the laſt time he went to the Senate, as we have ſaid a little before, the ſame Preſage preſenting, he ſaid ſmiling, he had ſeen the like in *Spain*: to which the Augur anſwering, that he was then in danger, but now the Sign was mortal, he yielded in ſome meaſure to that Advice, and offered another Sacrifice; but tired with the length of the Ceremonies, entred the Palace, and periſhed. There happened to *Alexander* the ſame thing; for when he returned from the *Indies* to *Babylon* with his Army, being come nigh the City, the Chaldeans counſelled him to defer his Entry; to whom having given this Verſe for Anſwer,

Who promiſes moſt Good's the beſt Divine,

they beſought him at leaſt, that he would not let his Army enter with their Faces to the Weſt; but would fetch a Compaſs, that in entring they might ſee the Riſing Sun and the City. It is ſaid, he would have obeyed them in this; but in marching about he met with a Marſhy Ground, which made him ſlight the ſecond as well as the firſt Advice, ſo that he entred the City with his Face to the Weſt. Some time after embarking upon the *Euphrates*, and going down to the River *Pallacota*, which receives the *Euphrates*, and carries its Waters into Marſhes and Pools which might happen to drown all *Aſſyria*, he reſolved to make a Dam; and it is ſaid, that going down the River he laughed at the Chaldeans, becauſe he had gone into *Babylon* and come out of it again in a Boat without any harm: But Death attended him at his Return from this Voyage. *Cæſar*'s Raillery with the Augur, who told him the Ides of *March* were fatal to him, was much alike; he anſwered him jearing, the Ides were come, and yet he was killed the ſame day. So that herein there was great agreement between them, both in the Preſages they received from the Divines without being offended, their Raillery, and the Event of the Prediction. They were likewiſe great Lovers of the Sciences, as well of their own Country as Strangers. *Alexander* conferred with the *Brachmen*, who are eſteemed the moſt ſubtil and ſagacious of the Indians, as the *Magi* are of the Perſians. *Cæſar* did the like with the Egyptians when he re-eſtabliſhed *Cleopatra* in her Kingdom, which occaſioned him when the Peace was made to reform many things amongſt the Romans; and that after the Example of the Egyptians, he regulated the Year by the Courſe of the Sun, which before was governed by the Moon; and ſo till then were unequal, by reaſon of the Intercalary Days. It happened to him likewiſe, that not one of thoſe who conſpired his Death eſcaped, but were all puniſhed as they deſerved by his Son, and as the Murderers of *Philip* were by *Alexander*; but in what manner, we ſhall relate in the following Books.

The End of the Second Book of the Civil Wars of Rome.

APPIAN

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
ROME.

PART II.

BOOK III.

The Argument of this Book.

I. ANthony *causes* Amatius *who gave himself out to be the Son of* Marius *to be ſlain, which begets him the ill will of the People; whereupon the Senate appoint him Guards.* II. Brutus *and* Caſſius *ſettle their Affairs, and leave the City:* Dolobella *and* Anthony *get the Governments of* Syria

and

and Macedonia *to their prejudice.* III. Octavius *adopted by* Cæsar *comes to* Rome, *and goes to visit* Anthony. IV. *His Speech, and* Anthony's *Answer.* V. Cæsar *finding* Anthony *not well disposed to him, labours to gain the hearts of the People.* Dolobella *goes into* Syria, *and puts to death* Trebonius. VI. Cæsar *and* Anthony *reconciled by the mediation of the Soldiery.* VII. Anthony *having in prejudice of the reconciliation disobliged* Cæsar, *the Officers of his Guards declare their resentment of it.* VIII. Anthony's *Answer to them, and the second reconciliation between him and* Cæsar. IX. *A third Breach between* Cæsar *and* Anthony: *four Macedonian Legions come to* Brundusium *for* Anthony, *and* Cæsar *raises Forces.* X. Anthony's *four Legions mutiny against him, and after being appeased, two of them come over to* Cæsar. XI. *Preparations on one side and the other.* XII. Anthony *being tacitly declared Enemy,* Cicero *gives reasons for it.* XIII. Piso *makes an Oration in favour of* Anthony. XIV. Anthony *declared Enemy, and an Army decreed to* Brutus *and* Cassius, *which discontents* Cæsar, *yet he lends a part of his Forces to the Consuls to help them to raise the Siege of* Modena, *where* Anthony *had incloſed* Decimus Brutus. XV. *After several Engagements before* Modena, Anthony *raises his Siege, and marches over the* Alpes. XVI. Cæsar *will not see* Decimus: *and* Pansa *at the point of death discovers to* Cæsar *the Senates intention to ruine him.* XVII. Cassius *and* Brutus *grow powerful in* Syria *and* Macedon. XVIII. Cæsar *does all he can to oblige* Anthony *to a reconciliation: and in the mean time the Senate nominates Commissioners to call* Anthony *to account.* XIX. Anthony *joyns with* Lepidus, *which terrifies the Senate.* XX. Cæsar *by his Soldiers demands the Consulate, which being refused, he marches towards* Rome, *at which the Senate are so affrighted, that they grant it him.* XXI. *The Senate repenting of their grant, and preparing for defence,* Cæsar *comes to* Rome, *where he is well received, and obtains the Consulate.* XXII. Cæsar *being Consul condemns the Conspirators, reconciles himself with* Anthony; *and* Decimus Brutus *is slain in* Gaul, *and his Head brought to* Anthony.

I. CÆsar the most worthy to reign of all men that ever had lived among the Romans being in this manner slain by his Enemies, the People celebrated his Funerals. But because all those who any way contributed to his dearh were punished, we shall in this and the Book next following treat of the manner how the principal Heads of this Conspiracy perished, and after that conclude the History of these Civil Wars. *Anthony* having lost the good will of the Senate by ministring occasion to the people to violate the indemnity at *Cæsar*'s Funeral Pomp, and being the cause of their running to set on fire the Houses of the Conspirators, regained their good esteem by an action which had respect to the publick Good. There was one *Amasius* who falsly giving himself out to be the Son of *Marius*, had taken his name, and only in consideration of his reporting him to be his Father, was beloved of the People; for by that supposition they thought him a Kinsman of *Cæsar*'s; and indeed he appeared extremely afflicted for his death, erected an Altar in the place where he was burnt, and attended by a Troop of Hectors terrified the Conspirators, of whom the greatest part having left the City, those to whom *Cæsar* had given Governments retired likewise. *Decimus Brutus* to that *Gaul* neighbouring upon *Italy*; *Trebonius* into *Asia*, and *Tullius Cimber* into *Bithynia.* As for *Cassius* and *Brutus*, to whom the Senate bore great affection,

affection, they had been designed by *Cæsar* to command the year following, *Cassius* in *Syria*, and *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, and at present were Prætors in the City. In the present juncture of Affairs they laboured to gain the Soldiers designed for the Colonies, by permitting them among other things to sell their shares, which the Law prohibited them till after twenty years possession. It was reported that *Amatius* had a design against their lives, and waited only for an opportunity to execute it, which being told to *Anthony*, he according to the authority he had by virtue of his charge caused him to be arrested, and with an extraordinary boldness put him to death without any tryal. The Senate were amazed at it, as a violent action, not permitted by their Laws: however, they suffered it, because they saw no other way of security for *Cassius* and *Brutus*; but the companions of *Amatius* and the rest of the people affected with grief for him, and enraged against *Anthony*, that he durst in that manner treat a person whom they loved, thinking they ought not to dissemble it, but gathering together in the place began to cry out, and rail against *Anthony*, requiring the Magistrates to consecrate *Amatius* his Altar, and perform the first Sacrifices to *Cæsar*. And when *Anthony*'s Soldiers would have driven them thence, they grew more tumultuous, making greater noise than before; some of them shewing the Basis from whence they had taken *Cæsar*'s Statues, and one of them cryed out he could likewise shew them the Shop where they were melting down, they presently followed him, and finding it as he said, set fire to the House. Another Party of *Anthony*'s people coming to quench it, some of those Mutineers were slain, and some taken, of whom the Slaves were hanged, and the rest thrown headlong down the Rocks. The Tumult being appeased, that affection people bore to *Anthony* converted into hatred. On the contrary the Senate were well satisfied; for without this, the Conspirators had not been in security of their persons. But when *Anthony* proposed to the Fathers the return of *Sextus Pompey* (Son of that great *Pompey* lamented by all men, against whom *Cæsar*'s Party yet made War in *Spain*) and to give him out of the Treasury fifty Millions of Attick Drams, in recompence of the Goods of his Father which had been confiscate, and to make him Admiral as his Father had been, with power to dispose of all the Roman Fleet as he should think fit; all the Senators were astonished, approved his proposition, and spent the rest of that day in praises of him; for no man had ever appeared so affectionate to the publick Good as the great *Pompey*, nor had been so universally lamented, and 'twas because *Brutus* and *Cassius* had followed him, that all men still honoured them. Wherefore *Cicero* without ceasing praised *Anthony*, and the Senate who were not ignorant that he was hated by the people, permitted him to chuse as a Guard of his person as many as he pleased of the old Soldiers then in the City. He, whether he had before provided for it, or that he gladly made use of the presenting occasion, took such Guards as amounted to six thousand persons; nor did he enlist private Soldiers; for he thought at a pinch he could easily find them elsewhere, but all experienced Officers, whose affection he had gained in the time they had served under *Cæsar*, and the most considerable of these he had made choice of for Tribunes, to whom he shewed Honour and Respect, making them partakers in all things fit to be communicated. The Senate began to grow jealous of his Guards, whether because of their great numbers, or because they were all chosen Men, and advised him to reduce them to a certain number to avoid envy, which he promised to do as soon as the Tumults of the people were appeased. Moreover the Senate and people having approved all that *Cæsar* had done and decreed of this,

Anthony had the Regiſter, which when *Cæſar* had thoughts of departing on his deſigned Expedition he had left with him, with great numbers of Requeſts, on which he had yet made no Order; ſo that *Faberius*, *Cæſar*'s Secretary, being perfectly at his Devotion, he added many things in favour of ſeveral perſons, gave Gratuities to Cities, Potentates, and to his own Guards, as if done by *Cæſar*'s Order, whereas they owed the obligation only to *Anthony*: he likewiſe by the ſame means placed many perſons in the degree of Senators, and performed great quantity of other matters at the Senates requeſt, that he might leſſen the averſion they had to his Guards: ſuch was *Anthony*'s Conduct.

II. As for *Brutus* and *Caſſius* (ſeeing the people and the old Soldiers continued their animoſities againſt them, and imagining ſome other might be found to make an attempt upon their lives, as well as *Amatius*, and being beſides ſenſible of *Anthony*'s malice, who now having nothing to ſtand in fear of, being ſo well guarded, hindred the re-eſtabliſhment of the Common-wealth) they began to provide for their own ſafety: beſides the firm relyance they had in *Decimus Brutus* who was at hand with three Legions, they wrote to *Trebonius* in *Aſia*, and to *Tullius* in *Bithynia*, to raiſe Money with as much ſecreſie as they could, and gave order to ſecure the Soldiery to them, whilſt they put themſelves in a readineſs to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Governments *Cæſar* had commiſſionated them for. But becauſe their due time for departure was not yet come, they judging it indecent to go take poſſeſſion of their Provinces before the time of executing their Charges in the City was expired, and yet had rather ſpend the reſt of the year as private perſons, than exerciſing the Office of Prætors, whilſt neither their perſons were ſecure, nor they honoured according to their deſerts. The Senate, knowing their thoughts, gave them Commiſſion to cauſe Corn to be brought from all parts into the City, till the time limited for their going into their Provinces, which they did, that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* might not ſeem to flie, ſo great care had they of the reputation of thoſe two Men, for whoſe ſake eſpecially they favoured the Party of the Conſpirators. After that the Prætors were gone out of the City to execute their Commiſſion, *Anthony* being thenceforth the only powerful Man, could heartily have wiſhed the Command of a Province with an Army, and eſpecially caſt his eyes upon *Syria*; but underſtanding he ſhould increaſe the jealouſie conceived of him, if he demanded it for himſelf, and that on the other ſide the Senate had gained *Dolobella* his Colleague, with whom he had no fair underſtanding, to oppoſe all his deſigns, he perſwaded *Dolobella*, who was young and ambitious, to demand *Syria*, to the prejudice of *Caſſius*, together with the Army deſtined to War upon the Parthians, and not addreſs himſelf for the obtaining it to the Senate (for that would prove to no purpoſe) but to the people by way of Decree. He gladly embracing the motion, preſently makes his propoſition to the people: whereupon the Senate complaining, that he attempted againſt what *Cæſar* had decreed; he anſwered, That *Cæſar* had not decreed to any perſon the Commiſſion of the War againſt the Parthians; that *Caſſius* to whom he had given *Syria* had firſt thwarted his Decree, by permitting the Soldiers to whom he had given Lands to dwell on, to ſell them without ſtaying the twenty years aſſigned by the Law, that however it would be diſhonourable for him if *Dolobella* ſhould not be preferred before *Caſſius* in the Government of *Syria*. Hereupon the Senate ſuborned *Aſprenas* Tribune of the People to break up the Aſſembly, under pretence of ſome evil Augury, hoping that *Anthony*, who

who was Conſul and Augur, and whom they believed yet an Enemy to *Dolobella*, would joyn with the Tribune: but as ſoon as he declared that there were unhappy preſages (which belonged to anothers Office to do) *Anthony* ſaid that he was a knave, and exhorted the Tribes to give their Votes on *Dolobella*'s propoſition. Thus he obtained the Government of *Syria*, with Commiſſion to make War upon the Parthians with the Legions deſigned by *Cæſar* to that purpoſe, and thoſe already marched into *Macedonia*, and thus at laſt they came to know that *Anthony* and his Colleague underſtood each other. *Dolobella* having obtained theſe things from the people, *Anthony* demanded *Macedon* from the Senate, knowing well that after the grant of *Syria* to the other, *Macedon*, where there was no Army, would not be refuſed him. So he obtained it to the diſcontent of moſt, and general wonder of all the Fathers, that he had ſuffered the Army which was in that Province to be given to *Dolobella*, who however they were much better ſatisfied ſhould have the diſpoſe of it than *Anthony*. Hereupon they took occaſion to demand of *Anthony* other Provinces for *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, which he aſſented to, and gave them *Cyrene* and *Crete*, or as ſome ſay both thoſe were given to *Caſſius*, and *Bithynia* to *Brutus*. Thus went Affairs within the City.

Now *Octavius* Nephew of *Cæſar*, as deſcended from his Siſter, had been III.
by his Uncle created General of the Horſe for one year, after he had made that Dignity annual, to the intent that many of his Friends might enjoy it one after the other. But becauſe he was yet too young, he had ſent him to *Apollonia* a City ſituate on the Coaſts of the Ionian Sea, to ſtudy and learn the Art of War, till ſuch time as he ſhould take him along with him againſt the Parthians. In the mean time ſeveral Cornets of Horſe that were in *Macedon* came by turns to attend him, that he might be the better inſtructed by exerciſing them, and there came likewiſe very often Tribunes and other Officers to pay their reſpects to him in quality of *Cæſar*'s Kinſman, and he receiving all Men with great kindneſs, reſpect and civility, gained to himſelf the hearts of the whole Army. He had been now ſix Months at *Apollonia*, when one Evening news was brought him that *Cæſar* had been ſlain in full Senate by his moſt intimate Friends, who had at that time great power in the City, and becauſe there was none that could give him any farther account, fear ſeized upon him, not knowing whether the Senate had contributed to the action, or whether it were a conſpiracy of particular Men, whether thoſe guilty of it were puniſhed, or whether they were yet living, or laſtly, whether the people had declared for them or no. Hereupon his Roman Friends gave him advice to retire to the Army in *Macedon* for his ſecurity, where, if he underſtood it an attempt of particular perſons, he might take heart and revenge *Cæſar*, and ſome Officers there were, offered to be his Guides, and ſerve him as Guards in the way. But his Mother and *Philip* his Father-in-law wrote to him not to be too preſumptuous, that he ſhould undertake nothing raſhly, but remember that *Cæſar* after having overcome all his Enemies was ſlain by thoſe Friends he had moſt confidence in, that a private condition, at leaſt for ſome time would beſt ſecure him, but that however he ſhould return to *Rome* accompanyed with ſome of his faithful Friends. To them he gave credence, and without knowing what had happened ſince *Cæſar*'s death, bid adieu to the Officers of the Army, and paſſed the Sea. He would not land at *Brunduſium* (becauſe not being ſure of that Garriſon, he was wary of falling into his Enemies hands) but at another little City not far diſtant from *Brunduſium* called

Lupia, where he ſojourned ſome time. There receiving Letters which contained the particulars of the Aſſaſſinate, of the ſorrow wherewith the people had reſented it, of his Will, and the Decree of the Senate, his Friends were of opinion, that he would be obliged ſo much the more to ſtand in fear of *Cæſar*'s Enemies being his Son and Heir, and therefore exhorted him to refuſe the Inheritance and Adoption, but he judging it would be an infamy for him not to revenge *Cæſar*, marched towards *Brunduſium*, having ſent ſome of his people before to diſcover if any of the Aſſaſſines were there in Ambuſcade. But when the Garriſon of the City coming forth to meet him, had received him as *Cæſar*'s Son, he took heart, ſacrificed to the Gods, and forthwith cauſed himſelf to be called *Cæſar*. 'Tis the Roman cuſtom to take with the name of their Family the name of their adoptive Father, but he quite changed his, and inſtead of *Octavius* the Son of *Octavius*, would be called *Cæſar* the Son of *Cæſar*. As ſoon as he had taken this name, the people flocked in from all parts to complement him, not only his Father's Friends, Freed Men and Slaves, but likewiſe the Soldiers who convoyed Proviſions and Money to the Army in *Macedonia*, or which brought to *Brunduſium* Tribute and other Monies levyed in the Provinces. Being therefore encouraged by the concourſe of ſo vaſt a Multitude, by the glorious name of *Cæſar*, and by the affection all Men profeſſed to bear him, he took his way towards the City with a conſiderable Train, which dayly like a Torrent grew greater. So that now he no more feared open force, but took ſo much the more care to ſecure himſelf from ſecret ambuſhes, becauſe he knew not the greateſt part of thoſe that accompanied him. As for the Cities, there were ſome had no great affection for him, but the Veterans or old Soldiers to whom *Cæſar* had lately given Lands ran from the Colonies to offer themſelves to this young Captain. They deplored the death of their Benefactor, declared againſt *Anthony* who had let ſo horrid a crime go unpuniſhed, and proteſted they would be the revengers of it, if he would pleaſe to head them. He praiſed them, exhorted them to preſerve this good will of theirs to another Seaſon, and ſo ſent them home. Being come near to *Terracina* about * four hundred Furlongs from *Rome*, news was brought him, that the Conſuls had taken from *Brutus* and *Caſſius* the Governments of *Syria* and *Macedon*, inſtead of which, and to comfort them they had given them two leſſer, to wit, *Cyrene* and the Iſland of *Crete*; that ſome Exiles were returned to the City; that they had ſent for *Pompey*, made ſome Senators according to *Cæſar*'s Memoirs, with many other matters. When he was arrived at *Rome* he found his Mother and Faher-in-law and all thoſe who had any care of his Affairs in great fear and trouble, becauſe of the Senates averſion for *Cæſar*, the Decree paſt for diſcharging the Murderers from crime, and the pride of *Anthony* now grown powerful in the City, who had neither gone himſelf nor ſent out any to meet the Son of *Cæſar*. He quieted their trouble by telling them he would go himſelf to *Anthony* as the younger to the elder, and as a private perſon to a Conſul, that he would pay his reſpects to the Senate as he was obliged in duty, that as for the Decree it paſſed in a time when no Man oppoſed it, but now that one was found to proſecute, the people would reach forth a ſtrong hand, the Senate would give life to the authority of the Laws, the immortal Gods would ſuſtain the juſtice of his cauſe, and perhaps *Anthony* himſelf would be concerned for it. As for his part he could not refuſe the Inheritance and Adoption, without doing injury to *Cæſar*'s memory, and injuſtice to the Roman People, in not paying what had been left them by his Will, that he had much rather not only hazard himſelf, but

* *Fifty Miles.*

ſuffer

ſuffer death it ſelf, than after having been made choice of by *Cæſar* before all other perſons in the World, ſhew himſelf unworthy of that Great Man's Choice. Then turning to his Mother, he pronounced thoſe words of *Achilles* to *Thetis*.

Oh! let me die, or let my Vengeance yield
Some Satisfaction for my Friend thus kill'd.

He added, that this Diſcourſe had given Immortality to *Achilles*, eſpecially being purſued to Effects; and that for his part *Cæſar* had not only been his Friend but his Father, his Comrade but his Captain; who had not been ſlain in fair War, but wretchedly maſſacred in full Senate. Hereupon his Mother changing her fear into joy, embraced him as alone worthy to be Son to *Cæſar*; and with many powerful expreſſions exhorted him to execute his Reſolutions. However, ſhe adviſed him rather to employ Policy and Patience, than open Violence. *Cæſar* having praiſed her Counſel, and promiſed to follow it, towards the Evening diſmiſſed his Friends, giving them order to meet him next Morning early upon the place with as much Company as they could bring. There he comes up to *Caius*, *Anthony*'s Brother, Pretor of the City, and declared to him that he accepted the Adoption; for it was the Cuſtom among the Romans to have Adoptions authorized by the Pretors. After having cauſed his Declaration to be regiſtred, he went off from the place, to go ſeek out *Anthony*, who was then at *Pompey*'s Gardens, which *Cæſar* had given to him. They let him wait a good while at the Gate, which made him ſuſpect that *Anthony* had no kindneſs for him; but at laſt being entred, there paſſed nothing but civil and obliging words from one to the other: And when *Cæſar* was to diſcourſe of the Buſineſs about which he came, he ſpoke in this manner.

The Oration of *Cæſar*.

" MY Father (for the Affection *Cæſar* had for you, and your Acknow-
" ledgments, oblige me to call you ſo.) I applaud what you have
" done for him, and ſhall ever own the Obligation: But pray give my Grief
" the liberty to tell you, that there are ſome things I cannot approve. Whilſt
" *Cæſar* was murdered you was not there, for his Murderers had ſtopped
" you at the Gate; otherwiſe you had either ſaved his life, or periſhed with
" him: but if your loſs were inevitable, I am glad that you were not there.
" After this, when ſome endeavoured to decree Rewards to the Murderers,
" as if they had ſlain a Tyrant, you generouſly oppoſed it; for which, like-
" wiſe, I am infinitely obliged to you. Though certain it is they had alſo
" reſolved to make a Riddance of you; not as the future Revenger of *Cæſar*'s
" death (which we believe) but (as they ſay) for fear there ſhould remain af-
" ter him a Succeſſor in the Tyranny. Though after the Action theſe People
" who ſaid they had ſlain a Tyrant, being ſenſible they were guilty of Mur-
" der, fled to the Capitol; either as Criminals to ſeek for Refuge in a Sa-
" cred Place, or as Enemies to ſeize upon the Fortreſs. How then could
" they obtain an Amneſty, and a Decree forbidding any Proſecution of Ju-
" ſtice for this Action, unleſs by corrupting with Money ſome of the Senate
" and People? But being Conſul, you ought to have taken care on which

" Part

"Part was the Plurality of Voices; and preſiding in the Senate, had you vo-
"ted againſt them, you had carried it, and reduced to your Opinion thoſe
"who had been deceived. On the Contrary, you delivered to the Murde-
"rers ſome of your own Houſe in Hoſtage, and ſent them to them into the
"Capitol; but I will think you were conſtrained to it by thoſe that were
"ſuborned. Then when after that Noble Funeral-Oration you made, the
"Will being read, the People who yet had *Cæſar* freſh in memory, carry-
"ing Fire to burn his Murderers Houſes, though then forbearing it in fa-
"vour of their Neighbours; when on the Morrow they twice returned to
"Arms, why did not you aſſiſt them? Why did not you head them with
"Sword and Torch in your Hand? Why did you not do Juſtice your ſelf?
"Did you expect other Judgment againſt Publick Criminals? You the
"Friend of *Cæſar*, you Conſul, you *Anthony*, you who could make uſe of the
* Amatius. "Power of your Office to put to death * *Marius*, have let Murderers eſcape:
"Nay, have ſuffered ſome of them to retire into the Provinces, whoſe Go-
"vernments they muſt needs unjuſtly hold, having maſſacred him from
"whom they held them. It is true, that being Conſuls, you and *Dolobella*,
"you have done well to take from them *Syria* and *Macedon*; and certainly
"I had been much obliged to you for it, had you not at the ſame time gran-
"ted them *Cyrene* and *Crete*; giving Governments to Fugitives, to fortifie
"themſelves againſt me. Is it not likewiſe by your conſent that *Decimus*,
"one of the Murderers of my Father, as well as the reſt, holds the hither
"*Gaul*? You may tell me perhaps it is by Decree of the Senate; but you
"have approved it, you ſat as Preſident; you, who more than any Man
"elſe, ought to have oppoſed it, even for your proper Intereſt. Well might
"you, in favour of them, aſſent to their Indempnity and Impunity; but to
"give them Governments and Dignities is to do an injury to *Cæſar*, and
"make a ſcorn of your ſelf. Grief makes me ſay things diſproportionate to
"my Age, and to the reſpect I bear you: But I ſpeak to the moſt aſſured of
"*Cæſar*'s Friends; to him whom he advanced in Honours and Dignities,
"and who poſſibly had at this preſent been his adopted Son, had he known
"you could have reſolved with your ſelf to paſs from the Race of *Hercules*,
"to that of *Æneas*; that was his only doubt when he thought of making
"choice of a Succeſſor. I beſeech you therefore, *Anthony*, by thoſe Gods
"that preſide over Friendſhip, by *Cæſar*'s ſelf, that you would yet change
"ſomething of what you have done, for you may do it if you will; or at
"leaſt, that you will aid me in revenging my Father's death, with the aſſi-
"ſtance of the People, and of all thoſe who yet perſevere in the affection
"they once bore him. If you have any fear of thoſe people, or of the Se-
"nate, I only deſire you would not oppoſe my deſigns. As for any thing
"elſe, you know the ſtate of my Affairs. That I am obliged to pay the people
"what my Father left them, and that ſpeedily, leſt the benefit being delay-
"ed, remain without acknowledgment; and that I become the occaſion that
"thoſe who ought to be ſent to the Colonies ſtay longer in the City. Where-
"fore I deſire, that of all that was carried to your Houſe, to be the better
"ſecured after my Father's death, the richeſt and moſt pretious things may
"be yours; I only demand that Silver Money he had raiſed for thoſe Wars
"he was preparing to make, that I may pay thoſe Legacies he left to the
"People; and I ſhall content my ſelf at preſent if you furniſh me with ſo
"much as is neceſſary to pay three hundred thouſand Men what is due to
"them by the Head. I would entreat you if I durſt, to lend me wherewith-
"all to pay the reſt, or be my Security for taking it up at Intereſt out of the
"Treaſury, till ſuch time as the Goods left by this Succeſſion are ſold, in
"which I ſhall labour Might and Main.

Anthony

Anthony aſtoniſhed at the freedom taken by this Young Man, and at that noble confidence, which he did not expect from a perſon of his age: And being offended that he had treated him with no more reſpect; but eſpecially that he had demanded back the Money; anſwered him in theſe terms.

The Oration of *Anthony*.

"MY Son, if *Cæſar* with his Succeſſion and his Name had likewiſe left "you the Empire, you have reaſon to demand of me an Account "of the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, and it is but juſt that I ſhould "give it you; but the Roman People having never given the Sovereign "Power to any Perſon by Succeſſion, not to the Kings themſelves, whom "they have expelled, and bound themſelves by Oath never more to ſuffer "them (a thing which the Conſpirators reproach your Father with, ſaying, "they have ſlain a King, and not a Magiſtrate) there is therefore no neceſſity "I ſhould give you an Account of what concerns the Publick, and I likewiſe "diſcharge you of all Obligations you are willing to be bound in to me, for "I have done nothing for your ſake, and have only had in proſpect the Pub-"lick Good in all my Actions, except only one, whereby I have rendred a "ſignal Service both to *Cæſar* and to you: For if for my own ſecurity, and "to avoid Envy, I had permitted them to decree Rewards to the Conſpira-"rators, as having ſlain a Tyrant, *Cæſar* had been declared a Tyrant, to "whom neither Reſpect nor Honour was due; for the Roman Laws require "that Tyrant's Bodies be caſt into the Draught, their Memory aboliſhed, "and their Goods confiſcate. Out of a fear leſt this might happen, I ſtrove "hard for *Cæſar*, to preſerve his Glory immortal, and to cauſe his Funerals "to be publickly ſolemnized. I feared neither danger nor envy, though I "had to deal with violent people, accuſtomed to Murthers, and who (as you "know) had already conſpired againſt me; and that the Senate were incli-"ned to miſchief againſt your Father, becauſe he had uſurped the Sovereign "Authority over that Body. Yet I choſe rather to run all theſe hazards, and "ſhould rather have undergone all manner of misfortunes, than have ſuffe-"red that *Cæſar*, the Greateſt of Men, and the moſt happy in many things, "and whom I eſteemed the moſt worthy of Glory of any Man of this Age, "ſhould have been deprived of Honour and Sepulture. The Dangers to "which I have expoſed my ſelf have gained you all that *Cæſar* poſſeſſed; his "Family, his Name, his Dignities, his Goods; and ſurely you ought rather "to thank me, than blame my Conduct, if I have yielded to ſome thing to "content the Senate, or given recompence to thoſe to whom it was due, or "done whatſoever it were for any reaſon I thought neceſſary; old as I am, "and you yet but a young Man. But this ſhall ſuffice as to that matter. As "for what you would object that I aſpire to the Dominion, I have no ſuch "thoughts, though I do not think my ſelf unworthy; nor is it any inſup-"portable thing to me to be left out of *Cæſar*'s Will, contenting my ſelf to "be deſcended of a Race that derives its Original from *Hercules*. As for "the Money you talk of borrowing out of the Treaſury to ſerve your own "Occaſions, I believe that you do but jeſt; unleſs, as it is probable, you "have not heard that your Father left the Treaſury empty; and that ſince

"he

" he made himſelf Maſter of the Empire, all the publick Moneys that were " before carried thither, were after carried to his Houſe, where among his " Goods they will be found when we ſhall decree a Search to be made for " them; which will be done without giving any offence to the dead *Cæſar*: " Or were he living, he would not refuſe to give an Account of his Admini- " ſtration, as it is but juſt he ſhould. Beſides, many private Perſons pre- " tend a Right to thoſe Goods, and will not quit them to you without Tryal. " Nor was there ſo much Silver brought to my Houſe as you imagine, nor " have I any of it left; for it was all divided, as being a Tyrant's Mony, a- " mong the Magiſtrates and chief Men of the City, except only *Dolobella* " and my Brethren. And if you ſhould chance to find out any, you will not " if you be wiſe, give it to the people; but employ it to appeaſe ſuch as may " dammage you: and if they themſelves be wiſe, they will ſend away the " people to the Colonies: For the People, as you may have lately learnt out " of Greek Books, are a thing of no ſtability, but ever floating to and fro " like Waves of the Sea, as it has often happened in our Republick; where " the People, after having raiſed up to the Skies thoſe that courted their Fa- " vour, afterwards brought them on their Knees.

V. *Cæſar* angred at theſe words, for the moſt part injurious, retired, invoking oft times his Father, and calling him by his name. Suddainly after he put to Sale the Goods come to him by this Succeſſion, and exhorted the People to aſſiſt him in the good deſign he had for them againſt *Anthony* his Enemy, who openly oppoſed him; and againſt the Senate, who had decreed Inquiſition to be made for Publick Moneys. Many perſons began to fear *Cæſar*, as young as he was, becauſe of his Father's Liberality to the Soldiers and People, whoſe affections he was now abſolutely gaining by the Diſtribution he was about to make; ſo that moſt judged he would not long continue in the Condition of a private Perſon: But they feared much more leſt *Anthony* coming to an Accommodation with this Young Man, full of Glory and Riches, ſhould ſeize on the Sovereign Power as well as *Cæſar*. In the mean time they were well ſatisfied to ſee them at this diſcord, becauſe one ſerved now as an obſtacle to another's deſigns; and by the Inquiſition after Publick Moneys, of which they believed a great part would be found in *Cæſar*'s Coffers, his Heir would become poor, and the Treaſury rich. Dayly likewiſe were Proceſſes formed about the Lands poſſeſſed by *Cæſar*; ſome demanding them as their particular Right, others pretending they belonged to the Publick, as being confiſcated from proſcribed or baniſhed Perſons. *Anthony* or *Dolobella*, his Colleague, were Judges of moſt part of theſe; and if ſome happened to be tryed before other Judges, *Cæſar* was as hardly uſed out of favour to *Anthony*, though he produced Authentick Contracts of the Purchaſe made by his Father; and likewiſe pleaded the laſt Decree of the Senate, by which all that *Cæſar* had done was ratified. They affronted him likewiſe by a thouſand Inſolencies out of the preſence of the Judges; from which *Pedius* and *Pinarius*, to whom *Cæſar* had likewiſe by Will left part of the Inheritance, were not exempt. Upon complaint made to *Anthony* of the Outrages they, as well as *Cæſar*, ſuffered; ſhewing him the Decree of the Senate; and telling him, that if there were ſome Lands unjuſtly uſurped by *Cæſar*, they were ready to pay the value of them; but that it was juſt all the reſt *Cæſar* had done ſhould be allowed. He anſwered, that poſſibly the Decree meant not any thing at preſent in queſtion, and that the very words in which it was expreſſed ought be interpreted according to the Senate's intention;

who

who having the Indempnity only in view, would not touch upon what was paſt; not that they approved it, nor in conſideration of death; but becauſe it was then expedient to act ſo, and neceſſary to appeaſe the people. That it was not equal to have more conſideration of the words of a Decree, than of the mind of the Judges; and to deny Audience to ſo many Citizens whom the Civil Wars had ſpoiled of their Goods, and thoſe of their Predeceſſors; in favour of a young Man, who now beholding himſelf richer than his condition could make him hope to be, employed not his Riches in Liberalities, but in making of Creatures to bring to effect his ambitious deſigns. Nevertheleſs, for what concerned them when they ſhould receive from *Cæſar* what part of the Inheritance belonged to them, he would maintain them in it. After this Anſwer of *Anthony*'s, *Cæſar*'s Coheirs deſired their ſhares of the Inheritance, for fear of loſing them by reaſon of the many Suits commenced; not for their ſakes, but *Cæſar*'s: However, ſoon after they again reſtored it into his hands. After this, the time of the Plays wherewith *Brutus*, as Pretor, ought to divert and delight the Citizens, drawing nigh, *Caius*, Brother to *Anthony*, his Colleague, who adminiſtred that Charge in his abſence, had taken care of them; and to that purpoſe made magnificent Preparations, out of hopes that the People charmed by thoſe Spectacles, ſhould vote *Brutus* and his Companions Return. *Cæſar* on his part, the better to gain the multitude, ſtill as he received any Moneys by the Sale of the Goods of the Inheritance, put it into the hands of the chief Men of the Tribes, to diſtribute to ſuch as firſt demanded it: And going to all places where theſe Sales were made, gave order to the publick Cryers to appraiſe all at leſs than it was worth, becauſe of the uncertain ſucceſs of the Law-Suits, and that he might diſpatch paying what he ought by his Father's Will. Theſe courſes increaſed the People's affection to him, and they were moved to compaſſion for the unjuſt Perſecutions under which he ſuffered. But when they ſaw that beſides the Goods of this Succeſſion, he likewiſe expoſed to Sale his own Patrimony, with all that he had elſewhere, and with that his Mother's Lands, thoſe of *Philip*, and *Pedius* and *Pinarius* ſhares too; and all this to furniſh him for the payment of Legacies; as if he could not raiſe Money enough by ſelling *Cæſar*'s Goods, by reaſon of his Enemies Lets and Vexations. Then the People, perſwaded that this Liberality proceeded from himſelf, and not from the firſt *Cæſar*, adored this young Man; applauding his Patience and Generoſity, and proteſting they would not much longer ſuffer *Anthony*'s Inſolence: And in truth they evidenced it at thoſe Spectacles that *Brutus* exhibited at ſuch vaſt Expence; for when ſome, bribed to that purpoſe, cryed out that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* ſhould be recalled, and that the reſt of the Spectators ſeemed inclined to pity them, a great number of the People running on in a Croud, made the Plays to ceaſe till ſuch time as thoſe who demanded their Return were ſilent. So that *Cæſar* having made *Brutus* and *Caſſius* loſe the hopes of their Return by means of their Plays, they reſolved to ſeize by force of *Syria* and *Macedon*, to which they had been appointed by the Senate, before *Anthony* and *Dolobella*. That young Conſul being hereof advertized, ſpeedily advances towards *Syria* by the way of *Aſia*, through which he paſſed to gather in the Money of that Province. But *Anthony* judging he ſhould have occaſion of Forces, and not being ignorant that the Army of *Macedon* was compoſed of excellent Troops; that they were ſix Legions, ſtore of Archers and Light-armed Foot, beſides the Horſe, and all Proviſions neceſſary; and that this Army ought to be commanded by *Dolobella*, to whom the Senate had given Commiſſion for the Parthian War, to which *Cæſar* had deſigned it, he began to caſt about how to make himſelf

Maſter of it, the rather becauſe of the nearneſs of places; for it was but croſſing the Ionian Sea, to bring it forthwith into *Italy*. At the ſame time a report was raiſed, that the Getes hearing of *Cæſar*'s death made Inroads into *Macedon*, and ſpoiled the Province, which gave *Anthony* an opportunity of demanding the Army of the Senate, to chaſtiſe the Getes againſt whom *Cæſar* had intention to employ them before he proceeded on his Expedition againſt *Parthia*, where at preſent all things were quiet. The Senate ſlighted not the report, but ſent People into the Province to enquire into the truth; and *Anthony*, utterly to remove all fear and all ſuſpicion that might be had of him, made a Law whereby all perſons were forbid, be it upon what occaſion ſoever it would, to propoſe the creating a Dictator, or to accept of the Dictatorſhip, and that whoever acted contrary to this Law, might freely and with impunity be by any one ſlain. Thus having deceived the Fathers, and promiſed by a Treaty made with *Dolobella*'s Friends, that he would give him one Legion, he was choſen General of the Army of *Macedon*, and forthwith gave Directions to his Brother *Caius* to make all ſpeed to the Army with the Ordinance of the Senate. Mean while, thoſe who had been ſent into *Macedon* to inform themſelves of the report ſpread abroad, being returned, ſaid they had ſeen no Getes, but added (whether it were ſo indeed, or that they were ſuborned to it by *Anthony*) that there was reaſon to fear, that if the Army were drawn out of the Province, that they would make Inroads. Whilſt theſe things paſſed at *Rome*, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* made Levies of Men and Moneys, and *Trebonius* who commanded in *Aſia* fortified thoſe Cities for them. He would not ſuffer *Dolobella* to enter into *Pergamus*, nor into *Smyrna*, but only gave him a place without the Walls of *Smyrna* as to a Conſul. He, incenſed at this refuſal, attempted to force the City, wherein not ſucceeding, *Trebonius* promiſed to give him entrance into *Epheſus*, and commanded his people to follow the Conſul at ſome diſtance, but they ſeeing him depart towards the Dusk of the Evening, thinking there was nothing more to fear, leaving a few of their companions to follow him, returned to *Smyrna*. *Dolobella* laid an ambuſh for this ſmall company, cut them in pieces, and the ſame night finding *Smyrna* defenceleſs, ſcaled the Walls, *Trebonius* ſurpriſed in his Bed, began to beg the Soldiers to carry him before the Conſul, to whom he ſaid he would go without conſtraint. But one of the Centurions mocking, told him; *Thou mayſt go, but thou muſt leave thy Head; for we have no orders to carry thee to the Conſul, but to bring him thy Head*: And ſo in good earneſt cut off his Head, which *Dolobella* as ſoon as it was day cauſed to be placed over the Tribunal, where the Pretor was wont to give audience. The Soldiers and the Pedees mad againſt him, becauſe he was a Partner in the Conſpiracy, and had entertained *Anthony* with diſcourſe at the Gate of the Palace, whilſt they ſlew *Cæſar* within, uſed a thouſand indignities to the reſt of his Body, playing with his Head as with a Bowl, which they trowled to one another upon the Pavement, till it was all in pieces. And this was the firſt of the Conſpirators that was puniſhed.

VI. Now *Anthony* had a deſign to bring the Army of *Macedon* into *Italy*, but not finding a pretence to do it, he demanded of the Senate, that inſtead of *Macedon* they would give him the Ciſalpine *Gaul*, where at preſent *Decimus Brutus Albinus* commanded, beſides he remembred that *Cæſar* parted from this Province when he began that War wherein he vanquiſhed *Pompey*. But now when they ſaw he would march the Army into *Gaul*, and not into *Italy*, the Fathers judging he asked this Province only

to

to ſerve himſelf againſt them, began to make diſcovery of his ill intentions; and to repent that they had granted *Macedon*: nay, ſome of them wrote particularly to *Decimus*, that he ſhould fortifie himſelf in his Province, and make new Levies of what Men and Money he could, leſt *Anthony* ſhould do him any violence, ſo much they feared and hated him together. *Anthony* therefore refuſed by the Senate, reſolved to carry the Province by a Decree of the People, as formerly *Cæſar* had done the ſame, and *Dolobella* lately *Syria*, and the more to terrifie the Senate, he ſent order to his Brother *Caius* forthwith to paſs over the Army to *Brunduſium*. Mean while the Ædile *Crotonius* making preparation for the Plays, which he would give to delight the people, *Cæſar* cauſed a Chair of Gold and a Crown to be placed for his Father, a thing granted by the Decree of the Senate, to be done in all Plays to perpetuity. Upon which the Ædile having ſaid that he would not permit that Honour to *Cæſar* in Plays he exhibited at his own charges, he ſummoned him before *Anthony* in quality of Conſul, and the Conſul ſaying he would propoſe the buſineſs to the Senate, he angrily anſwered, *Propoſe it then, but in the mean time I will place the Chair there as the Decree permits.* *Anthony* incenſed with this anſwer, not only forbid him to do it at this time, but in ſome Plays afterwards which *Cæſar* himſelf exhibited in Honour of *Venus*, according to his Father's Inſtitution when he dedicated to her a Temple in the place and the place it ſelf. This action of *Anthony*'s begat him the publick hate, as not proceeding ſo much from envy to the young *Cæſar*, as ingratitude to his Father: wherefore *Cæſar* followed by a multitude of people as his Guards, went through the City, ſtirring up againſt *Anthony* all thoſe who had received benefits from his Father, or born Arms under him, beſeeching them not to ſuffer him to be affronted in that manner, nor permit *Anthony* to do ſo great an injury to their General and Benefactor, but that they would at leaſt labour for themſelves, for could they be ſecure of enjoying any thing *Cæſar* had given them if himſelf were deprived of Honours had been granted by Decree of the Senate? And when he came into any great place of the City, he might be heard cry out with a loud voice; *Why am not I the only cauſe* (Anthony) *that thou declareſt againſt* Cæſar, *and in recompence of ſo many Benefits received by thee, returneſt on him ſuch violent outrages. Diſcharge, I beg thee, thy rage on me alone; but touch not his Goods till the Citizens are payed what he by will left them. After that, take the reſt; for as for my part, though I be poor, I ſhall be but too well contented to be Heir to the Glory of my Father, and of his liberality to his Citizens, provided it may not be unprofitable to them.* Upon this diſcourſe the whole multitude drew together, and cryed out publickly againſt *Anthony*. Whereupon *Anthony* having uttered ſome bitter threats againſt *Cæſar*, and what he threatened coming to publick knowledge, Mens minds were the more inflamed againſt him; inſomuch that the very Officers of his Guards who had born Arms under *Cæſar*, and who were at preſent in great eſteem with the Conſul, beſought him to be no more ſo vigorous, both for their ſakes and his own proper intereſt, he having himſelf had command under *Cæſar*, and being obliged to him for his fortune. *Anthony* acknowledging that what they ſaid was true, and beſides conſidering that he ſtood in need of *Cæſar*'s credit with the people to obtain the Government of *Gaul*, yielded to their Remonſtrance, ſwearing that he was not ingrateful towards *Cæſar*, and that he had manifeſted this change of affection to no other end, but that a young Man a little too haughty for his age, and who bore no reſpect either to Ancients or Magiſtrates ſhould ſomewhat ſtand corrected; for

that in good truth he had need of correction, but yet for the Prayers ſake they had made him, he would lay aſide all animoſity and reſume his former inclinations, provided *Cæſar* would for the future be more moderate. The Tribunes ſatisfied with this anſwer, engaged them to an Enterview, where after ſome complaints of of one another they were reconciled.

VII. Soon after, *Anthony* preferred the Decree touching the Government of *Gaul*. The Senate were afraid, and took a reſolution to hinder it, if the Conſul demanded their approbation, and to oppoſe it by means of the Tribunes, if without ſpeaking to the Senate he ſought to have it ratifyed by the people. Nay, there were ſome Senators of opinion to ſet that Province at liberty, ſo formidable ſeemed it to them, becauſe lying ſo near *Rome*. *Anthony* on the other ſide reproached them that they had given that Province to *Decimus* one of *Cæſar*'s Murderers, and yet made a difficulty of truſting him with it, becauſe he had not murdered him that conquered it, and brought it under their obedience, by which he accuſed them of openly allowing the action. The day for approbation of the Decree being come, the Senate had given orders that the Votes ſhould be taken by the Tribes, but thoſe of *Anthony*'s Party having aſſembled the people before day, called them of purpoſe by Centuries. Though the multitude had an averſion for *Anthony*, yet forbore they not now to favour him for *Cæſar*'s ſake, who was preſent at the aſſembly ſoliciting for him out of fear, leſt *Decimus* one of thoſe who ſlew his Father ſhould command with an Army in ſo commodious a Province, and likewiſe to gratifie *Anthony* with whom he was newly reconciled, and from whom in his turn he expected ſome favour. In ſhort, the Tribunes of the People not at all oppoſing it, for *Anthony* had gained them, the Decree was ratifyed, and the Conſul having now a plauſible pretence cauſed the Army to paſs over into *Italy*. At length one of the Tribunes being dead, and *Cæſar* ſoliciting for *Flaminius* who made ſuit for this Dignity, the people imagining that he did indeed deſire it for himſelf, but durſt not ask it becauſe he was too young, would needs by Vote declare him Tribune: on the other ſide, the Senate envyed him this increaſe of Honour, as fearing leſt being made Tribune he ſhould ſummon before the people thoſe who had ſlain his Father. Whereupon *Anthony* violating the Friendſhip he had newly ſworn to *Cæſar*, or in favour of the Senate, whom he would fain appeaſe, becauſe they were offended at the Decree of the People concerning *Gaul*, iſſued a Decree of the Conſul, whereby he prohibited *Cæſar* from conferring Liberalities upon any perſon contrary to Law, upon pain of puniſhment. This Decree which made appear *Anthony*'s ingratitude to *Cæſar*, and which was injurious both to the young *Cæſar* and the People, ſtirred up the minds of the multitude, and it was very likely, that at the Aſſembly to be called, ſome tumult would happen, ſo that *Anthony* himſelf was afraid, and contenting himſelf with the number of the Tribunes already in the City, prevented the aſſembling of the People. As for *Cæſar*, ſeeing that *Anthony* declared openly againſt him, he diſpatched people throughout the Colonies that he had eſtabliſhed, to let them know the wrong he ſuffered, and to ſound their inclinations. He ſent likewiſe ſome of his Confidents to *Anthony*'s Army, mixed among thoſe who had the Convoy of Proviſions, giving them orders to do their utmoſt to draw the braveſt to his ſide, and privily to drop Libels among the Soldiers. Whilſt *Cæſar* was thus employed, the ſame Officers of *Anthony*'s Guards before mentioned laying hold on the occaſion ſpoke to him in this manner:

The

The Oration of the Officers of *Anthony*'s Guards.

WE have a certain knowledge that Cæsar's *Murderers hate us as much as him, us and all those who under his command have extended the bounds of the Roman Empire, and yet dayly employ all their power to extend them; that we are exposed to their Ambushes, and that the Senate favours them. Nevertheless, after their being chased hence by the People we have regained courage, seeing* Cæsar *was not destitute of Friends, who still remembred his Benefits, and preserved their acknowledgments. But above all, we are assured of the Friendship between you, and of your experience in War, being the greatest Captain of the Age next him, and the most capable to command. But, because our Enemies springing up afresh, endeavour to seise upon* Syria *and* Macedon, *and make Levies of Men and Money to wage War upon us, because the Senate causes* Decimus *to prepare against you, and that in the mean all your thoughts and cares are employed in the differences you have with the young* Cæsar, *we fear, and not without reason, that in the War now threatening us, nay, which indeed we have upon us, there happen not some division amongst us, which may cause our Enemies to succeed in their Enterprises. Wherefore we intreat you, that in acknowledgments of* Cæsar's *Favours and Benefits, for the common security of all us, against whom you have never yet had cause of complaint, and likewise for your own interest, you assist* Cæsar *to take vengeance of the Murderers of his Father, whilst it is in your power to do it, he will be therewith content, and you will afterwards live without trouble, and we discharged of our fears for you, and for our selves.*

To this Discourse *Anthony* made Answer. VIII.

Anthony's Answer to the Officers of his Guards.

"YOu know with what passion I always loved *Cæsar* as long as he lived, "and that there were no dangers to which I exposed not my self to "preserve his Authority. You know it, I say, you who followed him e- "very where, and were present at all his Actions: and I grant there is no "need of Witness to prove that his Affection and Esteem for me lasted to his "very end. His Murderers having perfect knowledge of all this, had "once resolved to have dispatched me at the same time, believing whilst I "remained alive they could never perfectly accomplish their design; and "he that diverted them from these thoughts did it not for my sake, but to "give a fairer Gloss to their crime, that it might be thought they designed "not so much to revenge themselves of many Enemies, as to kill one Ty- "rant. Who then would think after so many obligations as I have receiv-

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"ed from *Cæſar*, I ſhould range my ſelf on his Enemies Party, or that I "ſhould willingly pardon his death to thoſe who attempted my own life, as "the young *Cæſar* imagines? How then after Indemnity did they obtain "Governments? for you impute to me this fault which the Senate com- "mitted. Hearken a little how it happened: *Cæſar* being ſlain in full Se- "nate, fear ſeiſed all the world, and my ſelf more than any one, becauſe I "was his Friend, and yet knew not exactly whether there were a Conſpi- "racy, or who were the Conſpirators. The People were in tumult, the "Murderers had gained the Capitol with the Gladiators, and ſuffered no "one to enter, the Senate favoured them, which to this day they do, and "were ready to decree them rewards, as having ſlain a Tyrant, which if it "had come to paſs, we muſt have all reſolved to periſh as that Tyrants "Friends. In the midſt of all this turmoil, fear and trouble, 'tis no won- "der if I loſt my Judgment: however, if you weigh the extremity in "which I was with what I have done, you will find I neither wanted bold- "neſs in the midſt of danger, nor policy when there was a neceſſity to diſ- "ſemble. The main thing in this Affair, and on which depended all the "reſt, was the prevention of their decreeing rewards to the Murderers, "in which I ſo obſtinately held out, that at laſt I carried it in deſpite of the "Senate and all the Conſpirators, yet not without running the hazard of "loſing my life; for I judged, that if I only obtained that *Cæſar* were not "declared Tyrant, we were all in ſafety. But whereas our Enemies and the "Senate feared on their ſide, that if *Cæſar* were not declared Tyrant, pro- "ceſs might iſſue out againſt thoſe that ſlew him, and therefore would "ſtand ſtifly to the having it done, I conſented that the Amneſty might "be granted to them, but not the Rewards; nor had I done it, but that I "might obtain on my part what I deſired, and which was of no ſmall im- "portance. That the name of *Cæſar*, dearer to me than all things in the "world, might not be aboliſhed; that his Goods might not be confiſcate: "that that adoption which makes this young man ſo inſolent, might not be "cancelled: that his Will might be ratified: that his Body might be ho- "noured with Funerals worthy a King: that the Honours decreed him "might endure to perpetuity: that all that he had done might be approved; "and that his Son, and we his Friends, his Captains and his Soldiers might "be ſecured in our perſons, and honoured by all the World, inſtead of "that infamy wherewith we were threatened. Do you believe after all "this, that in lieu of the Amneſty to which I gave my hand, the Senate "granted me a ſmall matter; or do you think they would have granted it "if I had not conſented to the Amneſty? And though this exchange had "been ſincerely made, what had I loſt by really granting the Murderers a "pardon of their crime, thereby to render *Cæſar*'s Glory immortal, and "put our lives in ſecurity: yet was not that my intention. I did but only "defer their puniſhment; for as ſoon as I obtained of the Senate what I de- "ſired, and that the Murderers were freed from their inquietude, I took "courage, and abrogated the Amneſty, not by ſentence of the Senate, nor "by decree of the People (for that could not be done) but by a popular "blaze, which underhand I kindled, by cauſing *Cæſar*'s Body to be brought "into the place, under pretence of celebrating his Funerals, and there by "opening his wounds, and ſhewing his Robe pierced through, and bloody, "to excite compaſſion in the multitude, praiſing his Virtues, and particu- "larly the love he had for his Country, and in ſhort, Mourning for him, as "dead, yet invoking him as a God: for what I ſaid, and what I did, ſo in- "cenſed the multitude, that not conſidering the Amneſty, they took fire,

"and

" and carrying it to our Enemies Houſes, drove them out of *Rome*. This " was done in ſpite of the Senate, and they teſtified their reſentment of it, " by accuſing me of courting the popular favour, by ſending the Murder- " ers into the Provinces, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* into *Syria* and *Macedon*, where " they had great Armies: nor did they let them ſtay out the time they " ought to have done, but advanced it by a feigned Commiſſion they gave " them of ſending Corn to the City. Hereupon I found my ſelf ſurpriſed " with a new fear, and not having any Army whereof I could diſpoſe, I " was afraid leſt we unarmed ſhould be aſſailed by ſo many armed Men, be- " ſides I had ſome ſuſpicion of my Colleague, with whom I had no right " underſtanding, and whom I might very well believe an Accomplice in " the Conſpiracy, being come to the City the day that it was executed. " In this troubleſome Conjuncture I thought it a matter of importance to " diſarm our Enemies, and to ſeiſe on their Arms, to which end I cauſed " *Amatius* to be put to death, and recalled *Pompey*, that by this means I " might oblige the Senate to take my part: yet not being thereby fully aſ- " ſured, I perſwaded *Dolobella* to demand *Syria* not from the Senate, but " from the people, and I upheld him in this Enterpriſe, that from a Friend " to the Conſpirators, as he now was, he might become their Enemy; " and that after my Colleague had obtained *Syria*, the Senate might be a- " ſhamed to deny me *Macedon*, which however they had not granted me " by reaſon of the Army that was then in that Province, if they had not " before given that ſame Army to *Dolobella*, who beſides the Government " of *Syria* had got the Commiſſion to make War againſt the Parthians: " nor had they conſented to the taking away *Syria* and *Macedon* from *Caſſius* " and *Brutus*, if for their ſecurity other Governments had not been pro- " vided them, inſtead of thoſe whereof they were diſpoſſeſſed. It was " therefore neceſſary and muſt be done, but pray obſerve what compariſon " there is between thoſe Provinces taken from them, and thoſe wherewith " they were recompenſed. *Cyrene* and *Crete* were aſſigned them, ſo unfur- " niſhed of Forces, that they themſelves have deſpiſed them, and endea- " voured to ſeiſe by force of thoſe taken from them. Thus the Command " of the Army is paſſed from the Enemy to *Dolobella* by my policy, and by " fair exchange; for no perſon having yet taken up Arms, we muſt follow " the Laws. After this, the Enemies having ſet on foot another Army, " I had occaſion for the Legions of *Macedon*, but to get them wanted op- " portunity, whereupon a report was ſpread, that the Getes had in a ho- " ſtile manner invaded the Province, which not being altogether believed, " ſome were ſent to enquire the certainty. During which time I cauſed an " Ordinance to be publiſhed, by which it was forbid to ſpeak of a Dictator, " to make any propoſition tending to it, or ſo much as to accept of the " Dictatorſhip; whereby the Senate, perſwaded of my good intentions, " gave me the Command of the Army; ſo that at preſent I find my ſelf " ſtrong enough to defend my ſelf againſt my Enemies, not only againſt " thoſe already declared, as *Cæſar* imagines, but againſt a multitude of o- " thers more powerful, who will not yet diſcover themſelves. Having " put my Affairs into this Kingdom, I had yet left ſticking (as I may ſay) " in my very Ribs one of *Cæſar*'s Murderers, to wit, *Decimus Brutus*, who " commanded a great Army in a very commodious Province; and becauſe " I knew him capable of Action, that I might remove him thence by ſome " fair pretence, I made an offer in the Senate to give him *Macedon* in recom- " pence, after having drawn thence the Legions. The Senate oppoſing it " upon ſome miſtruſt they had of my deſigns, and many of that Body having

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"writ many things as you know to *Decimus*, beſides that they were ready "to ſtir up againſt me the Conſuls, for the next year I took a reſolution to "ſpeak no more of it to the Senate, but to demand this Province from the "People, and to make the Macedonian Army paſs over to *Brunduſium*, to "employ them in things neceſſary, and I hope yet by the aſſiſtance of the "Gods to make uſe of them to the advantage of my Affairs when oc-"caſion requires. Thus from the fear wherein we formerly were, we "have reached that ſecurity we deſired, and a condition to ſtrike terrour "into our Enemies, though when we firſt took up Arms many declared for "them; yet now you ſee they repent of their ſentences given in my favour, "that they uſe all their endeavours to deprive me of the Government of "*Gaul* granted me by the People. You know they continually write to "*Decimus*, that they ſolicite the Conſuls to cancel by ſentence the Decree "which gives me that Province. But for my part, reſting aſſured on the "aſſiſtance of the Gods, Protectors of my Country, on the ſincerity of "my intentions, and on your valour which made *Cæſar* every where victo-"rious, I will employ all my ſoul and all my ſtrength to revenge him. It "was neceſſary, Fellow Soldiers, till now to keep theſe things ſecret; "but ſince you ought to have ſhare in all my Actions, and all my Deſigns, "I am content to diſcover them to you, and you may communicate them "to all thoſe tied by the ſame intereſt, except only to *Cæſar*, whoſe ingra-"titude I have already made proof of.

Anthony's Officers became firmly perſwaded by theſe words, that all the artifices he had made uſe of to deceive the Senate, proceeded only from the paſſion he had to deſtroy the Murderers. However, they prevailed with him to reconcile himſelf with *Cæſar*, which he did in the Capitol.

IX. Some time after *Anthony* cauſed to be brought into an Aſſembly of his Friends ſome of his Guards, as if *Cæſar* would have treated with them to murder him, whether it were a calumny, or whether he believed it indeed, or whether (having intelligence that *Cæſar* had ſent ſome People amongſt his Troops) he imagined it was to make an attempt upon his life. The rumour of this attempt was ſpread through the whole City, and raiſed a mighty Tumult, and the People were filled with great indignation; for ſome perſons ſounding more deeply into the buſineſs, ſaw well that *Anthony*, though he was an Enemy to *Cæſar*, yet was uſeful to him, becauſe the Conſpirators feared him, who, if he had been dead had been capable of enterpriſing any thing, eſpecially ſupported as they were by the Senate, and this was the judgment of the wiſer ſort. But with the greater part of the multitude who beheld *Cæſar* every day ſuffering a thouſand wrongs it was no hard matter to believe the calumny, and they adjudged it an execrable ſign to make an attempt upon the perſon of a Conſul. Upon the noiſe of it *Cæſar* ran through all the Streets like a mad man, crying out, that on the contrary it was a plot laid by *Anthony* himſelf to rob him of the good opinion of the People, by whoſe favour he had hitherto ſubſiſted. He went to *Anthony*'s own Gates, crying the ſame thing, atteſting the Gods, and making imprecations on himſelf, and requiring them to iſſue out his Proceſs: and when no perſon came out of the Houſe, *I will*, ſaid he, *make thy own Friends Judges*. And therewithal endeavoured to enter, but repulſed, he began to complain, revile, and grow angry againſt thoſe who hindred his entrance, telling them 'twas for fear he ſhould convince *Anthony*

of

of calumny, and ſo retiring immediately, he proteſted before all the People, that if any miſchief happened to him, it ought to be attributed to nothing elſe but the perfidiouſneſs of *Anthony*. Theſe words pronounced with vehemence changed the minds of the Multitude, and many began to repent themſelves of the opinion they had entertained of him. Though ſome were doubtful which of the two to credit; and others affirmed 'twas all but a plot laid between themſelves in the Temple where they were reconciled, that by a ſeeming Feud they might better ſurpriſe their Enemies: whilſt others again ſaid, that it was *Anthony*'s invention only, that under this pretence he might encreaſe his Guards, and turn away the old Soldiers hearts from *Cæſar*. At the ſame time intelligence was privately given to *Cæſar*, that both the Army arrived at *Brunduſium* and the old Soldiers diſtributed into Colonies were incenſed againſt *Anthony*, becauſe he delayed the revenging of *Cæſar*'s death, which they offered to employ all their power to effect, and that upon this occaſion the Conſul was gone to *Brunduſium*, which obliged *Cæſar*, who was fearful leſt his Enemy returning to *Rome* with an Army might oppreſs him defenceleſs as he was, to take ſtore of Money, and go into *Campania* to engage in his ſervice thoſe Colonies there ſettled by his Father. Firſt *Galatia*, and then *Silia* ſituate on both ſides of *Capua* gave him their word: and by advancing five hundred Drams to each Soldier he raiſed about ten thouſand Men, who were not ſo well furniſhed as was requiſite for the War, nor enrolled in Companies and Regiments, but marched all under one Standard as his Guards. And whereas thoſe in the City were frightned before with the thoughts of *Anthony*'s return with an Army, hearing of *Cæſar*'s coming at the Head of another; ſome were now afraid of both, others again were well ſatisfied with the imagination they might employ *Cæſar* to defend them againſt *Anthony*; and others again who had been witneſſes of their reconciliation in the Capitol, believed all but a fiction, and that they were agreed together to joyn Forces, to the end, *Anthony* might ſeiſe on the Sovereign Authority, and *Cæſar* revenge the death of his Father. In the heat of this Allarm, *Carnutius* Tribune of the People, Enemy to *Anthony*, and Friend to *Cæſar*, went out to meet his Friend, and underſtanding his intentions, came and aſſured the People that *Cæſar* had took up Arms againſt none but *Anthony* his declared Enemy, and that to ſecure themſelves from *Anthony*'s Tyranny it was requiſite to joyn with *Cæſar*, the rather becauſe in that Conjuncture they had no other Army. After this Remonſtrance he cauſed *Cæſar*, who had lodged the night before in the Temple of *Mars*, fifteen Furlongs from *Rome*, to advance into the City, where, as ſoon as he was entred, he went and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, about which all the old Soldiers gathered together with their Swords under their Coats. There *Carnutius* having firſt made an invective againg *Anthony* in full Aſſembly, *Cæſar* proceeded to put them in remembrance of his Father's Virtues, and the injuries which himſelf had received from *Anthony*, to defend himſelf from which, and to ſecure his own perſon, he had been neceſſitated to raiſe an Army, which he promiſed to employ for his Countrys ſervice wherever there ſhould be an occaſion, and particularly againſt *Anthony*, who was at preſent in Arms. After theſe Diſcourſes the People being retired, the Soldiers, whoſe deſign of coming thither had been only the reconciliation of *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, or at utmoſt to defend *Cæſar*, and revenge the death of his Father, were amazed at his promiſing their ſervice againſt *Anthony*, who had formerly been their General, and was at preſent Conſul; whereupon ſome deſired leave to return home, under pretence of

fetching their Arms, becauſe they could ill do Service with other Arms than thoſe they had been uſed to; others ſpoke openly what they thought. *Cæſar* ſeeing the matter ſucceeded quite contrary to his expectation, was ſomewhat ſtartled: Yet hoping to gain them rather by fair means than force, he granted what they deſired; ſending ſome home to fetch their Arms, and diſmiſſing others without any condition. Though this Accident infinitely troubled him, he kept all to himſelf; and inſtead of ſeeming concerned at it, thanking them for the Aſſiſtance they had given him, made them a Preſent of more Money, promiſing to be more liberal for the future; becauſe if any Accident happened which might oblige him to make uſe of an Army, he had rather confide in them as his Father's Friends, than employ other Soldiers. This Carriage might, one would think, have won them; and yet of ten thouſand that they were, only one thouſand, or as others ſay, three thouſand (for the number is not certain) ſtayed with him, and all the reſt went their way. However, ſome, after conſidering the toil of the Plough, and the Profits they had received, and what they hoped for the future, as Vulgar Spirits are ſubject to Change, they repented themſelves; and laying hold of the plauſible pretence of being only come home to fetch their Arms, of their own mere motion they all returned armed to *Cæſar*; who having taken more Money with him, was gone to *Ravenna* and the neighbouring places; where he inceſſantly liſted Men, daily increaſing his Forces: whoſe Rendezvouz he appointed at *Areſia*.

* Arezzo.

X. Mean time of the five Legions that were in *Macedon*, four were come to the Conſul, who angred that he had ſo long delayed revenging *Cæſar's* death, brought him without any Acclamations to the Tribunal, as if before all other things they would be ſatisfied in the reaſons of this delay. He offended at their ſilence, could not forbear reproaching them of ingratitude, in not conſidering how much more advantagious it was for them to bear Arms in *Italy*, than againſt the Parthians. He complained likewiſe that they had not brought him thoſe Diſturbers of the Peace which that young Giddy-brains (for ſo he called *Cæſar*) had ſent amongſt them; whom, however, he himſelf ſhould find out: That as for his Army, he was going to lead them into the happy Province of *Gaul*, the Government of which he had obtained, and would give to every Soldier one hundred Drams. They all burſt out a laughing at the meanneſs of this promiſe; at which he appearing offended, the Tumult increaſed, and all began to leave him. Whereupon, riſing up himſelf, he only ſaid theſe words, *You ſhall learn to obey*. And hereupon he after gave Command to the Tribunes to bring him the Roll of the Mutineers (for in the Roman Armies every Soldier is enrolled in his Order) that he might decimate them according to Military Diſcipline. However, he puniſhed not every tenth Man, but only put a part of them to death, thinking to terrifie them a little; though by this Action he raiſed more their anger than their fear. *Cæſar's* people whom he had ſent to corrupt the Legions, obſerving this diſcontent in the Army, began afreſh to ſcatter abroad their Libels, by which they diſplayed to the Soldiers the Cruelty and Avarice of *Anthony*; and withal, repreſenting to them the Clemency of the firſt *Cæſar*, invited them to make tryal of the Liberality of the young Man. And though the Conſul propoſed great Rewards to thoſe who diſcovered them, and threatned with exemplary Puniſhment ſuch as harbored them, he could get no advice who they were; which infinitely troubled him, as doubting the whole Army had intelligence with them. Soon after upon the report brought him of *Cæſar's* proceedings in the Colonies and at *Rome*, he

was

was more concerned, and came forth once more to ſpeak to the Soldiers. He ſaid, *It troubled him that he had been forced to puniſh ſome, though it had been fewer than Military Diſcipline required, and that they knew well that* Anthony *was neither covetous nor cruel. But,* ſaid he, *let us talk no more of Averſions, or Faults, or Puniſhments; we will forget all that is paſt. And as for the hundred Drams a Head I promiſed you, I would not have you think I meant it as a Donative, that were below the Fortune of* Anthony; *you ſhall receive that only as an Earneſt of my Favour at our firſt Meeting, but remember that both now and hereafter I deſire you would obey me according to the Roman Law of War.* After having made an end of ſpeaking he gave them not any thing more, leſt he ſhould ſeem to prejudice his Quality of General by yielding too much to his Army; And they likewiſe acquieſced in the promiſes he made them, either as repenting of what they had done, or out of fear; yet he changed their Officers, either becauſe they had encouraged the Mutiny, or out of ſome ſuſpition he had of them: But as for the Soldiers, he treated them afterwards more favourably in all occaſions they had to petition him. He cauſed them to march along the Sea-Coaſts towards *Rimini* one after another; but for himſelf, having choſen out the propereſt and briskeſt Men he could find among all the Legions, and formed them into a *Regiment of Guards; he took his way towards *Rome*, from thence intending to go meet the Legions. Being come nigh to *Rome* he quartered his Horſe in the Suburbs, and with his Foot entred the City in a poſture as if he had an Enemy to engage; cauſing them to keep Guard about his Houſe, and giving the Word, and dividing the Watches as if he had been in the Field. Soon after having ſummoned a Senate to make his Complaint of *Cæſar*'s Enterprizes, News was brought him to the Palace Gate that one of the four Legions, called the Legion of *Mars*, was revolted to that young Captain. Whereupon, being at a ſtand, and perplexed in mind, another Meſſenger came to tell him that the fourth Legion had followed the Martial: Which tidings put him into ſuch a fright, that only entring the Palace as though he had called together the Fathers for ſome other reaſons, he ſaid little to them, but ſpeedily going out of the City, marched directly towards *Alba*, to endeavour to regain thoſe that had deſerted his Party; but ſeeing they ſhot at him from the Walls, he ſent five hundred Drams a Man to the reſt; and brought thoſe Forces he had, with all his Train of Munition ordinarily uſed in War, to *Tivoli*, for the War was already declared, *Decimus* having refuſed to part with *Gaul*.

* *Pretorian Cohort.*

XI. He had not been long at *Tivoli*, but almoſt all the Senate, a great part of the Knights, and many of the moſt conſiderable of the People came to complement and give him Teſtimonies of their Good Will. And as there he was adminiſtring the Oath to the Soldiers he had with him, and likewiſe to the Veterans, a great number of which were come voluntarily to joyn with him, they of their own accord ſwore with the reſt, and promiſed him Fidelity; ſo that it ſeemed a wonder where thoſe Men were who a little before had ſo fiercely declaimed againſt him in the preſence of *Cæſar*. Thus *Anthony* magnificently accompanied, advanced towards *Rimini*, a City ſituate on the Entrance into *Gaul*. Beſides his new Levies, he had three Macedonian Legions (for the fifth was now arrived) and a great number of Veterans, whom he eſteemed as much again as his new Soldiers. So that he found his Strength to conſiſt in four Legions, all tryed Men, with their Horſe and Light-armed Foot; without reckoning the Regiment of Guards, and the Soldiers newly entertained. Beſides, *Lepidus* was in *Spain* with

four Legions, *Asinius Pollio* with two, and *Plancus* in the Transalpine *Gaul* with three; all which would in all appearance side with *Anthony*. As for *Cæsar*, his Force consisted of those two Legions revolted from *Anthony*, one of the new Soldiers, and two of Veterans, which would not have been compleat, had he not filled them up with New. Having rendezvouzed them at *Alba*, he gave advice thereof to the Senate, who extremely rejoyced at it; so that now again it was hard to find out the Men that had accompanied *Anthony*. Not but that they were troubled that these Legions had not rather yielded to themselves than to *Cæsar*. However, after having applauded their Good Will, and that of the other Legions, they promised that as soon as the new Magistrates were entred upon their Charge they would employ them in such things as should be effectually for the Good of the Republick. Now it was apparent their hopes were to employ these Forces against *Anthony*, having no other particular Army, nor having power to raise one without the Authority of the Consuls; wherefore they temporized till such time as the new Officers were entred upon the Management of Affairs. Mean time *Cæsar*'s Soldiers offered him Axes and Lictors; beseeching him to take the Title of Propretor, and command them in that Quality, because they were accustomed to pay their Obedience to Magistrates. He much applauded them for the Honour they would have conferred on him, but remitted the matter to the Senate's discretion. Nor could all the Entreaties they made him prevail with him to consent, but so far as that they might send Deputies to *Rome* about it; telling them, *The Senate will of themselves the more willingly confer upon me this Dignity when they shall hear that you offered it me, and I would not accept it.* At length, though with much difficulty, he prevailed over them. And when the Officers complained to him that it was a kind of despising them, he gave them these reasons for his Conduct. *The Senate declares on my side, not out of any kindness to me, but because they are afraid of* Anthony, *and have at present no Army; they only wait till* Anthony *be defeated, and that the Murderers of my Father, who are Kindred and Friends to most of the Senate, have drawn together their Forces; which being so easie to be perceived, I dissemble a Submission to them, and it is requisite they should preserve that Opinion of me: But should I usurp the Title of Magistrate, they would accuse me of Treason and Violence, whilst governing my self with modesty, they will perhaps of their own motion give it me for fear lest I should accept it from you.* Having spoken in this manner, he went to see the two revolted Legions exercise; who performed one against the other all that could be practised in a Fight, except killing, in such an excellent manner, that *Cæsar* was infinitely pleased with the sight of it; and taking thence occasion to exercise his Liberality, he gave once more to every Soldier five hundred Drams, with promise that in case there was a necessity of their engaging in Fight, and he gained the Victory, he would give them each five thousand; by which Bounty he engaged them to attempt any thing for his Service.

XII. Mean time *Anthony* being marched into *Gaul*, had sent his Commands to *Decimus* to go for *Macedon*, according to the Decree of the People, and for his own safety. Whereupon *Decimus* sent him the Senate's Letters, and Word withal, that *Decimus* ought no less obedience to the Orders of the Senate, than did *Anthony* to the Decrees of the People. And when *Anthony* had fixed a day, on which if he departed not the Province he would treat him as an Enemy, *Decimus* desired him to prolong that time, for fear lest before that himself might be declared Enemy of his Country. After this, though *Anthony* might easily have defeated *Decimus* his Army, which now kept

kept the Field, yet he choſe rather to go about to the Cities, not any of which refuſed him their Gates. Whereupon *Decimus*, afraid leſt he ſhould find none to give him entrance, feigned to have received Orders from the Senate to return with his Army to *Rome*, and took his March towards *Italy*. All the Cities in his way received him as only pretending to paſs through; but when he came to *Modena*, a Noble City, he ſhut the Gates, ſeized on the Stores of the Inhabitants for Proviſions for his Army, killed and ſalted up all the Baggage Horſe for the ſame uſe in caſe the length of the Siege oppreſſed him: And now become Maſter of a great number of Gladiators, and three Legions; one of which were New Levied Men, and the other two having ſerved formerly under him, very affectionate to him, he in that Poſt expected *Anthony*; who preſently came in great rage before the place, and began to work in the Circumvallation of it. *Decimus* being in this manner beſieged, the very firſt day of the next Year the new Conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, after the uſual Sacrifices, aſſembled the Senate in the ſame Temple, to conſult about the Affairs with *Anthony*. There *Cicero* and thoſe of his Cabal adviſed the declaring him an Enemy to his Country, for that he had ſeized by force, and in deſpight of the Senate, of *Gaul*, to the end he might fortifie himſelf againſt his Country; and for having drawn into *Italy* that Army they had given him Command of againſt the Thracians. They added, that he aſpired to Supreme Dominion after *Cæſar*; having been publickly attended through the City by Soldiers as Guards of his Body, having fortifyed his Houſe like a Cittadel; and in ſumm, behaved himſelf in many things with more Pride and Inſolence than became a Magiſtrate, whoſe Power was to continue but a Year. But *L. Piſo*, one of the moſt conſiderable Citizens of *Rome*, who had Charge of *Anthony*'s Affairs in his abſence, with others, Friends to him or *Anthony*, or elſe ſeriouſly thinking what they ſpoke; ſaid, That they ought firſt to Cite him to ſtand to a Tryal, and not condemn a Roman Citizen without a Hearing. Beſides, that it would be a ſhameful thing to declare that Man Enemy to his Country to day, who had yeſterday been Conſul; eſpecially after ſuch publick Applauſes of ſo many ſeveral Perſons, and even of *Cicero* himſelf. Thus the Senate ſpent that day in debate, without concluding any thing. The next Morning the Fathers aſſembled very early in the Palace, where *Cicero*'s Party proved the ſtronger; ſo that *Anthony* was upon the point of being declared Enemy by Decree, if *Salvius*, Tribune of the People, had not hindred, and put a ſtop to the Affair; for among theſe Officers, he whoſe Voice oppoſes carries it. *Cicero*'s Party fretted at theſe Proceedings, bitterly reviled him; and running to the place to ſtir up the Multitude againſt him, aſſigned him to give in the Reaſons of his Oppoſition before the People. He went without any fear; but the Senate hindred him out of a doubt leſt he ſhould pervert the People by putting them in mind of *Anthony*. For the Fathers knew well they condemned an Illuſtrious Perſon without bringing him to a Tryal; and that the Province, for the Uſurpation of which they condemned him, had been given him by the People: Only their fear for the Conſpirators made them bear ill Will to *Anthony*, who had fruſtrated the Indempnity granted them by the Senate; and for this reaſon they had joyned with the young *Cæſar* againſt him: To which *Cæſar*, who perceived their intentions, had eaſily conſented, being willing firſt to get rid of *Anthony*. But though the Senate were thus animated againſt him, they delayed giving Judgment becauſe of the Oppoſition of the Tribune. Notwithſtanding, a Sentence paſſed by which they approved the Action of *Decimus*, in not delivering up *Gaul* to *Anthony*: To which they added, that joyntly with *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, *Cæſar*

ſhould

ſhould command the Forces he already had; that a Statue of Gold ſhould be erected for him; that for the future he ſhould have a Voice among Perſons of Conſular Degree, and have Right to demand the Conſulate ten Years before the time preſcribed by the Laws; and that the Donative *Cæſar* had promiſed to the two Legions revolted from *Anthony* if they gained the Victory, ſhould be payed out of the publick Treaſury. Theſe things thus agreed on, the Senate broke up as if *Anthony* had in effect been declared Enemy, and that the Tribune could find nothing more to ſay on the morrow. But *Anthony*'s Mother, Wife and Son (yet very young) with their Friends and Domeſticks, run about all night to the Houſes of the Senators, to ſolicite them in his behalf. And Day being come, they plucked them by the Robe as they paſſed along to the Senate; and all together in mourning Habit, as the Fathers entred the Palace, caſt themſelves at their Feet before the Gate, weeping and lamenting like deſpairing Perſons. So that theſe ſad Objects and this ſuddain Change had already ſtirred up a Sence of Pity in the Breaſts of moſt of the Judges; when *Cicero* fearing the Succeſs of the Affair, ſpoke to them in this manner.

The Oration of *Cicero*.

WE paſſed yeſterday what we had to decree in the Caſe of Anthony; *for by declaring his Enemies worthy of Honour and Recompence, we have tacitely declared him Enemy to his Country. As for* Salvius, *who alone oppoſes, it follows, that either he is wiſer than us all, or that he does it out of Friendſhip, or elſe underſtands not the preſent ſtate of Affairs. Now it were a ſhameful thing to have all of us together thought to have leſs Wiſdom than one ſingle Man, and it would prove diſhonourable to* Salvius *to prefer a private Friendſhip before publick Good; we are then to believe that he knows not the ſtate of Affairs: but he ought not to give credit to his own Judgment before that of ſo many Conſuls, Pretors, Tribunes, his Colleagues, and all the reſt of the Senators; who being ſo numerous, and ſo great Men both for Age and Experience, know* Anthony *better than* Salvius *can do; for in all Judgments, that Sentence that is carried by moſt Voices ought to be eſteemed moſt juſt. However, if he ſtill have a deſire to hear now the Reaſons of our Judgment, I will repeat the principal of them in few words.* Anthony *has ſeized himſelf of our Treaſure after the death of* Cæſar: *Having obtained from us the Government of* Macedon, *he is marched into* Gaul *without the Senate's Order: We gave him an Army to oppoſe the Thracians, and he, inſtead of employing it againſt them, has brought it into* Italy *againſt our ſelves: And has done things by his own Authority after having, to put a Cheat upon us, asked our conſent, and been denyed it by the Judgment of all the World. Being at* Brunduſium *he took a Regiment of Guards like a King, and has been publickly attended by his Soldiers through the City, placed Guards about his Houſe, and given them the Word, as in time of War: He had likewiſe ordered the reſt of his Forces hither; and was putting himſelf in a poſture of doing with more vehemence than the firſt* Cæſar *the ſame things that he had done. But being prevented by the young* Cæſar, *who had another Army, he was afraid, and went to poſſeſs himſelf of* Gaul, *as on a Province convenient for his deſigns; from whence* Cæſar *fell into* Italy, *and made himſelf Maſter of us and the Republick. To theſe ends it is he terrifies the Soldiers with his Cruelty, to make them obedient to whatever he has a mind to; to this end he decimated not Mutineers nor Run-a-*

ways

ways, on whom only the Law admits that Punishment to be inflicted, and which few Commanders have done but in dangerous Wars and in extreme necessity; whilst he for a fit of laughter puts Citizens to death, not the Guilty, but the Unfortunate. This Cruelty has occasioned those who could escape to leave him (and yesterday you decreed them Recompence as for a good Action) and those who are yet stayed with him do it for fear, and now by his Orders plunder your Province, and besiege your Army and your Pretor, to whom you have written that he should stay in the Province; and Anthony *will have him thence. Why do we not then with Alacrity declare* Anthony *our Enemy, who already makes War upon us? But this is what the Tribune will not know, till such time as he has defeated* Decimus, *and made himself Master, together with that great Province which lies so near us, of* Decimus *his Army; with hopes thereby more easily to oppress us. Then perhaps the Tribune will consent that he should be declared Enemy; but he would have us stay till he be too powerful for us.*

Cicero having spoken in this manner, his Friends began to make such a noise, that it was impossible for any to be heard that would answer him, till *Piso* rose up; out of respect to whom, not only the rest of the Senators, but even *Cicero*'s Party kept silence, and then he declared himself in these terms.

The Oration of *Piso*.

XIII. *The Laws (Conscript Fathers) require that the Accused should hear his Accusation impleaded before him; and after having made answer, expect his Sentence: This is what* Cicero, *that mighty Accuser, cannot deny me. Wherefore, since he has not accused* Anthony *of any thing while he was present, but would now value himself upon this opportunity of his absence to blacken him with a multitude of Crimes, I present my self to make appear the falsity of his Accusations; which I hope to do in few words. In the first place he says that after* Cæsar's *death,* Anthony *seized upon the publick Moneys; but the Laws have ordained particular Punishments for Thieves, but never declared them Enemies to their Country. Besides,* Brutus *having slain* Cæsar, *accused him in a publick Assembly of the People of having wasted the Publick Treasure, and drained dry the Exchequer. Some time after* Anthony *ordered an Inquisition to be made; you approved his Ordinance, and promised the tenth Penny to the Discoverers; and we submit our selves to pay double if any one can convict* Anthony *of having been a Partner in that Crime. So much for what concerns the Publick Moneys. As for the Government of* Gaul, *it is true you did not give it to* Anthony; *but he obtained it by Decree of the People in the presence of* Cicero, *as others obtained other Provinces, and as* Cæsar *himself obtained the same. It is ordered by the same Decree, that if* Decimus *refuse to part with* Gaul, Anthony *may have liberty to constrain him by force; and to employ to that end the Army designed against the Thracians, provided they made no attempt on* Macedon. *But* Cicero *accounts not* Decimus *an Enemy, who is in Arms against the Ordinance of the People; and yet would have* Anthony *be so, whom the People ordered to make this War. So that blaming the Decree, he blames the Authors; but he ought rather then to have dissuaded them, than now revile them having given his consent to it; he ought rather to have prevented the giving that Government to* Decimus

mus *whom the People had chaſed hence as a Murderer, than deprive* Anthony *whom they had gratified. In ſumm, it is ſome imprudence to oppoſe the Ordinances of the People in ſuch a perillous time, without remembring that in the beginning of the Commonwealth they were Judges of theſe things, and declared Friends or Enemies whom they thought worthy; for by the Ancient Laws the People were the ſole Arbiters of Peace and War. And there is no doubt but had they a Head, they would reaſſume this Authority, and abſolutely deprive us of it. But* Anthony *has put to death his Soldiers; he has acted according to the Power given him by your Commiſſion: Nor did there ever General give account of ſuch matters to any Man; for the Legiſlators never thought it for the Commonwealth's Advantage, that a General ſhould own his Soldiers for Judges of his Actions: Beſides, nothing is more dangerous in an Army than Soldiers Contempt of their Commander, which has proved the deſtruction of many in the midſt of Victory. Beſides, none of the Kindred of the decimated either have or do yet complain, and yet* Cicero *accuſes him of Man-ſlaughter; and not content with the uſual Puniſhment of that Crime, treats him as a publick Enemy: Yet conſtantly affirms he has undergone ſtrange affronts from his Soldiers, in that two Legions whom you commanded to obey him, deſerted him contrary to the Law of War; not to yield themſelves to you, but to* Cæſar. *Notwithſtanding all which,* Cicero *thinks their Action good, and yeſterday adviſed they might be rewarded at the Expence of the Publick. God grant the Example may not one day prove dreadful: but however it be,* Cicero's *Heat and Animoſity has carried him to a manifeſt Contradiction; for he at once accuſes* Anthony *of aſpiring to the Tyranny, and of ill treating his Soldiers: And certain it is, that thoſe who pretend to uſurp the Sovereign Power, inſtead of ill treating Military Men, do all they can to gain their favour. However, ſince he has had the confidence to impoſe this Calumny upon* Anthony, *that following* Cæſar's *ſteps, he aimed at the Tyranny, let us examine all his Actions particularly. Has he put any one to death without due Proceſs, as Tyrants uſe to do; he, who is himſelf in danger of being condemned without being heard? Has he chaſed out of the City, or calumniouſly accuſed any Perſon before you? And is there any appearance he that has done no private Wrong, ſhould attempt Publick? But pray* Cicero, *when was this done? Was it when he publiſhed the Indempnity; or when he propoſed the recalling the Son of your* Pompey, *and making good to him his Father's Eſtate out of the Publick Moneys? or when he cauſed to be arreſted and put to death the falſe* Marius, *who troubled our Peace; for which he was praiſed by all the Senate? (and, my Lords of the Senate, this is the only Action* Cicero *durſt not blame, becauſe you applauded it.) Or, in fine, was it when he paſſed that Decree, by which it is prohibited to make Dictators? For this is the Summ of all his Management of Publick Affairs during the two Months which after* Cæſar's *death he ſtayed in the City; during which the People ſometimes ſought for the Murderers to put them to death, and you your ſelves were often in fear and trouble of what might arrive; had he then been an ill Citizen, could he ever expect a Conjuncture more favourable to his Deſigns? But he never abuſed that Power and Charge of the Conſulſhip: How ſo? Has not he*

XII. *alone governed the Commonwealth,* Dolobella *being gone for* Syria? *Kept he not armed Men about him for his ſecurity, which you your ſelves appointed? Kept he not a Guard by Night in the City, even about his own Houſe; which yet was only done to warrant him from the Ambuſhes of his Enemies? Had he not a fair opportunity upon the death of* Cæſar *his Friend, his Benefactor, beloved by all the People? And did there not one yet fairer preſent it ſelf when he entertained Guards to defend his life againſt thoſe Murderers that attempted his, though he never put to death or baniſhed one of them; yet ſtill he pardoned them ſo far as in civility he could, nor ever hindred the giving of them Governments. Theſe*

(Conſcript

(Conſcript Fathers) are the great Crimes, the manifeſt Crimes wherewith Cicero *accuſes him. Nor is he content to make* Anthony's *Actions only paſs for Crimes. He divines, and ſays, he had deſigned to bring his Army into the City, but that he was afraid of* Cæſar, *who had already with another Army poſſeſſed it. How comes he then who had only deſigned it to be an Enemy to his Country, whilſt he that had really done it, and does in a manner ſtill hold us beſieged, is none? Or why did not he come if he had deſigned it, unleſs being at the Head of thirty thouſand well diſciplined Men, he were afraid of three thouſand diſordered and diſarmed, which were then with* Cæſar; *and who were only come to reconcile them together, and left him as ſoon as they knew he would employ them in a War? Or if he durſt not come with thirty thouſand Men, how happened he to come afterwards accompanied only with a thouſand; With whom, when he went from* Rome *to* Tivoli, *how many of us did attend him? How many ſwore Fidelity to him without being required? And what Applauſe did* Cicero *himſelf give him? In ſhort, had he deſigned any thing againſt his Country, why left he with us thoſe Hoſtages yet at this Palace Gate, his Mother, his Wife, and his Son; who are at preſent weeping for fear, not of the Accuſations brought againſt him, but of the power of his Enemies? Thus much I thought convenient, to make you underſtand the Innocence of* Anthony, *and the Inconſtancy of* Cicero: *and have now nothing more to ſay, but to exhort all good Men not to offend the People, nor do Injuſtice to* Anthony, *for fear of ſuch trouble as may enſue to the City, the Commonwealth being yet ſo weakly eſtabliſhed, that it is ready to relapſe into its firſt diſorders, if not timely relieved. However, it is my opinion, that we ſecure to our ſelves Forces for the Defence of the City before any Attempt be made upon us from abroad. Then you may take order for ſuch things as are neceſſary, and decree what you judge convenient, when it ſhall be in your power to put thoſe Decrees in Execution. But how is this to be done? You need only leave to* Anthony *the Province given him by the People; and after having recalled* Decimus *with his three Legions hither, ſend him to* Macedon, *and keep his Army. And if thoſe two Legions revolted from* Anthony, *have ſubmitted to us, as* Cicero *affirms, let us withdraw them from* Cæſar, *and order their Return to the City. Thus having five Legions at our diſpoſe, we may iſſue what Orders we think requiſite without courting the grace or favour of any Man. This I ſpeak to thoſe who liſten to me without envy or hatred. As for thoſe who ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported by their Paſſions and particular Animoſities, I exhort them not to give too raſh Judgment againſt Great Men, and Commanders of great Armies, leſt we force them to make War upon us: Let them remember* Marcus Coriolanus, *or rather what ſo lately happened to us in the Perſon of* Cæſar, *who likewiſe commanded an Army. He offered us reaſonable Conditions; yet we by raſhly declaring him Enemy, forced him indeed to become his Country's Foe. Let them likewiſe conſider the intereſt of the People; who having been ſo lately enraged againſt* Cæſar's *Murderers, may well think themſelves deſpiſed when we give thoſe their Provinces; and praiſing* Decimus, *who would not ſubmit to their Decree, declare* Anthony *Enemy, becauſe he from them required the Government of* Gaul. *In ſhort, I exhort all honeſt minded Men to reduce others to reaſon, and do beſeech the Conſuls and Tribunes to appear more affectionate in providing againſt thoſe Evils wherewith the Commonwealth is threatned.*

XIV. Thus ſpake *Piſo* for *Anthony*; and doubtleſs, his reproaching of *Cicero* and the terror he imprinted in Men's minds were the cauſe he was not declared Enemy. However, he could not prevail with them to leave him the Government of *Gaul*, for the Kindred and Friends of the Conſpirators

prevented it. They feared leſt *Anthony* being at Peace, might reconcile himſelf with *Cæſar*, to revenge the death of his Father; and therefore did all they could to foment their Diviſion. It was therefore decreed to offer him *Macedon* inſtead of *Gaul*; and as for the other Orders of the Senate, the Fathers either over-reached or deſigning it, gave Commiſſion to *Cicero* to put them in writing, and ſend them to him. He drew them up after his own fancy in theſe Terms: That *Anthony* ſhould forthwith raiſe his Siege before *Modena*, foregoing *Gaul* to *Decimus*, at a limited day repaſs the *Rubicon*, which divides *Gaul* from *Italy*, and ſubmit himſelf to the Authority of the Senate. *Cicero* ſent theſe Commands in this ſpiteful manner to *Anthony*, contrary to the Senate's intention: Yet did he it not out of any particular hate, but ſeemed dictated by Fortune, which had determined to change the Face of the Republick, and to ruin *Cicero*. And this happened at the ſame time that the Remains of *Trebonius* Body were brought to the City; and that the Senate underſtanding how infamouſly he had been treated, forthwith declared *Dolobella* Enemy to his Country. The Commiſſioners ſent to *Anthony*, aſhamed to have brought him ſo inſolent a Command, delivered it into his hands without ſaying a word. At ſight of it he fell into a rage, and uttered many violent expreſſions againſt the Senate, but eſpecially againſt *Cicero*: That it amazed him that *Cæſar*, who had done ſuch mighty Services for the Roman Empire, ſhould be eſteemed a Tyrant and a King; and that Men ſhould not have the ſame opinion of *Cicero*, who having been made Priſoner of War by *Cæſar*, and by him releaſed without any dammage or affront, preferred now his Murderers before his Friends. He who hated *Decimus* whilſt he was *Cæſar*'s Friend; now he is become his Murderer, favours the ſame *Decimus* who had received the Government of *Gaul* from the ſame *Cæſar*, and declares him Enemy who held it of the People.

The Oration of *Anthony*.

THE *Senate having given me ſome Legions* (ſaid he) Cicero *decrees Rewards to the Revolters, and corrupts thoſe ſtand firm in their duty; whereby he wrongs not me ſo much as he does Military Diſcipline. He granted the Amneſty to Murderer, to which I conſented for the ſake of two Men I reſpected, and declares* Anthony *and* Dolobella *Enemies for holding what has been granted them; for no other reaſon is there: And if I would quit* Gaul, *I ſhould no longer be either Enemy to my Country, or Affector of Tyranny. But I proteſt to overthrow that Indempnity, with which they will not reſt content.*

Anthony having vented many ſuch paſſionate things, wrote in Anſwer to the Senate, that he ſubmitted to their Authority for the Affection he bore his Country: But as for *Cicero*, who had himſelf compoſed the Order ſent him, he anſwered him in theſe Terms: *The People having by their Decree given me the Government of* Gaul, *have likewiſe given me leave if* Decimus *would not yield it up, to force him to it; and in his Perſon to puniſh all the reſt of the Murderers; and by his death purge the Senate of a Crime of which they are partakers becauſe* Cicero *abets it.* Upon report made to the Senate of what *Anthony* had ſaid and writ, they at that very inſtant not only declared him Enemy,

my, but his Army likewiſe, if they immediately left him not: And to *Marcus Brutus* they gave *Macedonia* and *Illyria*, with the Forces yet remaining in thoſe Provinces, till ſuch time as the Commonwealth were ſetled. He had already a particular Army, beſides ſome Forces he had received from *Apuleius*: He had likewiſe ſome Shipping, as well Galleys as Veſſels of Burthen; about ſixteen thouſand Talents of Silver, and a great quantity of Arms found at *Demetriade*, where *Cæſar* had long before layed up his Stores: of which the Senate had by Decree given him the Diſpoſition, with power to employ what he judged neceſſary for the good of his Country. They likewiſe conferred on *Caſſius* the Government of *Syria*, with Commiſſion to make War upon *Dolobella*, and Command to all the Provinces depending on the Roman Empire, from the Ionian Sea to the Eaſt, to obey the Orders of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. Thus in a ſhort time without much labour their Party grew prodigiouſly powerful. This News coming to *Cæſar*'s ear ſtrangely perplexed him: He thought the Amneſty granted by the Fathers had ſome colour of humanity and compaſſion to their Relations and Peers in Dignity; that thoſe leſſer Governments given them were only for their ſecurity: And he obſerved that only to maintain *Decimus* in *Gaul*, they accuſed *Anthony* of aſpiring to the Tyranny, and by the ſame invention engaged himſelf to take the contrary Party. But when he ſaw they had declared *Dolobella* Enemy for deſtroying one of thoſe who had ſlain his Father; that they had given *Brutus* and *Caſſius* abſolute power in many great Provinces, and ſeveral Armies, with vaſt Summs of Money, and power to raiſe more among all they commanded beyond the Ionian Sea, he no longer doubted but it was their deſign to ruin *Cæſar*'s Party, and re-eſtabliſh that of *Pompey*. He likewiſe now plainly perceived, that by their Cunning they had made the Young Man of him; that they had given him a Statue, with the Right of Precedency, and Quality of a Pro-Pretor, but that indeed they had ſtripped him of his Army; for where the Conſuls command together, the Pretor is nothing. In ſhort, that having only given Rewards to the Legions that deſerted *Anthony*, it was a ſcorn of the reſt of his Army; and in the concluſion the War muſt needs turn to his diſhonour, the Senate only ſerving their own ends upon him till they were rid of *Anthony*. Upon theſe thoughts which he diſcovered to none, he ſacrificed as it is uſual to do upon the Entrance into any Charge; and that done, ſpoke thus to his Army. *I believe (Fellow Soldiers) that it is from you I hold that Office which I this day receive, and as the Effects of your former Offer; for the Senate had not given it me but that you deſired it: Wherefore know, that to you I owe the whole Obligation, and will teſtifie it abundantly if the Gods favour my deſigns.* Theſe obliging words he ſpoke to gain the Hearts of the Soldiery. As for the Conſuls, *Panſa* went to raiſe Forces in ſome Corners of *Italy*, and *Hirtius* came to *Cæſar* to make Diviſion of their Forces. He had received private Orders from the Senate to demand for his Portion thoſe two Legions that had deſerted *Anthony*, knowing them to be the moſt conſiderable part of the Army; which *Cæſar* yielding to, after the Diviſion made they went to take up their Winter Quarters together. Towards the end of Winter *Decimus* being ſorely oppreſſed with Famine, *Hirtius* and *Cæſar* marched ſuddainly to *Modena*, to raiſe the Siege; but finding *Anthony* too well intrenched, they durſt not attempt forcing the Lines till *Panſa* were come up to them. There happened mean while ſome Horſe-Skirmiſhes, in which *Anthony*, though much ſtronger in Cavalry, got not much advantage by reaſon of the many Brooks that croſſed the Country. Affairs being in this poſture at *Modena*, *Cicero*, becauſe of the Conſul's abſence, ſtrove to gain

the people of the City by frequent Aſſemblies, making proviſion of Arms, which the Artificers furniſhed gratis, and raiſing Monies, in the levying which, he made *Anthony*'s Friends pay exceſſive Contributions; yet they payed them without grumbling, for fear of expoſing themſelves to Calumny, till ſuch time as *Pub. Ventidius*, who had been an Officer under *Cæſar*, and was now *Anthony*'s Friend, no longer able to endure the perſecution, went to *Cæſar*'s Colonies, where he was known, and raiſed two Legions for *Anthony*, with which he marched towards the City, deſigning to ſeiſe upon *Cicero*. He put all into ſuch a fright, that many ſent away their Wives and Children, as if they had been in utter deſpair, and *Cicero* himſelf retired; which *Ventidius* having notice of, advanced towards *Modena* to joyn with *Anthony*, but his way being cut off by *Hirtius* and *Cæſar*, he turned into the Country of* *Picenum*, where he raiſed another Legion, waiting to ſee which way Affairs would go.

* *Marches of* Ancona.

XV. Now *Panſa* drawing nigh to *Modena*, *Hirtius* and *Cæſar* ſent *Carſuleius* to meet him with *Cæſar*'s Regiment of Guards, and the Legions of *Mars*, to ſecure his paſſage through the Straits. *Anthony* had forbore to ſeiſe on them, leſt thereby he might put a ſtop to his great deſign, which was to come to a Battel; wherefore not expecting any great effects from his Horſe in a Marſhy Plain full of Ditches; as ſoon as he had notice of *Carſuleius*'s March, he placed two of his beſt Legions in ambuſh in the Mariſhes, on each ſide of a narrow Cauſway, over which the Enemies were to paſs, *Carſuleius* having croſſed the Straits by night, and in the Morning early the Legion of *Mars* with five Cohorts being entred upon the Cauſway, on which there was not a Man ſtirring, looking upon the Mariſhes on both ſides of them, they perceived the Buſhes to wag, which gave them ſome ſuſpicion, and ſoon after the brightneſs of the Shields and Helmets dazling their eyes, they forthwith beheld *Anthony*'s Regiment of Guards coming to charge them. The Legionary Soldiers perceiving themſelves ſurrounded, ſo that they could not make their retreat, obliged the new Soldiers to ſtand Spectators of the Fight, without engaging, leſt their want of experience ſhould breed diſorder in the Buſtle; and to *Anthony*'s Guards they oppoſed *Cæſar*'s, for themſelves they divided into two Bodies, one commanded by *Panſa*, the other by *Carſuleius*, and thus parted, went each into his ſide of the Mariſh: ſo that in the two Mariſhes were fought two Battels, ſo near, that nothing but the Cauſway hindred the one from ſeeing what the other did, beſides the third which was fought by the Guards on the Cauſway it ſelf. *Anthony*'s Soldiers burnt with a deſire of revenging themſelves on the Legions as Traytors and Runaways; and the Martials were no leſs eager to have ſatisfaction for the injury they had done them in ſuffering their Companions to be put to death at *Brunduſium*, and knowing well that in them conſiſted the principal force of both Armies, they hoped by this one Fight to put an end to the War. The one Party were incited by the ſhame it would prove to them, being two Legions, to be worſted by one; and the other ſpurred on by the hopes of the Glory they ſhould obtain, if, being but one Legion, they defeated two. Thus preſſed forward by mutual hate, and conſidering more their own Honour than their Generals Intereſt, they fought for themſelves: and being all old Soldiers they began not the Fight with a ſhout to frighten their Enemy, nor in the heat of the Fight did any let drop a word, whether he fell or overcame, and not having by reaſon of the Ditches in the Mariſh any room either to wheel or gain ground, they kept firm footing without making any retreat, ſo that griping one the other

ther like Wreſtlers, they ſtruck not a blow but did it's execution, the ground was covered with wounded and dying perſons, not crying out, or groaning for grief of their wounds, but ſighing that they could do no more: as ſoon as one fell, another ſupplyed his place: there was no need of adviſing or encouraging them, for by reaſon of their long experience every man was his own Captain; and when they found themſelves quite tired like Wreſtlers in the Gymnick Games they ſtood ſtaring on each other to gain a little Breath, and then fell on afreſh, to the great aſtoniſhment of the young Soldiers, to ſee them do ſuch brave things, and with ſo much ſtedfaſtneſs keep their Ranks, in ſo profound a ſilence. At length having done on all parts Acts more than humane, *Cæſar*'s Guards were all cut in pieces, as for the Legion of *Mars*, that part commanded by *Carſuleius*, gave ſome ground to the Legion that oppoſed them, yet not with diſhonour, but by little and little, making a fair retreat. Thoſe who fought under *Panſa* were in like manner oppreſſed by their Opponents, yet ſo as they couragiouſly defended themſelves, till ſuch time as the Conſul receiving a wound with a Pile in the Thigh, was carried off the Field to *Bolonia*. Then they began to retire by little and little, and after that ſomewhat faſter, almoſt flying outright; which as ſoon as the young Soldiers obſerved, they took their flight in diſorder towards an Entrenchment which the Quæſtor *Torquatus* had cauſed to be raiſed to ſerve in caſe of neceſſity. Here whilſt the reſt were yet fighting, theſe young Soldiers ſhut up themſelves in a ſtrange fright and confuſion, though they were Italians as well as the Martialiſts; ſo much does Exerciſe and Diſcipline more than Birth contribute to the making Men valiant. The Martialiſts would not enter the Intrenchment for fear of blaſting their Glory, but went and planted themſelves at ſome diſtance thence, where, wearied as they were, they ſtood expecting a freſh Charge, reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt gaſp; whereupon *Anthony* judging it would be too hard a task to vanquiſh them, turned upon the new raiſed Forces, of whom he made a horrible Slaughter. *Hirtius*, who was in the Confines of *Modena*, about ſixty Furlongs from the place where this Battel was fought, hearing the news, made all the ſpeed he could thither with the other revolted Legion, and as towards Evening *Anthony*'s Men were returning ſinging for the Victory, he ſurpriſed them in diſorder, with his Legion freſh, and in a poſture of fighting; they drew into the beſt order of Battel they could, and again acted wonders, but at length quite tired they gave ground, yet the greateſt part of them were left upon the place. *Hirtius* would not purſue the others, for fear of engaging himſelf in the Mariſhes, beſides, night came on, ſo he cauſed the Retreat to be ſounded. The whole Mariſh was covered with Arms, dead, dying and wounded Men, and ſome that were fallen among the reſt only out of pure wearineſs, wherefore *Anthony*'s Cavalry ſpent the night in gathering up the Wracks of their Party, cauſing ſome to mount on their led Horſes, others to get up behind them, and perſwading others to take hold of their Horſe tail to help them in marching, that they might the ſooner get off. And *Anthony* being after ſo brave a Fight defeated by *Hirtius*, went and lodged at a Village near the Field of Battel, called the Market of the Gauls, where there was no Intrenchment: on either ſide near half the Army was loſt, with all *Cæſar*'s Regiment of Guards. *Hirtius* loſt few, and on the morrow they all retired into their Camps before *Modena*. *Anthony* after this loſs reſolved not to fight, though the Enemy ſhould provoke him, but to weary them with frequent Skirmiſhes, till ſuch time as *Decimus* oppreſſed with Famine ſhould be conſtrained to yield. *Hirtius* and *Cæſar* on the

contrary

contrary were the more eager to engage, and becauſe they could not draw *Anthony* to a Battel, they raiſed their Camp to go on the other ſide of *Modena*, where the Trenches were weaker by reaſon of the ſituation of the place, reſolving to force the Lines, and ſo gain an entrance into the City. *Anthony* ſent forth his Horſe only, againſt which likewiſe they ſent only theirs, and held on the March with the reſt of the Army: inſomuch that *Anthony* fearing to loſe *Modena*, drew out againſt them two Legions whom they made a halt for, and ſo had a Battel as they deſired. Thereupon *Anthony* ſent for his other Forces, but by reaſon they expected not this Allarm, and were quartered at ſome diſtance from the place of Battel, they could not come ſo ſuddenly but that the Enemy had firſt gained a Victory. *Hirtius* in perſon entred *Anthony*'s Camp, and bravely fighting before the Generals Tent, was ſlain, *Cæſar* coming in brought off his Body, and made himſelf Maſter of the Camp; but being ſoon beat out again by *Anthony*, they each ſtood all night in Arms. *Anthony* having now again received this Defeat, held at the ſame time a Council of his Friends, who were of opinion that he ſhould continue the Siege, without fighting, the loſs being almoſt equal, *Hirtius* being ſlain, and *Panſa* being wounded, himſelf the ſtronger in Horſe, and *Modena* in ſuch want of all things, that it could not long ſubſiſt without ſurrendring; and ſurely this counſel he ought to have followed, but Fate hindred it. He was fearful leſt *Cæſar* ſhould throw himſelf into the City, as he had attempted to do the day before; or elſe having conveniency for all Engines thereabout, ſhould beſiege himſelf, and ſo make his Horſe uſeleſs. *Then*, ſaid he, Lepidus *and* Plancus *will deſpiſe me, as a man loſt beyond repair; but if I raiſe my Siege*, Ventidius *will forthwith bring us three Legions from the Country of* Picenum, *and* Lepidus *and* Plancus *will come joyn with us numerous Forces.* And in ſhort, after having thus ſpoken, this Man, hitherto fearleſs in all dangers, preſently departs from before *Modena*, and takes his March towards the *Alpes*.

XVI. The Siege being raiſed, *Decimus* began to fear *Cæſar*, for the Army being no longer commanded by the Conſuls, he thought him his Enemy, wherefore before it was day he cauſed to break down the Bridge, and diſpatched ſome to *Cæſar*, to acknowledge the obligation he had to him for his deliverance, and to intreat him to come on the other ſide the River, where in the preſence of all the Inhabitants, he would convince him that he was engaged in the Conſpiracy more by misfortune than by fault. *Cæſar* having hearkened to thoſe who brought this meſſage, anſwered in anger: *That he deſired him not to own any obligation to him; for he came not to ſerve him, but to make War upon* Anthony *the Enemy of his Country: that nature forbad his ſeeing or ſpeaking to him; however, he was ſafe ſo long as he pleaſed them who commanded at* Rome. This anſwer being brought to *Decimus*, he went to the River ſide; and after having called *Cæſar* by his name, he read with a loud voice the Decree of the Senate which gave him the Government of *Gaul*, forbidding him to paſs the River, or enter into his Province without the Conſuls, nor ſo much as to purſue *Anthony* any farther; for that himſelf was ſtrong enough to defeat him. Though *Cæſar* ſaw well that *Decimus* durſt not have talked ſo boldly to him, had he not been inſpired by the Senate, ſince that he could with one ſole command of his reduce him under his power, which yet he would not do, but going to *Bolonia* where *Panſa* was, he wrote to the Senate how all things paſſed, as *Panſa* alſo particularly did. *Cicero* read *Panſa*'s Letters in a full Aſſembly of the People; and thoſe from *Cæſar* in the Senate only, where he cauſed

to

to be ordained fifty days Feaſt for *Anthony*'s Defeat, though ſo many were never ordained in any War, no not for any Victory gained from the Gauls. He farther adviſed, that ſince *Panſa* was thought irrecoverable, though he were yet living, they ſhould give *Decimus* command of the Conſul's Army, with Commiſſion himſelf alone to proſecute the War againſt *Anthony*; and that publick Prayers ſhould be made for the proſperity of his Arms, ſo much was *Cicero* tranſported againſt *Anthony*; beſides which they confirmed the gift of five thouſand Drams a Head, promiſed to the Legions that had quitted *Anthony*, payable out of the Moneys of the Treaſury, after the Victory, (as if it had been already gained) and permitted them hereafter upon Holy-days to wear Crowns of Olive-branches. In this Decree not ſo much as mention was made of *Cæſar*'s name, ſo much they already contemned him, out of a belief they had *Anthony* could never make Head again, having to this purpoſe writ to *Lepidus*, *Plancus* and *Aſinius*, who were at no great diſtance to complete his ruine. Whilſt thoſe things paſſed at *Rome*, *Panſa* ready to die of his wound at *Bolonia*, calling for *Cæſar*, ſpoke to him in this manner:

The Speech of *Panſa*, being ready to die, to *Cæſar*.

I Loved your Father as my ſelf, but after his death could not poſſibly revenge him, nor oppoſe my ſelf to the judgment of the moſt, to whoſe authority you have likewiſe prudently ſubmitted your ſelf, though you had an Army. As at firſt they feared nothing more than you and Anthony, *who had ſo great an affection to your Father, ſo they were well ſatisfied with your Diviſion, hoping you would deſtroy one the other; and when they ſaw you Maſter of an Army, they flattered you as a young Man, with ſpecious Honours, which had nothing in them but ſhew; but after they had examples of your Gallantry and Moderation, by the refuſal of thoſe Honours offered you by your Army, they were ſtartled, and gave you a power equal to us, that they might by this means draw out of your diſpoſal two excellent Legions, out of hopes that one of you being defeated, the other which remained would not be conſiderable: and thus* Cæſar's *Party being ruined,* Pompey's *might be re-eſtabliſhed. This was the ſubſtance of their thoughts. As for* Hirtius *and my ſelf we had followed their order till we could have abated the pride of* Anthony; *but after having overcome him, deſigned to reconcile him with you, that we might pay to* Cæſar's *memory this teſtimony of our Friendſhip and Acknowledgments, by acting what might be moſt advantageous to his Party. It was not convenient till now to impart this deſign to you; but now ſince* Anthony *is defeated,* Hirtius *dead, and I a dying, I thought it time to diſcover it to you. I demand not that after my death you ſhould think your ſelf obliged to me; but ſince your Actions make it known that you are born under fortunate Stars, I tell it you, that you may bethink your ſelf what you have to do, and that you may know what* Hirtius *and I deſigned to do for you, and what we have been conſtrained to do againſt you. It is therefore juſt to reſtore to you that Army you gave up to us; and I now reſtore it to you. As for the new raiſed Forces, if you can gain them to ſerve you, I will give them to you: but if either the Soldiers are too fearful of the Senate, becauſe their Officers have in charge to obſerve us; or that you think you either may be blamed, or ſtand in no need of them,* Torquatus *our Treaſurer ſhall take them in charge.*

After

After having ſaid theſe words, and delivered over the new Forces to the Treaſurer or Quæſtor, he died. The Quæſtor by the Senates order delivered them over to *Decimus*, *Cæſar* ſolemnized magnificent Funerals for *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, and ſent their Bodies with pomp to *Rome* to be buried.

XVII. At the ſame time that this was done in *Italy*, things paſſed thus in *Syria* and *Macedon*, *C. Cæſar* paſſing through *Syria*, and having already in his thoughts the War againſt *Parthia*, had left in this Province a Legion which he had given in charge to *Cecilius Baſſus*, as Lieutenant to *Sextus Fulius* his Kinſman, yet very young, and who going to take his pleaſure in the Country, made his Soldiers accompany him againſt all decency and order, *Baſſus* having one day reproved him, he reviled him; and at another time having ſent for *Baſſus*, becauſe he came not ſo ſoon as he expected, he gave order to bring him by force. This Command having raiſed a Tumult, Blows enſued, and the Soldiers no longer able to endure *Fulius* his Inſolence, ſlew him with their Javelins. They at that very moment repented the act, being afraid of *Cæſar*; wherefore they immediately ſwore one to another, that if pardon and ſecurity for their perſons were denyed them, they would defend each other to the death; they likewiſe forced *Baſſus* to be of the Conſpiracy; and having raiſed another Legion, exerciſed them according to the Roman Diſcipline. Thus write ſome concerning *Baſſus*. But *Libo* ſaith, that having born Arms under *Pompey*, after his death he retired into *Tyre*, where he remained ſome time as a private Man, and where at laſt by his Money gaining ſome Legionary Soldiers, he prevailed with them after they had ſlain *Sextus* to chuſe him for their Captain. However it were, *Sextus Murcus* haing been ſent by *Cæſar* againſt them, was repulſed, till ſuch time as he called to his aſſiſtance *Minutius Criſpus* with three Legions brought by him out of *Bithynia*, where he commanded. Theſe had now blocked up thoſe two Legions, when *Caſſius* coming unexpectedly received them forthwith into his Service; and at the ſame time thoſe ſix Legions that beſieged them, voluntarily ſubmitting to him, acknowledged him for Proconſul; for, as we have ſaid before, the Senate had ordained by Decree that all the Soldiers of thoſe Provinces ſhould obey *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, ſome time before *Dolobella* had ſent *Allienus* into *Ægypt*, from whence he was leading back four Legions, the Remains of the Defeats of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, or of thoſe which remained in the Service of *Cleopatra* when *Cæſar* left *Ægypt*. *Caſſius* ſurpriſing him in *Paleſtine*, forced him to take his Party; for he durſt not reſiſt eight Legions with four; ſo that *Caſſius* beheld himſelf, beyond all imagination, Maſter of twelve Legions, beſieged and forced *Dolobella*, who returning out of *Aſia* with two Legions, was received as a Friend into the City of *Laodicea*; news, which the Senate received with joy. As for what concerned *Macedon*, *Caius*, Brother to *Anthony*, diſputed that Government againſt *Brutus* with one only Legion; and becauſe he was not equal in numbers to *Brutus*, he laid an ambuſh for him, which *Brutus* eſcaping, laid another in his turn, wherein *Caius* falling with all his People, he did them no diſpleaſure; but on the contrary, commanded his Soldiers to ſalute them, and though they would neither return nor accept the Salute, yet he let them go without any farther injury. After which, taking a turn with his Army by other ways, he ſurpriſed them again among the Straits, where inſtead of falling on, he a ſecond time

time ſaluted them: whereupon admiring this Man's goodneſs and clemency to his Fellow Citizens, they returned the Salute, and joyned with him, *Caius* likewiſe embraced his Party, and *Brutus* treated him with much Honour, till after being convicted of having ſeveral times ſolicited the Army to revolt, he put him to death. Thus *Brutus* had raiſed his Forces to ſix Legions, beſides two that by praiſing the Macedonians he raiſed in *Macedon*, whom he learn'd to exerciſe according to the Diſcipline of the Romans.

XVIII. Thus went Affairs in *Syria* and *Macedon*. Mean while in *Italy*, *Cæſar* being offended, that in prejudice of him the Command of the Army againſt *Anthony* was given to *Decimus*, diſſembling his diſcontent, demanded the Honour of Triumph, and being diſdainfully refuſed by the Senate, as a thing diſconſonant with his age, and fearing, that after *Anthony* were abſolutely defeated, they would treat him more ſcornfully, he deſigned a reconciliation with him, according to the advice given him by the dying *Panſa*. To bring this about he treated favourably all the Priſoners he had in his Army, as well Officers as Soldiers, received into his ſervice ſuch as were willing to be entertained, and ſent away the reſt, that he might not appear to have an irreconcileable hatred. After which encamping near *Ventidius*, *Anthony*'s Friend, who had only three Legions, he was content to fright him; but making no hoſtile attempt, gave him either free leave to joyn with him, or go in ſafety to find out his General, on condition that he would tell him from him, that he knew not what was good both for the one and t'other, which *Ventidius* accepting, marched forward to find out *Anthony*. Another of his Captains called *Decius*, who had been taken Priſoner before *Modena*, remaining ſtill with *Cæſar*, who held him in good eſteem, he was permitted to return to *Anthony* if he deſired it, and the Captain asking him what thoughts he had of *Anthony*; he made anſwer, he had already given ſufficient teſtimonies of them to perſons capable to judge of Affairs, and for others 'twas in vain to give any more. After having done theſe things which might eaſily make appear his inclinations to *Anthony*, he writ to *Lepidus* and *Aſinius*, directly complaining againſt the affronts he had received from the Senate, by what they had done in ſtrengthning againſt him the Murderers of his Father, that they for their parts might have reaſon to fear, leſt in favour of *Pompey*'s Faction they ſhould one after another perſecute them, as now they did *Anthony*, who through imprudence and want of foreſight was fallen into misfortune: wherefore he counſelled them to ſeem in appearance to ſubmit to the Senate, but really to unite themſelves one to the other for their common ſecurity, whilſt yet it was in their power, and to reprove *Anthony* for the fault by him committed in not doing it. In ſhort, that they ought to imitate the Legionary Soldiers, who disband not as ſoon as the War is done, for fear of expoſing themſelves to the Ambuſhes of their Enemies, and had rather be all together led to ſome Colony, than return every Man to his own Country. Mean while, Sickneſs ſeiſed on the Army which had been ſhut up with *Decimus* in *Modena*, the moſt part of the Soldiers glutting themſelves too much after ſo long a Famine, ſurfeited, and the new raiſed Men for want of Exerciſe were not fit for ſervice: yet *Plancus* being joyned to them with what force he had, *Decimus* wrote to the Senate, that *Anthony* not well digeſting what he had already taſted of the War, hid himſelf, but that at length he would fall into his hands. 'Tis incredible how *Pompey*'s Party were re-

joyced at this news: they made loud outcryes that now their Country had indeed recovered their Liberty, and every one offered Sacrifices, and ten Commiſſioners were nominated to take account of *Anthony*'s Adminiſtration, which was only a pretence to cancel all that *Cæſar* had ordained; for *Anthony* had done nothing, or very little of himſelf, acting always according to *Cæſar*'s Memoirs. The Fathers knew it well enough, but having already in ſome occaſion given judgment without any reſpect to *Cæſar*'s doings, they thought at this time abſolutely to annul all that ever he had done or decreed, to which end the ten Commiſſioners preſently publiſhed an Ordinance, by which all perſons that had received any thing from *Anthony*, were injoyned to bring it in, in writing, under pain of exemplary puniſhment. At length ſome of *Pompey*'s Party demanded the Conſulate for the reſt of the year, in the places of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*. And *Cæſar* had a great deſire to it, he ſolicited not the Senate about it, but wrote to *Cicero*, praying him to endeavour that they might be Colleagues in the Dignity, and that he would leave to him the Adminiſtration of all Affairs, as being moſt capable, by reaſon of his long experience, and would content himſelf with the Quality, that he might with more Honour lay down Arms, having before to that end demanded Triumph. *Cicero* who loved Command, was tickled with this propoſition. He therefore told the Fathers, that having underſtood they conſulted an Accommodation between the Governours of the Province, his advice was, that they ſhould by ſome good Office appeaſe a Man they had offended, and who was at the Head of a powerful Army, that for his part he thought it better, that before the age allowed by the Laws, they ſhould nominate him to a charge to be exerciſed in the City, than behold him in the Field at the Head of an Army, capable to revenge himſelf: nevertheleſs, that he might act nothing contrary to the authority of the Senate, he exhorted them to give him for Colleague ſome aged and prudent perſon to ſerve as a Guide to his youth. The whole Senate laughed at *Cicero*'s ambition, but above all, the Kindred of the Conſpirators oppoſed him, out of the fear they had, leſt if *Cæſar* obtained the Conſulate, he ſhould ſtudy revenge; inſomuch that the Aſſembly was no more ſummoned, becauſe a lawful one could not be called for ſundry reaſons.

XIX. Mean while *Anthony* having croſſed the *Alpes* by conſent of *Culeo*, who guarded the paſſage by order of *Lepidus*, came and lodged his Army on a River ſide by him, without fortifying his Camp; but as one Friend ſits down by another there ſeveral times their People went and came from one to the other, *Anthony* put *Lepidus* in mind of their Friendſhip, of what he had done for him, and adviſed to beware leſt all thoſe who had been of *Cæſar*'s Party were not oppreſſed one after another, and *Lepidus* excuſed himſelf upon the Orders of the Senate, which commanded him to make War, though it would trouble him to come to extremities with him. But *Lepidus* his Soldiers, whether they had a reſpect for *Anthony*, or elſe perceived ſome Negotiations, or otherwiſe took delight to ſee that unfortified Camp, mixed with thoſe of *Anthony*, at firſt privately, and at laſt publickly, as going to ſee their Countrymen, and ſometime Comrades: in vain did their Officers forbid it. And to the end they might more eaſily converſe together, they made a Bridge of Boats over the River; and the tenth Legion which had formerly been commanded by *Anthony*, carried him from *Lepidus* his Camp all things neceſſary. *Laterenſis* one of the moſt conſiderable Senators perceiving

perceiving it, gave notice to *Lepidus*, and when he would believe nothing of it, desired him to divide his Army, and send one part to any place where he might feign employment for them, and others elsewhere, thereby to try the faith or perfidiousness of his Soldiers. Thereupon he drew his Forces into three Bodies, and commanded them to depart by night to go and convoy the Quæstors, who were not far off. But they about the third Watch arming themselves as for a March, seised on the Trenches, and went and opened the Gates to *Anthony*. He run directly to the Generals Tent, led by *Lepidus*'s Soldiers, crying out, that he should make peace, and pardon his miserable Fellow Citizens. Upon the noise hereof he leaps out of Bed, and quite unready runs to meet them, promising to do what they would have him, and embracing *Anthony*, craved pardon for what he had been forced to do. Nay, some say he fell on his Knees to *Anthony:* but that he was so base and cowardly, all Authors do not affirm: and in my opinion it seems scarce credible, for he had as yet committed no act of Hostility against *Anthony*, which might occasion him to be so fearful. Thus *Anthony* became more powerful and more formidable to his Enemies than ever he had been before; for besides the Forces brought from *Modena*, among which he had exeellent Horse, *Ventidius* had by the way joyned with him with other three Legions, and now *Lepidus* with seven more, furnished with light armed Foot, Horse, and a considerable train, all which went in *Lepidus*'s name; but indeed *Anthony* was Master of them. This news having reached the City, wrought in a moment a wonderful change. Those who despised him before now feared him, and they who feared before, began now to take heart, with scorn they tore down the Ordinances of the Commissaries, fixed in the publick places, and prorogued to a farther time the Assembly for election of Consuls. The Senate most heavily perplexed with fear, lest *Cæsar* should make an Accommodation with *Anthony*, deputed two of their Body, *Lucius* and *Pansa* to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, to assist them in what they could, under pretence of overlooking the Estate of *Greece*: of the three Legions *Sextus* had in *Africa* they sent for two over, and gave the other to *Cornificius*, who commanded in a part of that Province, and was firm to the Senates interests, though the Senate were jealous of these Forces, which they knew well had served under *Cæsar*: but necessity forced the Fathers to this, as well as most shamefully to give *Cæsar* joynt Command with *Decimus* of the War against *Anthony*, because they were afraid he should joyn with *Anthony*.

XX. But *Cæsar* did all he could to incense his Soldiers against the Senate, as well for the injuries himself had received, as because they were sent upon a second Expedition, without being payed the five thousand Drams a Head, due for the first; insomuch that upon his advice to send Deputies to *Rome* to demand that Money, they gave Commission to their Centurions. The Senate knew well he had set them on, and therefore said they would give an answer by other Commissioners of their own. And indeed they sent them with orders to address themselves to *Anthony*'s two Legions, without speaking to *Cæsar*, and to advise them not to place their hopes upon one man alone, but rather rely on the power of the Senate, which was immortal, and to march over to *Decimus*, where they should find the rest of their Money; for to the end they might the more easily speak to them, they had brought half the Money, and deputed ten Commissioners to distribute it, without so much as naming *Cæsar* for the Eleventh: but the Legions re-

fuſing to hear the Deputies, unleſs *Cæſar* were preſent, they went away without doing any thing. Hereupon *Cæſar* thinking it no longer fit to delay, or to declare his mind by others, aſſembled the Army to ſpeak to them himſelf, where after having related all the injuſtices of the Senate, he told them that all was done tended only to the ruine of *Cæſar*'s Party one after another, that they ſhould beware of fighting for their Enemies, or ſuffering themſelves to be engaged in endleſs Wars, wherein they employed them only, that they might periſh in Fight, or be ruined by Seditions, which was the reaſon why after they had all ſerved together at *Modena*, they offered reward only to two Legions, that they might raiſe a jealouſie and diviſion amongſt them.

The Oration of *Cæſar* to his Army.

YOu know, (ſaid he) *why they have of late made War upon* Anthony, *in what manner thoſe of* Pompey's *Faction have in the City treated ſuch as have received kindneſſes from my Father; and pray judge after that whether they will let you enjoy the Lands and Money he gave you, or can there be any ſecurity for my perſon, ſo long as the Kindred of the Murderers are ſo powerful in the Senate. As for my part I will endure with patience whatever can happen to me; for 'tis a Glory for me to ſuffer for my Father; but I am troubled for your concerns, you that for my intereſt and my Father's Honour dayly expoſe your ſelves to ſo many dangers: you had an evidence I had then no ambition, when I refuſed the Office of Pretor offered by you; but now there is but one only way to preſerve us all. It is by your means I may obtain the Conſulate, then will be confirmed to you the benefits received from my Father, then will be given you Colonies and other rewards due to you; and I will proceed in judgment againſt the Murderers, and diſpenſe with you from going to any other Wars.*

Theſe Words were attended with a general Acclamation of the whole Army, who preſently deputed their Centurions to *Rome*, to demand the Conſulate for *Cæſar*. The Senate objecting that he was not of age, required by Law, they anſwered (as they were prepared) that *Corvinus* was formerly created Conſul as young as he, and *Scipio* after him, who as young as they were had both done ſignal ſervice for their Country. They alledged likewiſe the freſher examples of *Pompey* and *Dolobella*; beſides that a Decree had already paſſed permitting the ſame *Cæſar* to demand the Conſulate ten years before the appointed age. Whilſt the Centurions reſolutely offered theſe reaſons, ſome of the Senators offended at the freedom of their ſpeech, interrupted them, by ſaying they talked too high for People of their Quality, which being reported to the Army, ſo highly incenſed the Soldiers, that they deſired to be led directly to the City, where themſelves holding the Aſſembly they would make *Cæſar*'s Son Conſul, to whom at the ſame inſtant they gave a thouſand praiſes. *Cæſar* ſeeing them thus diſpoſed, preſently drawing together his Army, raiſes the Camp with eight

eight Legions, good Horſe, and all other things neceſſary, paſſes the *Rubicon* that divides *Gaul* from *Italy*, from whence formerly his Father had begun the Civil War. There he divides his Army into two Bodies, leaving one in the Rear to follow him at leiſure, and at the Head of the other who were all choſen Men, marching by great journies directly towards *Rome*, that he might ſurpriſe his Enemies before they could be prepared. Having advice by the way, that upon the ſame Road Commiſſioners ſent by the Senate with the Soldiers Money were coming to meet him, he was jealous leſt any of his Men might be tempted by this reward, wherefore he privately ſent Scouts towards them, who ſo terrified them, that away they fled with their Money. The news of his approach filled all the City with Tumult and Terrour; ſome run through the Streets in diſorder, others carried away their Wives, Children, and choiceſt Goods into the Country, or to the ſtrongeſt places of the City. For it not being certainly known if he only demanded the Conſulate, upon the rumour that he came in a hoſtile manner at the Head of an angry Army, every thing appeared dreadful to them. Eſpecially in the Senate the conſternation was great, becauſe they had not at preſent any Army to defend them. Some (as it happens ever in like Allarms) accuſed others, either that they had injuriouſly taken from him the Legions they had given him to make War upon *Anthony*, or that they had denyed him the Triumph due to him, or that out of envy to him, when they ſent the ten Commiſſioners to pay the Army, they had not ſo much as named him for the eleventh, or that they had not payed the Money promiſed the Soldiers, either not in time, or at leaſt not in full, and thereby had given them cauſe to revolt. But that which they moſt of all blamed, was the diſobliging *Cæſar* in an ill Conjuncture, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* being at a great diſtance, and as yet but meanly prepared, and *Anthony* and *Lepidus* both at hand, and ready to fall upon the City, who, if they entertained but the thoughts of making an Accommodation with *Cæſar*, might complete its ruine. *Cicero* himſelf, who appeared moſt officious in all other matters, now ſhewed not his Head: inſomuch that in a moment the face of all things was ſo utterly changed, that inſtead of two thouſand five hundred Drams offered to every Soldier, it was ordered by Decree of the Senate, that five thouſand ſhould be payed them, not for two Legions only, but for eight, of which *Cæſar* himſelf ſhould have the diſtribution, and the ten Commiſſioners. As for *Cæſar*, though he were abſent, they gave him the Conſulate, and diſpatched away Commiſſioners poſt to carry him the news of it.

XXI. But ſcarcely were they got out of the City when the Senate repented, moſt of them began to cry out, that it was a ſhame they ſhould ſo cowardly ſuffer themſelves to be trod under foot, and ſuffer the ſetting up of a new Tyranny without ſhedding of Blood, or ſhould accuſtom pretenders to the Conſulate to demand it with Arms in their hands, and Soldiers to command their Country. That therefore they ought preſently to arm, and oppoſe the authority of the Laws to thoſe who offered them violence; and if they repented them not (as it was not credible they would) endure a Siege, expecting the coming of *Plancus* and *Decimus* to relieve the City, and in the mean time fight to the laſt gaſp, rather than ſubmit to ſervitude without defending themſelves. They alledged hereupon example of things which their Predeceſſors had undertaken, executed, and ſuffered, to maintain their Liberty: and when they ſaw the two Legions they had ſent for

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out of *Africa* arrive at the Port that very day, they thought the Gods concern'd themſelves in their defence; inſomuch that they confirmed themſelves in their repentance, and *Cicero* beginning to appear, the Decree was abſolutely changed. They made a Roll of all the youth capable to bear Arms, to joyn with the two Legions newly come from *Africa*, a thouſand Horſe, and another Legion which *Panſa* had left them, they gave Quarters to all theſe Troops, one part guarded the *Janiculum* with the Riches there ſtored up, another the Bridge over *Tiber*, under the Command of the Prætors of the City, and others kept within the Port Boats and Veſſels laden with Money, ready, if neceſſity required, to flie towards the River, and gain the Sea, making theſe preparations with a countenance of defending themſelves, they hoped *Cæſar* might take his turn to be in fear, or that they ſhould perſwade him to come, and demand the Conſulate without bringing his Army, or that at laſt they ſhould repulſe him by force, and that the queſtion being the preſervation of common liberty, all contrary Parties might unite. But when after having made a long ſearch both publickly and privately for *Cæſar*'s Mother and Siſter, and not finding them, their fears returned, beholding themſelves robbed of ſuch mighty Hoſtages, it being unlikely that thoſe of *Cæſar*'s Party would joyn with them in the common defence, who had ſo well concealed his beſt Friends. Whilſt *Cæſar* was yet in conference with the Deputies, came other to tell him, that the Senate had changed their reſolution; ſo that the firſt returned loaden with ſhame and confuſion, and he with an Army incenſed at theſe proceedings, marched towards the City, troubled for his Mother and his Siſter, and fearful leſt any miſchief ſhould befal them. He ſent before ſome Horſemen to aſſure the People, who trembled for fear, and to the great aſtoniſhment of all the world came and encamped over againſt Mount *Quirinal*, whilſt none durſt either oppoſe or hinder him. At his arrival likewiſe a ſudden change aroſe in the minds of Men, the Nobility went in throngs to do him reverence, and the People ran by whole companies to welcome the Soldiers, who for their parts committed no more diſorders, than in time of the profoundeſt peace. On the morrow leaving his Army in that place, he ſet forward towards *Rome* with an indifferent Train, which increaſed infinitely as he went, by the concourſe of multitudes of perſons, who came from all parts to complement him, and to pay him all the teſtimonies of reſpect and ſubmiſſion poſſible. His Mother and Siſter who had taken Sanctuary among the Veſtals, received him with extreme joy in the Temple of that Goddeſs; and the three Legions that were in the City, without taking notice of their Officers, ſent their Deputies, and ſubmitted themſelves to him, and after them the Officers themſelves made their compoſition, and ſwore fidelity to them, ſave only *Cornutus*, who ſlew himſelf. *Cicero* underſtanding how things went by the intermiſſion of *Cæſar*'s Friends, had leave to ſee him, who made an Oration to him, praiſing him that he demanded the Conſulate, concerning which he had before made a propoſition to the Fathers, to all which he in Raillery anſwered, *That he was the laſt of his Friends that came to ſee him.* The night following a rumour was raiſed, that the Legion of *Mars*, together with the fourth were coming towards the City to ſeiſe it by ſupriſe, which the Prætors and Senate too eaſily believed: and though *Cæſar*'s Army was all at hand, they imagined that they alone with the principal Citizens could for ſome time make reſiſtance till other Forces from elſewhere might come to their relief: ſo that very night they ſent away *Acilius Craſſus* to go and raiſe Men in the Country of *Picenum*, and gave order to *Apuleius* one of

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the Tribunes to go through the City, and declare this news to the People; and at the ſame inſtant aſſembled themſelves in the Palace, where *Cicero* received them at the Gate; but when the report proved falſe, fled away in his Litter out of the City: *Cæſar* laughed at their weakneſs, and cauſed his Army to advance into the *Campus Martius*, yet offered no affront to the Pretors, not ſo much as to *Craſſus*, who was going to raiſe Men againſt him, though brought to him diſguiſed in the Habit of a Slave, but freely pardoned all, that he might beget in the Citizens an opinion of his Clemency. In the mean time he cauſed to be brought to him all the publick Treaſure that was in the *Janiculum*, or elſewhere, of which according to Decree of the Senate paſſed before by the advice of *Cicero*, he diſtributed to each Soldier two thouſand five hundred Drams, promiſing to be accountable for the reſt, and that done he went out of the City, expecting till the day for election of Conſuls.

In concluſion, he was nominated to that Dignity, and with him (according to his deſire) *Quintus Pedius*, who had given him his part of the Inheritance left by *Cæſar*. He entred *Rome* as Conſul, and offered the Sacrifices accuſtomary upon ſuch occaſions, during which there appeared over the City twelve Vultures, in like manner, as it is ſaid, there appeared to *Romulus* when he founded it. After having performed theſe Sacrifices, he declared himſelf Son of *Cæſar* in the Aſſembly of the Tribes, that he might confirm his Adoption by the People; for the People are divided into Tribes in *Rome*, in the ſame manner as the Phratrians among the Greeks. Now this formality obſerved in the Adoptions of thoſe who have no Father, gives them the ſame advantages and the ſame right that natural Children have in reſpect to the Kindred and * Freed Men of their Fathers; wherefore becauſe *Cæſar* beſides the great Wealth he left, had many Freed Men very rich, I am of the mind, that the Son not content with his firſt Adoption, thought the ſecond neceſſary. He revoked likewiſe the Decree by which *Dolobella* was declared Enemy, and permitted all perſons whatſoever to become parties againſt thoſe who were guilty of his Father's Murder. There preſently appeared great numbers of *Cæſar*'s Friends, who formed their accuſations not only againſt thoſe who had an immediate hand in the Action, but likewiſe againſt many who were privy to the plot, but were not in *Rome* when it was executed, nor were otherwiſe guilty, than in not diſcovering it. Having all been publickly ſummoned to appear on the ſame day, they were condemned by default, *Cæſar* ſitting in Judgment, and not one of the Judges arguing for their Diſcharge, except one of the moſt conſiderable, to whom nothing was ſaid at preſent, but not long after he was proſcribed with many others. About the ſame time one of the Pretors of the City named *Quintus Gallius*, Brother of *Marcus Gallius*, who was with *Anthony*, having obtained from *Cæſar* the Government of *Africa*, and after ſtanding convict of an Attempt againſt the life of his Benefactor, was depoſed from his Charge, by his Brethren in Office, the People plundered his Houſe, and the Senate condemned him to death. However, *Cæſar* commanded him to go and find out his Brother, and he embarquing himſelf to that purpoſe, was never ſeen more. After theſe Exploits *Cæſar*'s whole thoughts were employed in reconciling himſelf with *Anthony*, becauſe he certainly knew that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* had twenty Legions,

* *The Patron and Son of the Patron was Heir to the Freed Man.*

ſo

ſo that ſtanding in need of him, he went out of the City, and by ſmall Journies marched towards the Ionian Sea, that he might find out how the Senate ſtood affected. For in the abſence of *Cæſar*, *Pedius* adviſed the Fathers to an Accommodation with *Anthony* and *Lepidus* before the Animoſities that were between the Parties became irreconcileable. They ſaw well ſuch an Accommodation was neither for theirs, nor their Countries Advantage, and that by it *Cæſar* only aim'd at ſtrengthening himſelf againſt *Caſſius* and *Brutus*: yet they beheld themſelves in a neceſſity to conſent; wherefore they repealed the Decrees by which *Anthony* and *Lepidus* with their Armies had been declared Enemies, and ſent them aſſurances of their good will. *Cæſar* wrote Letters of Congratulation to the Senate, and ſent to *Anthony*, that if he ſtood in need of his Arms againſt *Decimus*, he was ready to ſerve him: and *Anthony* returned Anſwer, that he made War againſt *Decimus* as a Traytor to *Cæſar*, and againſt *Plancus* as an Enemy to *Anthony*; and therefore if he pleaſed, he would joyn Forces with him. After the mutual ſending and reception of the Letters, as *Anthony* purſued *Decimus*, *Aſinius Pollio* came and joyned with him with two Legions, and by his interceſſion *Plancus* reconciled with *Anthony* brought him three more; ſo that he became mighty powerful. As for *Decimus* he ſtill had ten Legions, four whereof compoſed of experienced Soldiers, were yet ſick after the Famine they had undergone in *Modena*, and ſix were newly levyed, neither trained, nor inured to hardſhip; wherefore thinking it imprudence to bring them to action, he reſolved to retreat to *Brutus* in *Macedon*, and took his March not by the Ciſalpine *Gaul*, but by *Ravenna* or *Aquileia*, and yet at laſt becauſe *Cæſar* was to come into thoſe Quarters, he attempted a longer and more incommodious March by going over the *Rhine* to croſs a Country inhabited by Barbarians. The difficulty of this unknown way at firſt ſight ſo affrighted his new Forces, that they left him, and ſubmitted to *Cæſar*, and not long after the four old Legions went over to *Anthony*, with all the reſt of his Forces, except only the French Horſe deſigned for his Life Guard. Reduced to this ſmall number, he gave licenſe to all that had yet a mind to depart, making them ſome preſent of Money, and with three hundred Horſe only came to the Banks of the *Rhine*, but by reaſon of the difficulty of paſſing the River, they by little and little forſook him, except only ten, with whom, habited after the faſhion of the Gauls, and ſpeaking their language, he began again to travel, and without fetching ſo great a compaſs, took the Road to *Aquileta*, where he thought he might paſs unknown, becauſe of his ſlender Train. In the way being taken by Thieves, and bound, he asked them how they called the Lord of that Country; and when he underſtood it was *Camillus*, for whom he had done ſome ſervices, he intreated them to carry him before him. When *Camillus* ſaw him, he received him with much civility before the People, ſharply reproving thoſe that brought him bound, that through ignorance they had affronted ſo great a Man, but in private he gave advice to *Anthony*, who had ſo much compaſſion of his fortune, that he would not ſee him. However, he ſent to *Camillus* for his Head, which after having viewed, he gave to ſome of his People to be buried. Thus ended *Decimus*, who had been General of the Horſe to *Cæſar*, Governour of the Tranſalpine *Gaul* under him,

him, designed by him for Consul the year following, and with it provided of the Government of the Cisalpine *Gaul*. He was the second that perished for murdering *Cæsar*. And about the same time *Minutius Basilius*, who was likewise of the Conspiracy, was slain by his Slaves for making some of them Eunuchs by way of punishment.

The End of the Third Book of the Civil Wars of Rome.

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
ROME.

PART II.

BOOK IV.

The Argument of this Book.

I. *THE Author's Design in this Book: The Accommodation of* Cæsar, Anthony *and* Lepidus. II. *Dismal Presages of future Miseries:* Pedius *begins the Proscriptions; and* Cæsar, Anthony *and* Lepidus *are named Triumvirs.* III. *A Copy of the Edict of Proscription.* IV. *The general Cruelties,*

Cruelties committed in the Execution of it. V. *Many Particularities of ſuch as ſuffered.* VI. *The Triumph of* Lepidus: *Proſcription of the Women, and* Hortenſia's *Oration for her Sex.* VII. *Particulars of ſeveral eſcaped the Proſcription.* VIII. *Defeat of* Cornificius, Lelius *and* Ventidius *in* Lybia, *by* Sextus Cæſar's *Lieutenants.* IX. Caſſius *beſieges and takes* Dolobella *in* Laodicea, *and does many other things in* Syria. X. Caſſius *about to beſiege* Rhodes, Archelaus *endeavours to diſſwade him.* XI. Caſſius *anſwers him, and beſieges and takes* Rhodes. XII. Brutus *beſieges the Xantiens, and takes the City.* XIII. *After which* Patara *yields to him*; *and* Murcus, *who ſides with him, is beſieged by* Anthony *near* Brunduſium. XIV. Sex. Pompey *coming into* Sicily, *fights at Sea againſt* Salvidienus *with equal Advantage.* XV. Murcus *and* Domitius Ænobarbus *ſeize on the Paſſage of the Ionian Sea*; *and* Ciditius *and* Norbanus, *Lieutenants to* Cæſar *and* Anthony, *march by Land againſt* Caſſius *and* Brutus. XVI. Brutus *and* Caſſius *having drawn together their Army,* Caſſius *makes an Oration to them.* XVII. Brutus *and* Caſſius *go and encamp near* Philippi. XVIII. Anthony *and* Cæſar *encamp hard by them*; *they engage*; Brutus *gets the better, but* Caſſius *is worſted.* XIX. *The Death of* Caſſius: Murcus *and* Ænobarbus *defeat* Domitius Calvinus. XX. Brutus *Speech to his Army, to oblige them to temporize*; *and* Anthony's, *to encourage his to the Battel.* XXI. Brutus's *Army force him to fight.* XXII. *The Battel:* Brutus *defeated.* XXIII. *The Death of* Brutus: *Praiſes of* Brutus *and* Caſſius; *and End of this Book.*

HAving in the former Book declared how two of *Cæſar*'s Murderers periſhed in their Governments; to wit, *Trebonius* in *Aſia*, and *Decimus* in *Gaul*; in this we ſhall ſet forth how *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, the principal Authors of the Conſpiracy, were puniſhed. Men, that were Maſters of all the Provinces from *Syria* to *Macedon*, who commanded mighty Armies both by Sea and Land; having more than twenty Legions, great number of Shipping, and abundance of Money. And this was done at a time when Proſcriptiptions were dreadful at *Rome*; and that as many proſcribed Perſons as could be found were miſerably put to death. So that the like had never been ſeen or known among all the Tumults and Wars of the Grecians, nor yet among thoſe of the Romans, if you except the time of *Sylla*, who was the firſt proſcribed his Enemies: for *Marius* only ſlew ſuch as fell into his Hands; whereas *Sylla* not only permitted any that would to ſlay thoſe he had proſcribed, but propoſed Rewards to the Murderers, and decreed Puniſhments againſt any durſt give ſuccour to a proſcribed Perſon. But of all thoſe things we have diſcourſed in writing what paſſed in the time of *Marius* and *Sylla*; let us proceed to our order of Hiſtory. I.

Cæſar being reconciled to *Anthony*, it was determined to have a Conference together. The place deſigned for it was near *Modena*, in a little flat Iſland of the River *Labinia*: whither they came with each five Legions; which taking their Stands on each ſide the River, the two Generals, accompanied only by three hundred Men each, advanced to the Bridges that went over the Streams. *Lepidus*, who was before gone into the Iſland to ſee that there were no Ambuſcade, having made them the Signal by ſhewing his Coat-Armor, they left all their Train at the Bridges; and advancing on to the higheſt part of the Iſland, they three ſat down; *Cæſar* in the middle, becauſe of his Quality of Conſul. After two whole Days Conference they

came to this Reſult: That *Cæſar* ſhould for the reſt of the Year quit the Conſulate to *Ventidius*: That to put a ſtop to the Civil Wars there ſhould be created a new Office, which *Anthony*, *Lepidus* and *Cæſar* ſhould exerciſe joyntly for five Years, with the ſame Power as the Conſuls (for they would not make uſe of the name of Dictator, perhaps becauſe of the Law *Anthony* had ſo lately made to aboliſh the Dictatorſhip.) That as ſoon as they had taken Poſſeſſion of this new Dignity, they ſhould deſign for five Years the Annual Officers of the City. That the Provinces ſhould be parted among them: *Anthony* ſhould have all the *Gauls*, except only that confining upon the Pyrenean Mountains, called Antient *Gaul*; which, together with *Spain*, ſhould remain to *Lepidus*; and that *Cæſar* ſhould take *Africa*, with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and all the other adjacent Iſles. In this Diviſion of the Roman Empire among themſelves, they forbore ſharing the other Provinces, becauſe *Brutus* and *Caſſius* yet held them. They agreed therefore together, that *Anthony* and *Cæſar* ſhould make War upon them: That *Lepidus*, deſigned Conſul for the Year following, ſhould remain in the City, that he might provide them of all things neceſſary; and ſhould govern *Spain* by his Lieutenants: That of the ten Legions that compoſed his Army, he ſhould keep three for the Defence of the City, and give three to *Cæſar* and four to *Anthony*; by which means each of them would have twenty Legions. And that they might encourage the Soldiers, beſides the Recompence uſually referred till after the Victory, and other Donatives; they aſſigned them for Colonies eighteen of the beſt Cities of *Italy*, as well for the beauty of the Buildings, as Fertility and Riches of the adjacent Soil, whoſe Houſes and Fields they ſet out amongſt them, as it is uſual to divide a conquered Country. The chief of theſe were *Capua*, *Rhegium*, *Venoſa*, *Beneventum*, *Luceria*, *Rimini*. Thus was the beſt part of *Italy* deſtined a Recompence to the Soldiers. They reſolved likewiſe that before all things elſe they would rid themſelves of their particular Enemies, leſt they ſhould be a hindrance to their Deſigns when they were gone out of the City. Theſe things being all agreed to, and put in writing, *Cæſar* as Conſul, read them publickly before all the Forces (except only that concerning the Proſcriptions, which he kept ſecret) who received them all with a general Acclamation; and forthwith both Armies ſaluted each other in token of Reconciliation.

II. Mean while many dreadful Prodigies appeared at *Rome*. All the Dogs of the City howled like Wolves, which is accounted an unhappy Preſage. The Wolves, which do not uſually come into Cities, came now into the Great Place. An Ox ſpoke with a Man's voice. A Child ſpoke as ſoon as it was born. The Statues of the Gods ſweated, ſome Water, and ſome Blood. The cries of Men, clattering of Arms, and running of Horſes were heard; yet not ſeen. Many frightful Signs appeared about the Sun. It rained Stones. Thunder fell upon ſeveral Temples, and ſome of the very images of the Gods were ſtricken. Hereupon the Senate ſent for Divines out of *Tuſcany*; the eldeſt of which told them, that the Royalty ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, and they all Slaves but only He: and therewith ſtopping his Mouth, held his Breath ſo long, till he fell down dead in the place. This Triumvirate then after their Agreement made, began to contrive among themſelves the Roll of the Proſcribed; wherein they inſerted all thoſe whoſe too great power they were jealous of, and all their particular Enemies; abandoning their own Friends and Relations to one another, ſo they might by that means be revenged on thoſe they hated. And this they did, not only at preſent, but even afterwards; for they proſcribed an infinite number

number one after another, either out of ſome old Grudge, or ſome light Offence, or for being Friends to their Enemies, or Enemies to their Friends, or becauſe they were rich. And indeed they ſtood in need of ſtore of Money for the War, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* having received abundance from the Tributes of *Aſia*, beſides what thoſe Kings and Potentates furniſhed them with; whereas theſe had none to receive, but only out of *Europe* and *Italy*, already drained dry by Exactions and Wars. In ſo much, that to raiſe Money, there was no Perſon to the moſt miſerable of the People, without excepting the very Women, who ſuffered not a thouſand Violences from the Tax-Gatherers, if they were but informed they had any thing. There were ſome likewiſe proſcribed for the beauty of their Houſes or Gardens. In ſhort, the Roll of the Proſcribed, with Confiſcation of Goods, amounted to three hundred Senators, and two thouſand Roman Knights; among whom ſome were Brethren and Uncles to the Triumvirs, and Officers that had ſerved in their Armies for having diſpleaſed the Generals or their Lieutenants. They deferred the reſt of the Proſcription till ſuch time as they came to the City; and in the mean time reſolved to begin the Execution by twelve (or as ſome ſay) by ſeventeen of the Principal, among whom was *Cicero*. To this purpoſe they ſent ſome of their People, who forthwith ſlew four whom they found either at their Tables or in the Streets. The others were ſought for in Temples and Houſes; in ſo much, that all that Night there was a great Tumult: People running up and down the City with ſuch cryings and howlings, as if the Enemy had been in the midſt of them; for hearing of ſome being taken, and not knowing of any Perſon yet proſcribed, every Man thought the next he met ſought for him. So that in a general Deſpair ſome diſpoſed themſelves to ſet fire, either to their own Houſes, or the Publick Buildings, that before they died they might do ſomething worthy of Memory: And they had done it if the Conſul *Pedius*, running about to all parts, had not exhorted them to be in good hopes, and to expect till Day gave better knowledge of the Cauſe of the Diſorder. Morning being come, without ſtaying for the Triumvirs Orders, he proſcribed thoſe ſeventeen Men as the only Authors of Inteſtine Miſchiefs, and the only Men condemned; promiſing Security to all others, becauſe he knew not what had been agreed upon; and after dyed of a Diſtemper cauſed by the too much labour undergone that Night. Three days following arrived one after another, *Cæſar*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, each with his Regiment of Guards and one Legion; and immediately the City was filled with armed Men, and Courts of Guards placed in the moſt convenient Stations. Then were the People aſſembled, and *Publius Titius* the Tribune propoſed the Law for Creation of the Triumvirate; to which he nominated *Lepidus*, *Anthony* and *Cæſar* to govern the Commonwealth for five Years, with the ſame Power the Conſuls had (this is what the Greeks call *Harmoſtates*, and the Lacedemonians Reformers) and without giving the People time to deliberate, or to appoint a Day for holding another Aſſembly, the Law was at that inſtant ratified. The Night following beſides the ſeventeen before there were found one hundred and thirty more, whoſe Names were fixed up in divers places of the City; ſoon after one hundred and fifty others were added; and at laſt the Roll was dayly augmented with names of newly condemned People, or of thoſe who had been ſlain by miſtake, that they might not be thought to be killed without Cauſe. Thoſe likewiſe who killed any proſcribed Perſons were commanded to bring their Heads to the Triumvirs; and to this purpoſe Rewards were decreed them, to the Free Men Money, and to Slaves Freedom and Money. Nothing was barred

againſt

againſt thoſe that ſought for them, becauſe it was forbid under the like pain, either to receive them, or conceal them, or deny entrance into the Houſe to any that ſought after them, with a like Reward to any gave Information of all theſe things.

The Ordinance for Proſcription was conceived in theſe Terms.

MARCUS

MARCUS LEPIDUS,
MARCUS ANTONIUS
AND
OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS
Deputed for the
Reformation & Re-Eſtabliſhent
Of the
COMMONVVEALTH,
To the PEOPLE of
ROME.

III. IF by an extraordinary Infidelity wicked Men who had received Pardon had not become Enemies to their Benefactors ſo far as to attempt againſt their Lives, and that they had not murdered Cæſar; who after having reduced them under his Power, ſaved them, honoured them with his Friendſhip, and loaded them with Honours, Favours and Dignities; we had not been forced to come to Extremities to revenge our ſelves of the Injuries they have done us, in declaring us Enemies to our Country. But now that after ſo many Ambuſhes laid for us, and the Murder committed on the Perſon of Cæſar, we are bound to believe that their Malice cannot be overcome by fair means, we have choſe rather to prevent our Enemies, than to wait till they deſtroy us. Wherefore, whoever ſhall conſider in what manner they have treated

treated Cæsar, *with the Injuries that we have ſuffered, will not find in our proceeding either Paſſion, Injuſtice or Cruelty. Since* Cæsar *their General, their High Prieſt, who had ſubdued Nations ever before formidable to the Roman People: Had firſt of all croſſed an unknown Sea beyond the Columns of* Hercules, *and opened to the Romans away to a New World; has been murdered in a Sacred Place, in the midſt of the Palace, in the ſight of the Gods, baſely ſtabbed with three and twenty Wounds of Daggers, by people whoſe lives he had ſaved after having made them Priſoners at War: Nay, ſome of which he had by Teſtament made his Heirs. Whilſt inſtead of puniſhing this Attempt, others tranſported by the ſame hatred, have made them Governors of Provinces; or elſe abuſing their Power, have ſeized upon the Revenues of the Commonwealth, raiſed Arms againſt us; calling to their Aſſiſtance Barbarians, perpetual Enemies to this Empire; and burning, ſacking and raſing ſome Cities under our Obedience, that would not ſubmit to theirs; and forcing others by threats and terror to take Arms againſt us and their Country. Some of theſe we have already puniſhed, and by God's Aſſiſtance you ſhall ſee us puniſh others. But becauſe after thoſe great things we have done for the ſecurity of* Spain, Gaul, *and the Heart of the Republick, there yet remains a troubleſome Affair, which is the Expedition againſt* Cæsar's *Murderers: To effect which we muſt croſs the Sea; being ready, for the Service of the Publick, to carry our Arms into a remote Country, we cannot think it either ſecure or advantagious for us to leave behind us our Enemies, who will not fail to make their beſt uſe of our abſence, and of the uncertain Succeſs of War. There may likewiſe be danger in delay; wherefore we have reſolved to deſtroy them, ſince they have begun to perſecute us by declaring us Enemies of our Country. And though neither reſpect to Gods, nor fear of Men reſtrained them from endeavouring to deſtroy with us ſo many thouſand Citizens, yet will we not imitate them, nor offend any of the people; nay, nor ſo much as hold all thoſe for Enemies who have took part againſt us, or have diſobliged us. We will aſſault no perſon becauſe of his Riches and Dignities, nor put ſo many to death as did another who had the ſame power before us; and who having, as well as we, undertaken to remedy the Miſchiefs cauſed by Civil War, deſerved the Title of* HAPPY, *for the happy ſucceſs of his Enterprizes; though it cannot be imagined he could have ſo many Enemies as we three. We will therefore only puniſh ſuch as are the moſt criminal, and moſt guilty of thoſe Miſchiefs the Commonwealth groans under; which will be no leſs advantagious to you than to our ſelves: for as long as our Diſſentions laſt, it will be impoſſible for you, whilſt things hang between two, not to ſuffer extraordinarily. Beſides, it is convenient to ſatisfie the Soldiery offended, that without reaſon you have declared them Enemies. And though we could without notice puniſh thoſe we think worthy of it, yet we think fit rather to proſcribe than to ſurprize them; which indeed we do for your ſakes, leſt the Soldier's anger might tranſport him againſt thoſe are uncondemned, or to deſtroy others with thoſe whoſe Names are fixed up in publick places. For theſe reaſons we forbid all perſons the receiving into their Houſes any of thoſe whoſe Names are inſerted in the Roll of the Proſcribed, or to conceal or ſend them to any place of ſecurity, or to furniſh them with Money, under pain that all that ſhall be found convicted of having ſecured or relieved them, ſhall be put themſelves into the number of the Proſcribed, without hopes of Pardon. We ordain likewiſe thoſe who have ſlain any of the Proſcribed to bring to us their Heads; for each of which he ſhall be payed * five and twenty thouſand Attick Drams if he be a Free Perſon brings it; and if he be a Slave he ſhall receive * ten thouſand, with the ſame Liberty and Right of Burgeſſſhip his Maſter enjoyed. We promiſe likewiſe the ſame Reward to all Informers; nor ſhall the Name of any receives it be recorded in our Regiſters, that it may remain ſecret.*

* *Eight hundred and ſeventy Pounds Sterling.*

* *Three hundred and twelve Pounds Sterling*

Such

Such was the Ordinance of Proſcription made by the Triumvirs. *Lepidus* proſcribed the firſt, and his Brother *Paulus* was the firſt Proſcript. *Anthony* proſcribed the ſecond, and his Uncle *Lucius* was the ſecond Proſcript; becauſe they had firſt given their Opinions when they were declared Enemies of their Country. The third and fourth Proſcripts, whoſe Names were put in another Table, were the two Conſuls deſigned for the following Year, *Plotius*, Brother of *Plancus*, and *Quintus*, Father in Law to *Aſinus*; who were not named with the firſt only becauſe of their Prehemineence, but to ſtrike terror, and make Men loſe all hopes of eſcaping. And indeed, *Thoranius* was found among the Proſcribed; he who, as it is ſaid, had been *Caeſar*'s Tutor. The Proſcription being publiſhed, Guards were forthwith placed at the Gates; and all the Avenues of the City, at the Sea-Ports, and in the Marſhes, and in all places where there was any likelihood an unhappy Man might ſhelter himſelf: Beſides, Centurions were commanded abroad, to make ſearch in the Country, which was done all at an inſtant; ſo that both within and without the City many perſons dyed ſuddainly of ſeveral kinds of Deaths. The Streets were filled with the ſad Spectacle of Heads carrying to the Triumvirs, to receive the Reward; and every ſtep ſome Perſon of Quality endeavouring to ſave himſelf, was met ſhamefully diſguiſed; ſome running down into Wells, and others into Privies; ſome hiding themſelves in the tops of the Chimneys, or under the Tiles, where they durſt not utter a ſigh or groan; for they ſtood in more fear of their Wives, or Children, or Freed Men, or Slaves, or Debtors, or Neighbours that coveted ſome of their Goods, than of the Murderers themſelves. All private Grudges were now diſcovered; and it was a ſtrange change to ſee the prime Men of the Senate, Conſulars, Pretors, Tribunes, or Pretenders to theſe Dignities caſt themſelves at the feet of their Slaves with tears in their eyes, begging and careſſing them, calling them their Saviors and Patrons; and which is moſt deplorable, not be able with all theſe ſubmiſſions to obtain the leaſt favour. The moſt pernicious Seditions and cruelleſt of Wars never had any thing in them ſo terrible as the Calamities wherewith the City was now affrighted; for in War and Tumult none but Enemies were feared, and Domeſticks were confided in; whereas now Domeſticks were more dreadful than Enemies, becauſe having no cauſe to fear for themſelves, as in War or Tumult, from Familiars they became of a ſuddain Perſecutors; either out of a diſſembled hate, or out of hope of Recompence publickly propoſed, or becauſe of ſome Silver or Gold hid in the Houſe: So that no perſon found himſelf ſecure in his Houſe, Servants being ordinarily more ſenſible of Profit than of the Affection they owe to their Maſters; and though ſome might be found faithful and kind, yet they durſt not aſſiſt a Proſcript, nor conceal him, nor ſo much as ſtay with him, for fear of falling into the ſame misfortune. There was now much more danger than when the ſeventeen firſt proſcribed were fallen upon; for then no perſon being publickly proſcribed, when on a ſuddain they ſaw ſome killed, one Man defended another, for fear leſt the ſame ſhould happen to him. But after the Proſcription was publiſhed, thoſe comprized in it were preſently forſaken by all the World; ſome that thought themſelves ſecure, having their minds bent on Profit, ſought them to deliver them to the Murderers, that they might have the Reward; others pillaged the Houſes of thoſe that had been killed, and with the preſent gain comforted themſelves againſt the Publick Miſery. The moſt Prudent and Moderate ſurprized at a thing ſo extraordinary, ſtood like Men aſtoniſhed, conſidering that o-

IV.

ther Cities turmoiled with Diviſions were re-eſtabliſhed by the Concord of their Citizens: Whereas the Romans, already afflicted with Civil Diſſentions, compleated their Ruin by this Reconciliation. Some were killed defending themſelves; others, who thought themſelves not condemned, without any defence: Some let themſelves die with hunger, or hanged, or drowned themſelves, or threw themſelves headlong from the tops of Houſes, or caſt themſelves into the Fire, or run to meet their Murderers: Others again ſought to protract the time; and either hid themſelves, or begged ſhamefully, or fled, or offered Money to ſave their Lives. Many likewiſe were ſlain contrary to the intention of the Triumvirs, either by miſtake, or out of ſome particular grudge; but the Bodies of the Proſcripts might be known from the others, becauſe they wanted the Head, which was cut off, and carried before the Tribunal for Orations, where they payed the Reward. On the other ſide, wonderful Examples were to be ſeen of the Affection of Wives, Children, Brethren and Slaves; who found out a thouſand inventions to ſave their Husbands, Fathers, Brethren or Maſters; dyed with them when they were diſcovered, or killed themſelves upon thoſe Bodies they were not able to defend. Of thoſe that eſcaped the Proſcription, ſome, purſued by their ill fortune, periſhed by Shipwrack; others ſaved beyond all probability, came afterwards to exerciſe Dignities in the City, to have Command of Armies, and arrive at the Honour of Triumph. Such wonderful things were to be ſeen in thoſe days which do not happen in an ordinary City, or in a ſmall Kingdom; but in the Miſtreſs of the world, as well by Sea as Land: Providence diſpoſing it ſo to reduce things to that excellent order wherein you now ſee them. Not but that *Rome* felt the ſame miſeries under *Sylla*, and before him under *Marius*; and we have in writing of them reported many Actions of Cruelty, even to the depriving their Enemies of Burial: But what paſſed under the Triumvirs made much more noiſe, becauſe of the height of their Reputation; and particularly the Valour and Good Fortune of him, who having fixed the Foundations of this Empire, has left it to thoſe of his Race and Name, even to this preſent. I will therefore relate what was now done moſt remarkable, and moſt cruel; which I can the eaſier do, becauſe the length of time has not yet quite effaced the memory of theſe Actions. Yet I will not write all; for a common death, or the flight of ſome private Men, who after obtaining Pardon of the Triumvirs, returned and ſpent the reſt of their Lives without appearing, ſeems not to me worthy being recorded: But I will relate ſome extraordinary Examples, that the Reader may be perſwaded of the truth of what I have before ſaid. Many Roman Authors have hereof wrote particular Books; out of which I have extracted what appeared moſt credible, to compoſe a Summary, which may well make the happineſs of our Times be admired.

V. The Maſſacre unhappily began with the Magiſtracy, of whom the firſt ſlain was *Salvius*, Tribune of the People; though by the Laws the Tribunes were holy and inviolable; and ſo powerful, that ſometimes they have impriſoned Conſuls. This Man when they were about to declare *Anthony* Enemy oppoſed it, but afterwards he took part with *Cicero*. Therefore when he knew the Triumvirs were agreed, and marched towards the City, he made a Feaſt for his Domeſticks, as having now but a ſhort time to live with them. The Soldiers entring the place where they were eating, all the people affrighted, began to riſe up; but the Centurion commanding them to keep their places, took *Salvius* by the Hair, drew him over the

The Table, cut off his Head, and forbid the others from ſtirring; for if they made the leaſt noiſe he would ſerve them in the ſame manner: At which they were ſo affrighted, that after the Centurion was gone they ſpent moſt part of the Night by the Body, without ſpeaking a word.

After *Salvius*, was ſlain the Pretor *Minutius*. Upon notice brought him as he gave Audience in the place, that the Soldiers were coming towards him, he roſe ſuddainly to ſeek out ſome place to ſhelter himſelf in: and having changed Cloaths, went to hide himſelf in a Shop; but his People, and thoſe that carried the Marks of his Dignity, whom he commanded to leave him, ſtaying there ſome time out of a fear and affection they had for him, were the occaſion, without deſigning it, that the Murderers did the more eaſily find him.

Annalis the other Pretor, as he ſolicited the People for his Son, who demanded the Queſtors Office; his Friends and Lictors underſtanding that he was in the Roll of the Proſcripts, all of a ſuddain left him: Whereupon he fled, and retired into a wretched Houſe that one of his Creatures had in the Suburbs; where, becauſe the place was utterly contemptible, he was for a while ſecure; till ſuch time as his own Son, having ſome doubt he was gone thither, ſhewed the way to the Executioners of the Proſcription: In reward whereof the Triumvirs gave him his Father's Eſtate, and the Office of *Æ*dile, but he enjoyed not either long; for returning drunk from a Debauch, upon ſome reviling words given to the Soldiers who had killed his Father, they killed him too.

For *Thoranius*, who was not Pretor, but had been; he was Father to a wretchleſs Youth, who yet had a great deal of power over *Anthony*. He therefore entreated the Centurions to delay his death but ſo long till his Son had begged him of the Triumvir. To which they laughing, anſwered; *He has already begged you, but it is in another manner*. Which the Old Man hearing, prayed them but to give him ſo much time as to ſee his Daughter; and having ſeen her, forbad her from pretending any thing to his Eſtate, leſt her Brother ſhould beg her likewiſe of *Anthony*. The end of this wicked Son was no better than the others; for after having conſumed his Patrimony in all ſorts of Debauchery, he was accuſed of Theft, and condemned to Baniſhment.

As for *Cicero*, who had ruled in the Aſſemblies of the People after *Cæſar*'s death; he was proſcribed, with his Son, his Brother, and all their Servants, Clients and Friends. He was embarked on a ſmall Boat to make his Eſcape by Sea; but not able to endure the toſſing of the Waves, he returned to a Meadow that belonged to him near *Capua*; which upon occaſion of writing this Hiſtory, I would needs ſee. As he repoſed himſelf, and that thoſe that ſought him were not far off (for of all the Proſcripts, *Anthony* cauſed him to be ſought with moſt diligence) a Flock of Crows flying over the place where he ſlept, waked him with their Cries, and began with their Beaks to pull the Covering from off him; till his Slaves thinking it an Advertiſement of the Gods, returned him into his Litter, and took their way towards the Sea, through the thickeſt of the Foreſt. Preſently after ſeveral Soldiers coming to that place one after another, and demanding of thoſe they met if they had not ſeen *Cicero*, they all, out of the compaſſion they had for him, anſwered, that he was embarked, and was already a good way off at Sea: But a Shoo-maker called *Cerdo*, a Creature to *Clodius*, formerly a mortal Enemy to *Cicero*; having ſhewed the Centurion *Læna*, followed but by a few Soldiers, the way he had taken, he preſently purſued him. *Cicero* was accompanied with more people diſpoſed to defend him, than *Læna* had

with him to aſſault him. Wherefore having overtaken him, he made uſe of policy; and began to cry out as if he had called to other Centurions behind him; *Come on, Gentlemen, come on.* Whereupon the people of the Proſcript imagining that they were about to be over-preſſed by numbers, grew fearful, and deſerted him. Then *Læna*, though *Cicero* had formerly pleaded for him in a Cauſe wherein he overcame, drew his Head out of the Litter, and cut it, or rather hewed it off, at three blows; ſo unhardy he was. He likewiſe cut off the Hand wherewith he had writ the Orations, accuſing *Anthony* of Tyranny; which after the example of *Demoſthenes*, he called the *Philippicks:* And at the ſame inſtant diſpatching away Expreſſes both by Sea and Land to carry this pleaſing News to *Anthony*, he himſelf followed them to *Rome*; where finding *Anthony* in the place, ſeated in the Tribunal, he ſhewed him at a diſtance the Head and Hand of *Cicero*. And he raviſhed with joy, put a Crown upon the Centurion's Head, and gave him for a Reward * two hundred and fifty thouſand Attick Drams; as having freed him of the greateſt of all his Enemies, and from whom he had received the higheſt injuries. His Head and Hand ſtood a long time for a Spectacle before the Tribunal, where he uſed to make his Orations: And more flocked now thither to ſee him, than did before to hear him. It is ſaid likewiſe, that *Anthony* at a Collation cauſed the Head to be ſet upon the Table that he might contemplate it more at leiſure, and ſatiate himſelf (as we may ſo ſay) with the view of it. Thus was *Cicero* ſlain; to this day in great Eſteem for his Eloquence: And who, when he acted in the Quality of Conſul, had done ſignal Services to his Country; yet after his death he was thus unworthily treated by his Enemies.

* *Almoſt eight thouſand Pound.*

His Son was already eſcaped to *Brutus* in *Greece*, but his Brother and Nephew were unhappily taken by the Soldiers. The Father begged he might die before his Son, and the Son requeſted he might die before his Father; and they having promiſed to ſatisfie them both, took them apart, and ſlew them at the ſame inſtant.

But *Egnatius* and his Son embracing each other, died together; and their Heads being both ſtruck off at one blow, the two Bodies kept ſtill their hold of each other.

Balbus deſigning to eſcape with his Son by Sea, ſent him before, thinking that by not going together they would not ſo eaſily be known; and himſelf ſoon after ſet forward to follow him at a diſtance: but ſome one, either out of malice or miſtake, having told him that his Son was taken, he returned of his own accord to offer himſelf to the Executioners, and his Son periſhed by Ship-wrack: So much did fortune contribute to the Calamities of theſe times.

Aruntius had a Son that could not reſolve to fly without him; yet at length he prevailed ſo far as to perſwade him, that being young, he ought to ſurvive him. The Mother having been his Guide as far as the City Gates, returned ſpeedily to give Burial to her Husband whom they had ſlain. And ſome days after hearing her Son was ſtarved to death at Sea, ſhe ſlew her ſelf.

Hitherto we have propoſed Examples of good and evil Children.

As for Brothers. Thoſe two called *Ligarii*, proſcribed together, lay hid in an Oven, till ſuch time as being betrayed by their Slaves, one was ſlain at the ſame time; and the other who ſlipped from the Executioners, knowing his Brother was dead, caſt himſelf from the Bridge into the River. Some Fiſher-men that thought he fell in by miſchance, and not deſignedly, came

came in to ſave him; from which he defended himſelf ſome time by plunging himſelf to the bottom of the Water: till ſuch time as they pulling him out, do what he could, he told them; *You do not ſave me, but loſe your ſelves with a Proſcript.* Yet, ſay what he could, they were reſolved to ſave his Life. But the Soldiers who had the Guard of the Bridge underſtanding he was a Proſcript, came in and cut off his Head.

Of two other Brothers, one having caſt himſelf headlong into the River, his Slave, after having ſought the Body five days, at length found it; and in the condition he was, being hardly to be known, cut off his Head, and carried it to the Tribune to have the Reward. The other being hid in a Privy, was betrayed by another Slave; and becauſe the Soldiers vouchſafed not to go down, they ſlew him with Javelins, drew him out; and in the condition he was cut off his Head without waſhing it.

Another ſeeing his Brother ſtopped, ran in; and without knowing that he likewiſe was proſcribed, cryed out, *Kill me firſt.* Whereupon the Centurion, who knew the order of the Roll, made anſwer; *You ask but reaſon, for your Name does indeed ſtand in the Roll before his:* And therewith ſlew one after the other.

Theſe are Examples of Brothers.

As for Wives. *Ligarius* his Wife had hid him; and went from time to time to ſee him, attended only by one Maid; who betraying him, ſhe followed thoſe who carried away her Husband's Head, crying out; *It is I that hid him, the Concealers are condemned to the ſame Puniſhment.* And becauſe no one would either kill or accuſe her, ſhe went and diſcovered her ſelf to the Magiſtrates: who not judging her guilty for loving her Husband, ſhe ſtarved her ſelf to death.

I have ſpoke of her in this place, becauſe, having in vain endeavoured to ſave her Husbands Life, ſhe would not ſurvive him: for as for thoſe whoſe Conjugal Affection had better ſucceſs, we will reſerve them to another place, when we are to ſpeak of thoſe eſcaped.

Here therefore we ſhall now only relate Examples of ſuch as made wretched Attempts upon the Lives of their Husbands; among whom *Septimius* Wife ſhall have the firſt place. It was a long time before that one of *Anthony*'s Friends had abuſed her Husband's Bed: But ſhe deſiring rather to be his Wife than his Miſtreſs, he prevailed ſo far by the Credit he had with *Anthony*, that *Septimius* was found among the number of the Proſcripts. He was advertized of it by her own ſelf: And knowing nothing of the diſhonour of his Houſe, diſpoſed himſelf to Flight. But ſhe, like a kind Wife, ſhut the Doors; and kept him very diligently, till the Executioners came to rid her of him; and the ſame day of her Husband's death eſpouſed the other.

Salaſſius had eſcaped; but out of a belief the danger diminiſhed, was ſo imprudent as to return by Night into the City. In the mean time his Houſe was ſold, and there remained in it of all his People none but the Porter, who was comprized in the Sale: So that he alone knowing him, made him come into his Lodge, promiſed to keep him cloſe, and to feed him the beſt he could. He was no ſooner entred but he ſent for his Wife, who was lodged elſewhere: who profeſſed a great paſſion to ſee her Husband; but excuſing her ſelf upon the fear of the Night, and the ſuſpicion ſhe had of the fidelity of her Servants, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would not come till the Morrow.

As

As ſoon as it was Day ſhe went to ſeek for Executioners, and the Porter went to find her to deſire her to come: which was the occaſion that *Salaſſius* miſſing the Porter, began to fear ſome treachery; and got up to the top of the Houſe to expect the event: whence beholding not the Porter, but Soldiers coming under his Wife's Conduct, he precipitated himſelf from top to bottom.

In like manner *Fulvius* having ſought for refuge in the Houſe of a certain Woman, who having been his Slave and Concubine, he made free and married: for ſo many good turns ſhe betrayed him, jealous that he had eſpouſed another woman. But I have ſaid enough of wicked Women.

Statius the Samnite, who had performed many great Services for his Country in the War with the Allies: After which, by his worthy Actions, Riches and Birth, he was arrived to the Dignity of Roman Senator: being proſcribed at the age of fourſcore Years only for his Riches, cauſed his Houſe to be ranſacked by the People and his Slaves, who carried away what they could, the reſt he himſelf threw into the Street; and barring his Doors, ſet fire to his Houſe, wherein he was burnt with a good part of the City.

Capito having half opened the Door of his Houſe, ſo that but one at a time could enter, ſlew with his own hands many of the Soldiers; till at laſt, over-powred by numbers, he was himſelf ſlain.

Vitulinus aſſembled about the Country of *Regium* great Forces, compoſed of proſcribed Perſons, and others who came to take Sanctuary under him, together with the Inhabitants of thoſe eighteen Cities deſtined for the Soldiers Reward after the Victory; which made them deſperate: And with theſe took the Field; where he cut in pieces all the Centurions he could meet with that were ſearching for Proſcripts. But the Triumvirs having ſent greater Forces againſt them, he, without loſing heart, croſſed over into *Sicily*, where *Pompey* then commanded, the Refuge of all ſuch Proſcripts as could eſcape out of *Italy*. After which generouſly returning to renew this ſort of War, being defeated in ſeveral Engagements, he embarked his Son, with other Proſcripts, to ſend them before him to *Meſſina*; but his own Boat ſcarce reaching the middle of the Straits, till he was ſurrounded by Enemies, he there honourably dyed.

Naſo having been betrayed by a Freed-man, by whom he had been abuſed, ſnatched the Sword out of one of the Soldiers hand; and after having ſlain the Traitor, offered them his own Throat.

A certain faithful Slave had left his Maſter hid in a Sepulchre, while he went to the Sea to hire a Boat. His Return happened to be juſt at the inſtant that the Soldiers were murdering his Maſter; to whom, ſeeing him ready to die, he cryed out, *Stay a little, my dear Maſter*: and at the ſame minute falling upon a Centurion, ſlew him firſt, and then himſelf; ſaying, *Now Maſter, you have ſome cauſe of Comfort.*

Lucius having two Freed-men, upon whoſe fidelity he relyed, gave them his Money to carry to the Sea, where he deſigned to embark: but they running away with what they were intruſted with, he returns; and condemning himſelf to death, delivers himſelf up to the Murderers.

Labienus, who in the Proſcription of *Sylla* had taken and deſtroyed many, had been a Coward if he had not bravely born what he had made others ſuffer. Wherefore, coming out before the Gates of his Houſe, he ſat him down in a Chair, expecting ſome who would come and cut off his Head.

Ceſtius,

Ceſtius, who lay concealed in a Country-houſe with faithful Slaves, ſeeing armed Centurions daily paſs by carrying of Heads, could no longer endure to live in that continual fear; but having commanded his Slaves to raiſe a Pile of Wood, and ſet fire to it, that they might tell thoſe that paſſed they burnt the Body of *Ceſtius*, threw himſelf into it in good earneſt.

Apomius was in a place of Security: But not able to accuſtom himſelf to ſuch courſe Proviſions as were brought him, went out to ſeek his death.

Another publickly waiting for the Executioners; becauſe they came not ſoon enough, ſtrangled himſelf before all the People.

Lucius, Father in Law of *Aſinius* now Conſul, having eſcaped by Sea; not able to endure the toſſing of the Waves, threw himſelf over-board.

Siſinius being purſued by Soldiers; and crying out he was not proſcribed, but they had a mind to deſtroy him for his Riches, was led to a place where the Names of the Proſcripts were affixed, thrt he might ſee his own; which having read, they cut off his Head.

Æmilius not knowing himſelf was of the number of the Proſcribed, and ſeeing another that fled, asked the Centurion who that Proſcript was: Upon which the Centurion knowing him, replyed; *Thou art one as well as he*: and ſo ſlew them both.

Cilon and *Decius* being informed as they came out of the Palace, that their Names were in the Roll of the Proſcripts; before any one ſet upon them, took their way towards the Gate ſo affrighted, that their Flight alone made them known to the Centurions, had the Guard of the Avenues.

Icilius, the ſame that in the Judgment of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, when *Ceſar* ſate Preſident, when all the other Judges gave privately their Votes to condemn them, alone durſt publickly argue for their Diſcharge, remembred not himſelf in this occaſion of that great Generoſity; for ſeeing a dead Body carrying out of the City, he ſet to his Shoulder with the reſt, that ſo he might gain a paſſage in favour of the Bier: But the Guards at the Gate perceiving there more people than were uſually employed in that Office; yet without doubting of them, would only know if they did not carry a live Body inſtead of a dead: Which occaſioned that *Icilius* being diſowned by the reſt, was known, and at the ſame time ſlain.

Varus being betrayed by one of his Freed-men, fled; and taking the way of the Mountains, got to the Marſhes of *Minturnum*, where he hid himſelf to take a little repoſe. Mean time thoſe of *Minturnum* coming by chance to ſeek for Thieves who often run thither for Shelter, ſeeing the Leaves of the Buſhes ſhake, diſcovered him. So that being taken, and confeſſing himſelf to be a Thief, they condemned him to death: But ſeeing that they went to put him upon the Rack, to make him confeſs his Companions, he told them; *I give you notice, my Maſters, that I have been Conſul, and am proſcribed: in which Quality I am more conſiderable to thoſe that now govern, that you ought not have the boldneſs either to torment or put me to death; for ſince my death is inevitable, I had rather die by my Equals.* The Judges had much ado to believe him, and thought it only a Fiction, when a Centurion arriving, knew him, cut off his Head, and left the reſt of his Body to the People of *Minturnum*.

Largus found in the Country by Soldiers that ſought for another, they had pity of a Man fallen into their Hands unlooked for, and let him eſcape into the Woods; where being met and purſued by others, he run again to the firſt; crying out, *Kill me, you that would have ſaved me; for I had rather you than others ſhould have the Rewards.* Thus dying, he made his acknowledgments of their good will.

Rufus,

Rufus, who was Neighbour to *Fulvia*, *Anthony*'s Wife, having a very fine House which formerly he had refused to sell her, though now he would gladly have given it her, was found among the number of the Proscripts. His Head being brought to *Anthony*, he said, it belonged not to him; and sent it to his Wife: who caused it not to be nailed up in the Publick Place, but before the same House.

Another having a House of Pleasure in the Country with a magnificent Garden, wherein was a deep and beautiful *Grotto*, which had been the cause of his Proscription. One day, as he was refreshing himself in his *Grotto*, one of his Slaves espying the Soldiers afar off, hid him in the obscurest part of the Cave; and taking his Cloaths, presented himself to the Soldiers in such a frightful posture as if he indeed had been his Master: And certainly he might have passed for him, had not another of his Slaves discovered the Deceit. Thus the Master being slain, the people incensed against the Traytor, never left importuning the Magistrates till he was hanged, and that the other had obtained his Liberty.

Aterius being likewise hid, one of his Slaves discovered him; and for it had his Liberty. But not content therewith when the Goods of the Proscript were publickly sold, and that the Children would have bought them, he not only out-bid them, but reviled them with words; which they seemed not at all to resent, but still followed him every where with tears in their eyes, till such time as the people were so much incensed, that the Triumvirs condemning his Avarice, revoked his Liberty, and remitted him under the power of the Children of the Proscript.

One would have thought this Cruelty should have been exercised only upon persons grown, at least to full years; it extended it self even to Orphan Children, with intent to spoil them of their Riches. And one was killed as he went to School with his Master; who held the Child so strongly embraced, they could not pull him out of his arms.

Another, called *Attilius*, had the same day taken the Robe Virile; and his Friends conducted him to the Temple, to offer Sacrifices, ordinary upon those occasions: when he was inserted in the Roll of the Proscripts, his Slaves and Friends all presently fled every one his way; and he remaining alone, forsaken of all his great Train, retired to his Mother; who was so frighted, that she refused him her House. So that not daring to apply himself to any other person after being so treated by a Mother, he fled to the top of a Mountain: whence Hunger forcing him to descend, he fell into the hands of one of those Thieves who steal Free Persons to make them Slaves. This Young Man, tenderly bred, and not able to undergo Labour and Hardship, escaped chained as he was, and recovered the publick Road; where presenting himself to the first Centurion passed by, he ended his life.

VI. Mean while *Lepidus* triumphed over the Spaniards; and to that purpose published an Ordinance drawn up to this effect. *All Persons of what Degree soever are enjoyned to employ this day in Feasts, Sacrificing and Rejoycing, under pain of Proscription.* After that he mounted in Triumph to the Capitol, accompanied by all the most remarkable Persons of the City; chearful in appearance, but with Souls oppressed with Hate and Anger. As for the Goods of the Proscribed, they plundered their Houses, but they found few Purchasers of their Lands; for most Men were ashamed to add to their Misfortunes, and believed ill luck would attend themselves should they deal

in

in ſuch Goods. Beſides, there was no ſecurity for ſuch as were known to have Money; and it was ſo dangerous to make new Acquiſitions, that no Man was ſecure of what he held from his Anceſtors. There were therefore none but very bold Men that bought: and becauſe they were but few, they had them for a ſmall matter. So that the Triumvirs, who thought that the Moneys hereby raiſed would ſerve for the Expence of the War; found it to fall ſhort * two hundred Millions. They thereupon in the Aſſembly acquainted the People with their Wants, and proſcribed fourteen hundred of the richeſt Women of the City; to whom they commanded to come and declare what Riches they had, to be employed in the Neceſſities of the State, as the Triumvirs thought convenient: and ſtrictly forbidding all Concealments whatſoever, or valuing things below their true Value, under pain of Puniſhment; with promiſe of a Reward to any that ſhould inform of ſuch an Omiſſion, whether Free Man or Slave. The Women, as ſoon as they had notice of it, having reſolved to become Suitors to the Kindred of the Triumvirs, to ſolicite them in their behalf, were favourably received by *Cæſar*'s Siſter, and *Anthony*'s Mother; but *Fulvia*, his Wife, ſhut the Gate againſt them. They were ſo concerned at the Affront, that they came in a Body to the Place; and the People and Guards making way for them, they advanced to the Tribunal of the Triumvirs: where *Hortenſia*, before prepared to that purpoſe, ſpoke to them in this manner, in the name of all the reſt.

* *Of Drams.*

The Oration of *Hortenſia.*

BEing obliged to make to you our Remonſtrances, as we are Women, we had recourſe to your Women; which ſurely was no more than what was decent: But having received from Fulvia *an affront which even Decency and Good Manners forbid her to put upon us, we are forced to come hither to ſpeak for our ſelves. You have deprived us of our Fathers, our Children, our Husbands, and our Brothers, accuſed of the Crime of having offended you; if after that you ſpoil us of our Goods, you will reduce us to Extremities unbecoming our Birth, our Quality, and our Sex. If you perhaps ſay we have offended you as well as the Men, proſcribe us in the ſame manner: But if none of you have been declared Enemy by the Women; if we have neither demoliſhed your Houſes, nor defeated your Armies, nor given your Dignities to others, nor hindred you from being preferred to Honours and Magiſtracies, why are we equally puniſhed? Why do you exact Contributions from us, who pretend nothing to Dignities, nor Honours, nor Command of Armies, nor Government of the State, nor all thoſe things for which you diſpute among your ſelves with ſo much Heat and Obſtinacy? But it is becauſe you have War you inflict this on us: Was the World ever without War? And were Women ever made contribute to it, whom Nature diſpenſes with by the general Conſent of all Nations upon Earth? I know well that in the time of our Anceſtors, our Mothers derogating from the Privileges of their Sex, contributed to the Expence of the War; but it was but once, and in a time when the Roman Empire and the City it ſelf were in hazard of becoming a Prey to the Carthaginians. This too they did voluntarily, and ſold not for it either their Lands, or their Houſes, or their Joyntures; without which free Women cannot ſubſiſt. They were content to contribute thoſe Movables which only ſerved for Ornament, not to be employed for any certain Uſe; nor after Rewards promiſed to*

thoſe that accuſed them, nor by conſtraint, but as much as they pleaſed. Should the Gauls or Parthians invade Italy, *and we be demanded to defend our Country, we ſhall not be leſs generous than our Mothers; but think not that we will contribute our Eſtates for Civil Wars, and to maintain one againſt another. In the War of* Pompey *nothing was demanded, neither did* Marius *nor* Cinna *exact any thing from us: no, nor* Sylla *himſelf though he had oppreſſed that Commonwealth which you pretend to be the reeſtabliſhers of.*

The Triumvirs were nettled at theſe words of *Hortenſia's*, and thinking it ſtrange, that where Men were ſilent, Women ſhould dare to ſpeak, and be ſo bold as to demand of the Magiſtrates an account of their Actions, and refuſe to contribute Money to a War, to which Men payed their perſons, commanded the Uſhers to make them withdraw from the Tribunal; but the multitude beginning to cry out, the Uſhers ſtopped, and the Triumvirs adjourned the buſineſs till the morrow.. As ſoon as it was day, of fourteen hundred Proſcripts they retrenched a thouſand, and only taxed four hundred; and for the Men it was decreed, that whoever had more than one hundred thouſand Drams effective; whether he was Citizen or Sojourner, Freed Man or Prieſt, of what Nation ſoever he was, without excepting perſon, ſhould give in a Declaration of it, of which the fifteenth penny ſhould be taken at intereſt, and one years Revenue towards the charge of the War, under pain of puniſhment to the Tranſgreſſors, and promiſe of reward to the Informers. Whilſt theſe Ordinances were publiſhed at *Rome*, the Soldiers contemning their Officers, committed greater diſorders in the Country, for the power and ſecurity of the Triumvirs depending upon them, they demanded either the Houſes, Lands, or confiſcated Goods of the Proſcripts; others would have rich perſons to adopt them, others of their own Motion ſlew Men uncondemned, or plundered the Houſes of private Men, inſomuch that the Triumvirs deputed one of the Conſuls to chaſtiſe them, but he durſt not touch the Soldiers, for fear of incenſing them againſt himſelf, only took occaſion to hang a few Slaves, who in Soldiers habit committed the ſame Violences.

VII. After having related the miſeries of the Proſcripts, I think it expedient to ſpeak of thoſe who eſcaped beyond their own hopes, or came afterwards to Dignity in the City, ſuch Examples not being unprofitable to the Reader, who from thence may learn not to loſe courage in the worſt of misfortunes. A great part of theſe who could get out of *Italy* made their retreat to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and ſome to *Cornificius*, who likewiſe ſtood for the People in *Africa*, but the greateſt part eſcaped into *Sicily*, which is nigh unto *Italy*, where *Pompey* took care to receive them, and did in this unhappy occaſion great ſervices to theſe miſerable People; for in the firſt place he cauſed it to be publiſhed, that whoever would make their retreat to him, ſhould be welcome, and that he would give to thoſe who ſaved a Proſcript, whether he were Freeman or Slave, double the reward which the Triumvirs promiſed to the Murderers. Then he appointed great numbers of Barques and other Veſſels to go out and meet ſuch as might be eſcaped to Sea, and his Gallys continually cruiſed along the Coaſts, making Signals to all that paſſed, and receiving all ſuch as would embarque on them, whom at their landing he in perſon received, furniſhed them with Cloaths and Neceſſaries, and to ſuch as were worthy gave Command in his Army

Army by Sea or Land, and declared he would never come to an Accommodation with the Triumvirs, unleſs thoſe who had fled for refuge to him were compriſed in it. Thus he beneficially ſerved his Country, and beſides the Glory derived from his Father, made himſelf illuſtrious by his own Virtue. Others that fled or hid themſelves in Country Houſes, or in Sepulchres, or in the City it ſelf, lived miſerably, and in perpetual fear, till the perſecution was overpaſſed, which laſted a good time, during which were found wonderful examples of Friendſhip, of Wives for their Huſbands, of Children for their Parents, and even of Slaves to their Maſters, of which we will relate the moſt memorable.

Paulus Brother to *Lepidus* being proſcribed by himſelf, the Centurions had yet reſpect for him as he was their General's Brother, ſo that he retreated in ſafety to *Brutus*, and after *Brutus*'s death to *Miletum*, from whence, though after the peace he were recalled, he vouchſafed not to come.

Lucius, *Anthony*'s Uncle, was received into his Siſter's Houſe, who kept him a long time without concealing him, becauſe the Centurions reſpected her as Mother to their General; yet at laſt when they would have entred, ſhe run to the place, and *Anthony* with his Colleagues being ſeated on the Tribunal, *I accuſe my ſelf, Sir,* (ſaid ſhe) *that I have received and will receive* Lucius *into my Houſe till ſuch time as you put us both to death together, ſince the Proſcripts and thoſe that receive them are equally guilty.* *Anthony* anſwered her, that ſhe was a good Siſter, but an ill Mother, and that ſhe either ought not now to ſave *Lucius*, or have hindred him before from declaring her Son Enemy; yet he took ſuch order, that the Conſul *Plancus* exempted him from puniſhment by a Decree of the People.

Meſſala, a young Man of nobleſt Birth, having made his eſcape to *Brutus*, the Triumvirs, who feared him becauſe of his Generoſity, revoked his Proſcription in theſe terms: *Since the Kindred of* Meſſala *have atteſted to us that he was not in the City when* Cæſar *was killed, we have decreed that he be erazed out of the Roll of the Proſcripts.* But he would not accept their kindneſs: and yet after *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were killed in *Thrace*, when the Army being yet in a good condition, and wanted neither Ships nor Money nor hopes, had choſen him General, he refuſed it; nay, on the contrary, perſwaded the Soldiers to yield to fortune, and take part with *Anthony*. After which he was one of his particular Friends, till ſuch time as affronted by *Cleopatra*. he withdrew to *Cæſar*, who made him Conſul in the room of *Anthony* after he was declared Enemy the ſecond time. After which he ſerved under *Cæſar* at the Battel of *Actium*; and in concluſion *Cæſar* having ſent him againſt the revolted Gauls he defeated them, and deſerved the Honour of Triumph.

Bibulus, who gained *Anthony*'s favour at the ſame time with *Meſſala*, and was ſome time Admiral of his Fleet againſt *Cæſar*, got at laſt the Government of *Syria*, where he died.

Acilius, who was dragged out of the City, having been delivered to the Soldiers by one of his Slaves, perſwaded them by hopes of great gain to ſend ſome of their company to his Wife with the tokens he gave them. They going, ſhe ſhewed them her Jewels, and told them ſhe would give them all, on condition they would releaſe him, which they promiſed to do, and though ſhe doubted of their promiſe, yet her friendſhip to her Huſband was worthy not to be deceived, and the Soldiers hired a Boat for *Acilius*, and ſent him for *Sicily*.

Lentulus being watched by his Wife, for fear he ſhould fly without her,

and he was unwilling ſhe ſhould hazard her ſelf in the danger with him, eſcaped ſecretly into *Sicily*, where being made Pretor, he wrote to her the happy ſucceſs of his flight, and the Honour he had received from *Pompey*. When ſhe knew where her Husband was, ſhe ſtole from her vigilant Mother, and only with two Slaves and her ſelf in the habit of a Servant came with much trouble and labour to *Rhegium*, from whence towards Evening ſhe got paſſage to *Meſſina*; where having eaſily found the Pretor's Houſe, ſhe found *Lentulus*, not in the Equipage of a Pretor, but lying on the ground upon a Mattreſs, with untrimmed Hair and a ſlender Supper, all out of grief and impatience to ſee his Wife.

Apuleius's Wife threatned to have him taken if he fled away alone; ſo that he was conſtrained to carry her along with him, which made none be ſuſpicious of his flight, ſeeing him march publickly with his Wife, Men, and Maid-Servants. And *Antius* his Wife wrapped him in Coverlids, and made him be carried like a Pack to the Sea ſide, from whence he eſcaped into *Sicily*.

Reginus his Wife made her Husband by night go down the Privy, of which he ſmelt ſo ſtrong next Morning, that the Soldiers loath to come near him, the next day ſhe cloathed him like a Collier, giving him an Aſs loaden with Charcoal to drive before him, and ſhe at a ſmall diſtance went before in her Litter. One of the Soldiers that had the Guard of the Gate had ſome ſuſpicion of the Litter, and would needs ſee what was in it. *Reginus*, who was in fear for his Wife, came up praying the Soldier (as in paſſing) not to affront Women: and the Soldier having at firſt given him a ſurly anſwer as to a Collier, at laſt knowing him, for he had born Arms under him in *Syria*, ſaid to him, *Save your ſelf without fearing any thing, my General, for it is yet reaſonable that I call you ſo.*

Copponius by means of his Wife, who had been chaſte hitherto, got his pardon of *Anthony*; but ſhe remedied one miſchief by another.

Geta's Son made a Funeral Pile for his Father's Body, as if he had ſtrangled himſelf, and ſent to hide him at a Town he had lately purchaſed in the Country, where the old man, the better to diſguiſe himſelf, clapped a Plaiſter on one eye: and after the Peace was concluded, found that for want of making uſe of his eye, he was indeed blind of it.

Oppius refuſing to flie, becauſe he was already old and infirm, his Son took him upon his Shoulders, carried him out of the City, and laboured ſo long, that ſometimes leading, and ſometimes carrying him, he brought him at laſt to *Sicily*, without any ones having the leaſt ſuſpicion, or doing them the leaſt injury. Thus we paint *Æneas*, reſpected by his Enemies themſelves, for carrying his Father. The People afterwards gave the Ædility to this young Man, out of reſpect to his Piety, and becauſe his Father's eſtate being confiſcate, he had nothing to defray the expence of thoſe Plays, the Artizans with one accord ſupplyed him gratis with whatever he wanted from each ſeveral Trade, and every Spectator caſt what Money he pleaſed on the Stage, ſo that he became rich.

Arrianus likewiſe by Will ordered this Epitaph to be engraven on his Sepulchre:

Here lie the Aſhes of a Proſcript, whoſe Son not proſcribed, concealed, accompanied in his flight, and ſaved from the Proſcription.

There lived in theſe times two *Metellus*'s, the Father and the Son, whereof the Father having command under *Anthony* at the Battel of *Actium*,

um, was taken without being known, the Son ſiding with *Cæſar* had Command under him in the ſame Battel. When *Cæſar* being at *Samos* would needs ſee the Priſoners; this old Man was brought among the reſt, his Hair long, and ſo filthy, that he was not to be known; but when they called him in his order of the Roll, the Son who was ſeated near *Cæſar*, hearing the name of *Metellus*, leaped from his place, and ran with tears in his eyes to embrace his Father, whom he ſcarcely knew; and then reſtraining his tears, ſpoke thus to *Cæſar*: *He bore Arms againſt you, I have ſerved you: he deſerves puniſhment, I reward, I beſeech you then either pardon my Father in conſideration of the ſervices I have done you; or let me die with him for the offences he has committed againſt you.* This Diſcourſe moving all the Aſſembly to compaſſion, *Cæſar* promiſed to give life to *Metellus*, though he had been his greateſt Enemy, and that he could never by any offers he made, oblige him to ſerve againſt *Anthony*.

The Slaves of *Maricius* were ſo faithful, and ſo fortunate as to keep him in the Houſe all the time of the Proſcription, inſomuch that when the danger was over, he came out of his Houſe, as if he came out of Baniſhment.

Hirtius being eſcaped out of the City with his Slaves, went throughout *Italy*, releaſing Priſoners, gathering together Fugitives, and at firſt plundering ſmall Towns, afterwards greater, till ſuch time as he beheld himſelf at the Head of conſiderable Forces, and ſubdued the Brutians, but the Triumvirate ſending againſt him a potent Army, he retreated with all his People to *Pompey*.

Reſtion thinking to flie alone, was privately followed by one of his Slaves born in his Houſe, whom formerly he had uſed kindly, but ſince branded in his Face with a hot Iron for his Roguery. His Maſter as he was lying down in the Marches, ſeeing him come, was much affrighted, which the Slave obſerving, told him the Brand he had ſet in his Face touched him not ſo much as the memory of his former Benefits: and at the ſame time hiding him in a Cave, fed him by his labour in the beſt manner he could; and afterward perceiving the Soldiers who were not far from the Cave, and were coming thither upon ſuſpicion ſome one might be there hid, he fell upon an old Man that paſſed by, ſlew him, and cut off his Head; whereupon the Soldiers wondring at the action, and laying hold on him as a Murderer, he told him: *It is* Reſtion *my Maſter whom I have thus ſlain, to revenge theſe marks of Infamy*; whereupon they preſently took from him the Head, that they might have the reward, which, whilſt they in vain went to ſeek at the City, he removed his Maſter thence, and got him a paſſage into *Sicily*.

Appius being in Bed in a ſmall Country Houſe, whither the Soldiers came to ſeek him, one of his Slaves pulled off his Cloaths, which making him put on, he lay down in the Bed as if he had been the Maſter, and was willingly ſlain for him, *Appius* ſtanding by in the Habit of a Slave.

In the ſame manner *Menemius* being beſieged by the Soldiers in his Houſe, one of the Slaves went into his Litter, and cauſed himſelf to be carried out by ſome of his Comrades, who contributed to his deſign, and ſo was killed for his Maſter, who by that means eſcaped for *Sicily*.

A Freed Man of *Junius*, called *Philemon*, who dwelt in a magnificent Houſe, hid him in a publick Room in a ſtrong Cheſt made to keep Writings or Plate, and fed him by night till the time of peace.

Another Freed Man to whom was committed the keeping of his Maſter's Sepulchre, whoſe Son was likewiſe proſcribed, kept there both Father and Son.

Lucretius

Lucretius having wandered ſome time up and down the Fields with two faithful Slaves, was at laſt by hunger forced to return and ſee his Wife, cauſing himſelf to that end to be carried by the Slaves in his Litter as a ſick Man, one of thoſe that carried him having broke his Leg, he purſued his way, ſupporting himſelf upon the other. But when he came near to that Gate where his Father, proſcribed by *Sylla*, was taken, and ſaw a company of Soldiers coming towards him, his heart upon the omen of the place miſgave him, and he went and hid himſelf in a Sepulchre. Certain Thieves uſed to rob Sepulchres, coming thither, he let himſelf be ſtripped. The Slave while his Maſter lay cloſe was gone towards the Gate, where he waited for him, and when he came, covering him with ſome part of his Cloaths, carried him in that manner to his Wife. There was in his Houſe a Room double floored, where ſhe hid him, , till by the interceſſion of his Friends he got pardon from the Triumvirs, and after peace was made, obtained the Conſulate.

Sergius remained ſome time hid in *Anthony*'s own Houſe, who at laſt managed Affairs ſo, by the means of the Conſul *Plancus*, that his return was aſſented to; wherefore when *Cæſar* and *Anthony* after fell at odds, when the Senate declared *Anthony* Enemy, *Sergius* was the only man that openly oppoſed it.

As for *Pomponius*, he took the Habit and Enſign of a Pretor, and having cloathed his Slaves like Uſhers, went as a Pretor all the length of the City with his Litters, his Officers crowding cloſe about him for fear he ſhould be known by others; being got out of the Gates he mounted in one of the publick Coaches, and marching in this Equipage through *Italy*, was every where received as a Pretor deputed from the Triumvirs to make peace with *Pompey*, till ſuch time as he paſſed into *Sicily* upon one of the publick Galleys.

Apuleius and *Aruntius* acted the Centurions, armed their Slaves like Soldiers, and run about the City as if they had purſued ſome Proſcripts. At length ſeparating, they began to releaſe Priſoners, and to gather together Fugitives, till having levyed ſome Troops, each beheld himſelf with Enſigns, Arms, and a certain kind of Army; both one and the other ſtrove to get the Sea ſide, and therefore came to encamp on certain eminencies in view of each other, one mightily afraid of the other. Morning coming on they took one the other for Enemies, came down from the Hills, and engaged each other, till at length, knowing their errour, they threw down their Arms, and with tears embraced, caſting this accident on fortune which had been croſs to them in all things. After that they embarqued and made their retreat, *Aruntius* to *Pompey*, with whom he returned to the City, and *Apuleius* to *Brutus*, whoſe Lieutenant he was in the Government of *Bithynia*, which after *Brutus*'s death falling to *Anthony*, he permitted him to return to his Houſe.

As ſoon as *Ventidius* was proſcribed, one of his Freed Men bound him, as if it were to deliver him to the Executioners, the Night following he armed all his Slaves like Soldiers, and as if he had been Centurion brought forth his Patron, and managed his buſineſs with ſo much cunning, that croſſing in this manner all *Italy* as far as *Sicily*, they lodged often in the ſame Inn with other Centurions, under pretence of ſearching for *Ventidius*.

Another whom his Freed Man had hid in a Sepulchre, being ſtruck with horrour at ſuch a Lodging, went and hired a wretched Chamber next to one hired by a Soldier, where not able to endure to live in continual fear, he paſſed from infinite terrour to prodigious boldneſs, and cauſing himſelf to be

be ſhaved, went and kept a School in *Rome* it ſelf, till ſuch time as peace was made.

Voluſius being proſcribed whilſt he was Ædile, had a Friend, Prieſt to the Goddeſs *Iſis*, who lent him a Linnen Robe that covered him to the very Heels, ſo that paſſing through the Country in the habit of a Prieſt to that Goddeſs, and every where performing the uſual Ceremonies, he eſcaped to *Pompey*.

Sittius a Native of *Cales*, as he was very rich, ſo he had been at great expence in the ſervice of his Countrymen, in acknowledging of which they took Arms in his defence, threatened his Slaves with death, if any ill happened to him, and permitted not the Soldiers to approach their Walls, till ſuch time as the miſchief diminiſhing, they ſent to the Triumvirs, and obtained from them that he might ſtay in his own Country, baniſhed from any part of *Italy*. So *Sittius* became the only perſon of all mankind that ever was in exile in his own Country.

Varro a Philoſopher, Hiſtorian, Soldier, and General of great Reputation, was alſo proſcribed, poſſibly for being ſo, as an Enemy to Monarchy. All his Friends were at ſtrife who ſhould have the Honour to ſecure him, *Calenus* carried it, and kept him in a Country Houſe of his, where *Anthony* often divertiſed himſelf as he paſſed by; yet none, either of *Varro's* or *Calenus's* Slaves diſcovered him.

Virginius a fair ſpoken Man perſwaded his Domeſticks, that if they ſlew him for a ſmall gain, which yet they were not ſure of, they would be afflicted with eternal remorſe of conſcience; whereas on the contrary by ſaving his life they might expect immortal Glory, and hope for rewards greater and more certain; wherefore, as if they had been one of his companions, they followed him in his flight, wherein being known by the Soldiers, he talked to them in the ſame manner, he told them that there was no hate between them for which they ſhould kill him, and that doing it only for Money, they might get more and more honeſtly if they would go with him to the Sea ſide, whither his Wife was to bring all he had. They believed him, and went along, and indeed his Wife had been there according to agreement betwixt them, but *Virginius* ſtaying too long, ſhe believed, that coming there before her he was embarqued, and therefore embarqued to follow him, yet leaving a Slave on the Shore to give *Virginius* notice, if he were yet behind. The Slave ſeeing *Virginius* coming, ran to meet him, and ſhewed him the Veſſel wherein his Wife was, not yet out of ſight, and withal talked to him of his Wife, his Money, and the reaſon why ſhe left him. The Soldiers were ſo abſolutely perſwaded, that when *Virginius* entreated them either to ſtay till he could make his Wife return, or to embarque with him to go after her, and receive their Money, they entred with him into the Veſſel, and themſelves ſetting hand to the Oars brought him into *Sicily*, where after having received what he had promiſed them, they continued in his ſervice till the time of the Peace.

Rebulus being in a Veſſel that was to carry him for *Sicily*, the Pilot began to demand Money of him, threatning to diſcover him if he gave it him not, to whom *Rebulus* made a like anſwer, as *Themiſtocles* had done in his flight that he would have ſaved a Proſcript for Money, inſomuch that the Pilot affrighted with the anſwer, brought him ſpeedily to *Pompey*.

Murcus was likewiſe proſcribed becauſe he had Command in *Brutus's* Army, and being taken after *Brutus* was defeated, he feigned himſelf a Slave: *Barbula* bought him, and becauſe he ſaw him active, gave him the

Government

Government of all his other Slaves, and withal made him his Caſh-keeper. *Murcus* behaved himſelf in this Employment with more prudence than nature ordinarily gives to Slaves, his Maſter hereupon had ſome ſuſpicion of him, and exhorting him to courage, promiſed to ſecure him, though he were one of the Proſcripts, which he conſtantly denyed, telling him out of his own invention his Name, his Family, and his former Maſters. *Barbula* thereupon carried him to *Rome*, thinking if he were one of the Proſcripts he would be loath to go: however he followed him; but ſome time after as *Barbula* was before one of the Conſul's Gates, one of his Friends knowing *Murcus* in his Train in the Habit of a Slave gave him notice of it, and he by the interceſſion of *Agrippa* deſired his pardon of *Cæſar*, who cauſed him to be erazed out of the Roll of the Proſcripts, eſteemed him afterwards as his Friend, and employed him not long after in the Battel of *Actium* againſt *Anthony*. *Barbula* ſerved under *Anthony*, and fortune had ordered each of them his turn; for *Barbula* after *Anthony*'s Defeat was taken priſoner, feigning himſelf a Slave, *Murcus* bought him as if he had not known him, and gave advice of it to *Cæſar*, from whom he obtained power to return him like for like; and this conformity of fortune between them continued ever; for they were afterwards Colleagues in one of the higheſt Dignities of the City.

Some time after *Lepidus* reduced by *Cæſar* to the condition of a private Man from a Sovereign, that he was conſtrained by a like neceſſity to ſubmit to *Balbinus*, who eſcaping the Proſcription returned with *Pompey*, and was now Conſul, and thus it happened, *Mæcenas* had accuſed *Lepidus* the Son, of a Conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar*, together with the Mother as an Accomplice; for *Lepidus* himſelf he deſpiſed as weak. The Son being ſent to *Cæſar* then at *Actium*, *Mæcenas* cauſed it to be ordered, that if the Mother would be diſpenſed with from the toil of the Journey, ſhe ſhould give in ſuch ſecurity as the Conſul ſhould approve, but none being found would be bound for her: *Lepidus* having often in vain preſented himſelf before *Balbinus*'s Gate, and ſometimes too before the Tribunal, from whence the Officers had forced him to retire, had ſcarce the liberty at laſt to ſay theſe words: *The accuſers themſelves are teſtimonies of my innocency, by ſaying I am no Abettor with my Wife and Son. 'Twas not I proſcribed you, and at this day I am my ſelf under the power of Proſcribers; wherefore let me beg you to conſider the inſtability of humane things, and to accept my ſecurity for my Wife, or ſend me priſoner along with her.* *Lepidus* having thus ſpoke, *Balbinus* moved at this great change, diſcharged his Wife from the ſecurity demanded.

Cicero the Son of the Orator being ſent into *Greece* by his Father, who foreſaw the miſeries that afterwards happened, retired firſt to *Brutus*, and afterwards to *Pompey*, and had both under one and the other very honourable Employments in the War. At laſt *Cæſar* to make it appear he had not conſented to his Father's death, made his Son firſt Pontifex or High Prieſt, ſome time after Conſul, and in the end Proconſul of *Syria*: and then when *Cæſar* after having defeated *Anthony* at *Actium*, wrote news of it to *Rome*: *Cicero* as Conſul read it in full Aſſembly, and fixed a Copy before the Tribunal for Orations, where formerly his Father's Head had been expoſed.

Appius after having depoſited what Goods he had in the hands of his Slaves, embarqued himſelf to go with them into *Sicily*. A Tempeſt ariſing, the Slaves who were deſirous to enrich themſelves with his Money, perſwaded him there was more ſecurity in the Boat, and prevailed with him to go into her. But fortune would that againſt all probability he was ſaved, and the Slaves all periſhed.

Publius

Publius, * Queſtor to *Brutus*, who had been ſolicited by *Anthony*'s People to betray his General, and was proſcribed by the Triumvirate for not conſenting, returned at laſt to *Rome*, and was beloved by *Cæſar* to that degree, that when *Publius* ſhewed him Pictures of *Brutus* in his Houſe, he yet eſteemed him the more. Theſe are the moſt memorable accidents happened to ſome Proſcripts who eſcaped the danger.

* Treaſurer.

VIII. Whilſt theſe things paſſed at *Rome*, all the reſt of the Empire concern'd either for one or the other party was filled with Wars, eſpecially in *Africa*, between *Sextus* and *Cornificius*, in *Syria* between *Caſſius* and *Dolobella*, and in *Sicily* againſt *Pompey*, in which Actions many Cities were forced, as *Laodicea*, *Tharſus*, *Rhodes*, *Patara* and *Xant*, not to ſpeak of others leſs conſiderable; the particulars whereof we will relate in the briefeſt method poſſible. The Romans divide *Africa* into two Provinces, of which, they call that the old which they conquered from the Carthaginians, and that whereof *Cæſar* had newly deſpoiled King *Juba* they call the new, that is *Numidia*. *Sextius* ſent into this laſt in quality of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant, gave Commands to *Cornificius* to ſurrender to him the old, becauſe by the diviſion made among the Triumvirate all *Africa* belonged to *Cæſar*: *Cornificius* made anſwer, that he knew nothing of any ſuch Diviſion, and could not without orders of the Senate quit the Government of a Province they had given him in charge, whereupon they declared War: *Cornificius* had an Army both better diſciplin'd, and ſtronger in Men than *Sextius*, who having only light armed Foot made incurſions into *Cornificius*'s Government, and dayly drew ſome to his Party, till ſuch time as *Ventidius* Lieutenant to *Cornificius* coming againſt him with more Forces than he had, beſieged him, and *Lelius* the other Lieutenant of the ſame *Cornificius* entred into *Sextius* his Province, and beſieged *Cirta*. Mean time both Parties ſent to demand alliance of King *Arabion*, and thoſe they call Sittiens, for the reaſon we are going to relate. *Sittius* accuſed of crimes at *Rome*, not daring ſtand a trial, fled, and gathering together ſome Forces as well in *Italy* as *Spain*, went over into *Africa*. There happened then to be War between the African Kings, wherein *Sittius* taking ſometimes one part, and ſometimes another, and ſtill carrying Victory to that ſide he joyned with, ſoon gained a fair reputation, and by exerciſing his Army made it capable of great Attempts. He ſerved likewiſe *C. Cæſar* when he came to make War upon thoſe who took part with *Pompey*, and ſlew *Saburra* Lieutenant to King *Juba*, in acknowledgment of which ſervices *Cæſar* gave him the confiſcation of *Manaſſes*'s Eſtate, yet not all of it, but the better part. *Manaſſes* was Father of this *Arabion*, and for having aſſiſted King *Juba*, *Cæſar* divided his Country between *Sittius* and *Bocchus* King of the Moors. *Sittius* diſtributed his part to his Soldiers, and *Arabion* went over into *Spain* to *Pompey*'s Sons. After *Cæſar*'s death he returned into *Africa*, from whence he continually ſent freſh Troops of Africans to *Sextus* the Son of *Pompey*, who being returned from *Spain* well experienced, he drove out *Bocchus*, and got rid of *Sittius* by treaſon, and though he had an inclination for *Pompey*'s Children, becauſe of the good Offices he had received, yet would he no longer oblige himſelf to that Party which he ſaw forſaken by fortune, but choſe rather to declare for *Sextius*, by whoſe means he hoped to gain *Cæſar*'s favour, and the Sittians in conſideration of his Father's kindneſs to them, did the ſame: *Sextius* encouraged by ſuch a reinforcement went and charged *Ventidius*, routs his People, cuts the moſt part in pieces, and takes a great many Priſoners. News whereof being brought to *Lelius*, he raiſes the Siege of *Cirta*, and returns

to joyn with *Cornificius*. *Sextius* puffed up with this ſucceſs, marches againſt *Cornificius*, who lay near *Utica* with much greater Forces; and encamps cloſe by him. There *Lelius* being commanded out with his Horſe, to make diſcovery of the Poſture of the Enemy, *Sextius* gives Order to *Arabion* to go charge him in Front with his Horſe; and he with his Light-armed Foot gains the Flank, whilſt he thought to have to deal only with Horſe. He charges him ſo home, that *Lelius*, before he received farther diſgrace, fearing to be ſurrounded, and his Retreat cut off, goes and ſeizes upon an Eminence in the midſt of the Campain; where *Arabion* in his Rear having ſlain many of his Horſe-men, inveſts him. *Cornificius* ſeeing that, ſallies out of the Camp with his beſt Troops: *Sextius* falls in his Rear: He faces about; and during the Fight, wherein he is hard put it, *Arabion* ſends privately to his Camp people uſed to clamber up Rocks; who make themſelves Maſters of it. *Roſcius*, who had the Guard of it, makes one of his people kill him. *Cornificius* tired out with fighting, not knowing his Camp was taken, haſtes towards the Eminence to make good his Retreat to *Lelius*; but *Arabion* getting between him and his mark, he was cut in pieces. *Lelius*, who beheld all this from the place where he was, kills himſelf. The Army ſeeing their Commanders dead, made every Man the beſt way he could. The Proſcripts that were with *Cornificius* fled, ſome to *Sicily*, others where beſt they might. *Sextius* gave to *Arabion* and the Sittians great quantity of Spoils; and pardoning the Cities, received them under the Obedience of *Cæſar*. Thus ended the War in *Lybia* between *Sextius* and *Cornificius*; which was thus ſhort, as it ſeems, by reaſon of the heat of the Commanders.

IX. We will now ſpeak of what was done by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, after having made ſome ſhort Repetition of what has been ſaid before, for the better underſtanding the whole. *Cæſar* being ſlain, the Conſpirators ſeized the Capitol; from whence they deſcended after the Senate had proclaimed the Indempnity. Afterward, the people moved for *Cæſar*'s death, took Firebrands from his Funeral-pile, and clapped them to the Houſes of the Conſpirators; which defending themſelves from above, repulſed the multitude, and ſoon after every one of them retired into the Governments which *Cæſar* had given them. *Caſſius* and *Brutus* exerciſed ſtill the Office of Pretors in the City, and had been deſigned Pro-Pretors by *Cæſar*; *Caſſius* of *Syria*, and *Brutus* of *Macedon*. But becauſe the time appointed for their going to their Provinces was not yet come, and that without fear they could not ſtay in the City. The Senate ſent them out honourably, under pretence of giving them the Superintendence of Proviſion, leſt otherwiſe they ſhould ſeem to have fled. After they were gone the Governments of *Syria* and *Macedon* were given by Decree to the Conſuls, *Anthony* and *Dolobella*, againſt the mind of moſt of the Senate; and yet in ſome manner to recompence *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, they granted them *Crete* and *Cyrene*: But they deſpiſing theſe Governments becauſe they were too ſmall, began by Money to aſſure themſelves of Forces, with intent to ſieze upon *Syria* and *Macedon*. To this end they were labouring, when *Trebonius* being ſlain by *Dolobella*, and *Decimus* beſieged in *Gaul* by *Anthony*, the Senate offended, declared *Anthony* and *Dolobella* Enemies, confirmed *Brutus* and *Caſſius* in their firſt Governments, added *Illyria* to that of *Brutus*; and gave Command to all Governors, and all Soldiers of the Oriental Provinces, to receive the Orders of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*. After which *Caſſius*, without conſidering *Dolobella*, advances to poſſeſs himſelf of *Syria*, with the Enſigns of Com-

Command, together with twelve compleat Legions of Old Soldiers, who had ſerved their Apprenticeſhip under *Cæſar*. For *Cæſar* having already in his thoughts the War againſt the Parthians, had left one in *Syria* under the Charge of *Cecilius Baſſus*, as Lieutenant to *Sextus Julius*, his Kinſman, yet very young: who roving about the Country to take his pleaſure, uſed to carry his Legion along with him, contrary to all Decency: which when *Baſſus* repreſented unto him, he reviled him. And another time when he ſent for *Baſſus*, becauſe he came not immediately, he commanded to bring him by force: This Command raiſed a Tumult, and the Tumult a Scuffle, wherein the Soldiers no longer able to bear with *Julius* inſolence, ſlew him with their Javelins: But at the ſame inſtant they repented themſelves, for they feared *Cæſar*; wherefore they ſwore mutually to one another, that if he granted them not a Pardon for this Action, they would defend themſelves to the death. They likewiſe forced *Baſſus* to be of the Conſpiracy; and raiſed another Legion, whom they exerciſed after the Roman way of Diſcipline. *Sextus Marcus*, ſent by *Cæſar* againſt them with three Legions, was repulſed; till ſuch time as having called to his Aſſiſtance *Minutius Criſpus*, with three other Legions out of *Bithynia*, *Baſſus* found himſelf beſieged by ſix Legions, when *Caſſius* coming that way, *Baſſus* Army voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and ſoon after the ſix Legions commanded by *Marcus* and *Minutius*; whether they had an inclination for him, or elſe were willing to obey him in compliance with the Senate's Decree. *Allienus* ſent ſome time before by *Dolobella* into *Egypt*, now brought thence four Legions of the Remains of *Pompey*'s and *Craſſus* Defeats; or of thoſe which *Cæſar*, at his departure from *Egypt*, had left in *Cleopatra*'s Service. *Caſſius* ſurprized him in *Paleſtine*, and forced to take part with him; for he durſt not reſiſt eight Legions, having but four. Thus, beyond all expectation, he found himſelf Maſter of twelve Legions, beſides a great number of Parthian Archers on Horſe-back, who were come to offer themſelves to him out of the great Eſteem he had gained among them, when being Queſtor to *Craſſus*, they judged him more prudent than his General. *Dolobella*, ſince *Trebonius* death, had ſtayed in *Ionia*; where he exacted great ſtore of Money from the Cities, and prepared a Fleet of Ships which *Livius Figulus* hired from the *Rhodians*, *Lycians*, *Pamphilians* and *Cilicians*. So that having made theſe Preparations, he attempted to ſeize upon *Syria*; and to that purpoſe took his March by Land with two Legions, and gave order to *Figulus* to follow him by Sea: But when he underſtood the State of *Caſſius* his Power, he turned into *Laodicea*, a City affectionate to his Intereſts, and ſituate on a Peninſula fortified to the Land; and whereof the Port was very commodious to enter with Proviſions, or to go out again when ever they had a mind to ſet Sail. As ſoon as *Caſſius* had notice hereof, that *Dolobella* might not eſcape him, he cauſed to be raiſed at the Neck of the Peninſula, which was two Furlongs over, a Bulwark of the ſame length, raiſed with Stones and other ſorts of Materials, which he took from the Houſes and Sepulchres that were in the Suburbs. He ſent likewiſe to require Shipping from the Phenicians, Lycians and Rhodians; who all refuſed him: But though only the Sidonians ſent theirs to him, he forbore not with them to aſſault *Dolobella*'s Navy. There was in this Fight a great many Ships ſunk of one ſide and the other; nevertheleſs, at laſt *Dolobella* got five, with all the Sea-men and Soldiers in them. *Caſſius* ſent afreſh to demand Aid of thoſe had refuſed him at firſt; and beſides them, to *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*; and to *Serapion*, who commanded for her in *Cyprus*. The Tyrians, the Aradians and *Serapion* (without the Queen's Order) ſent him all they

had: But the Queen pretended that *Egypt* was afflicted with Famine and Plague to excuſe her ſelf; though indeed, for the firſt *Cæſar*'s ſake, ſhe was concerned for *Dolobella*, had already ſent him four Legions by *Allienus*, and had likewiſe at that preſent a Fleet in readineſs to relieve him, which only ſtayed till the foul Weather Seaſon was paſt. As for the Rhodians and Lycians, they made Anſwer, that they would ſerve neither *Brutus* nor *Caſſius* in a Civil War; and that they had lent their Ships to *Dolobella* for paſſage only, not believing he would make uſe of them in War. After this Anſwer, *Caſſius*, with thoſe Forces he had, returned to give an Aſſault to *Dolobella*'s Fleet; where the advantage was very doubtful at firſt, but at laſt *Dolobella* ſuffered ſome loſs. At the ſame time the Bulwark being finiſhed, they planted Batteries; and whilſt they played at the Wall, *Caſſius* laboured to corrupt the Guards: And not being able to gain *Marſus*, who commanded the Guard by Night, he prevailed with the Centurions that did it by Day; who, when *Marſus* was gone to his Repoſe, let in *Caſſius* at many little Poſterns. The City being taken, *Dolobella* commanded one of his People to cut off his Head, and carry it to *Caſſius*, to ſave his own: He obeyed in the firſt point, but after killed himſelf upon his Maſter's Body: *Marſus* likewiſe ſlew himſelf. *Caſſius* took an Oath from *Dolobella*'s Army, plundered the Temples and Treaſuries of *Laodicea*, put to death the principal Inhabitants, and taxed the reſt in vaſt Summs; ſo that he reduced the City to extreme neceſſity. From *Laodicea*, he took his March towards *Egypt*, upon the News that *Cleopatra* was going with a great Fleet to meet *Cæſar* and *Anthony*. He hoped to hinder that Queen's Voyage, and to revenge himſelf of her: and indeed, he was very deſirous to have ſeized upon *Egypt*, then oppreſſed with Famine, and diſfurniſhed of Men of War, *Alienus* having lately drawn thence the four Legions. And it is probable ſomething might have been done, but *Brutus* ſent for *Caſſius* in haſte, becauſe *Cæſar* and *Anthony* had paſſed the Ionian Sea. Thus *Caſſius* diverted from the Expedition of *Egypt*, of which he had great hopes, diſmiſſed the Parthians with Rewards, and ſent Ambaſſadors to their King, to demand a greater Succor; which arriving after the Defeat, over-run *Syria* and the Neighbouring Provinces, as far as *Ionia*, and ſo returned. After this, having left his Nephew in *Syria* with one Legion, he ſent his Horſe before into *Cappadocia*; ſurprized *Ariobarzanes*, under pretence that he had deſerted *Caſſius*, and defeated him, and brought to the General all his Treaſures and Proviſions which he had made ready for the War. Thoſe of *Tarſus* being divided into two Factions, the one had firſt received *Caſſius*, and made him a Preſent of a Crown; the other ſome time after payed the ſame Honours to *Dolobella*; and both acted in the Name of the Community: So that by having received ſometimes one and ſometimes the other, they expoſed their City to be puniſhed by both for their Inconſtancy; and at laſt *Caſſius*, after *Dolobella*'s death, taxed them in fifteen hundred Talents. They were already ſo poor, that they had not wherewithal to pay this Summ; but the Soldiers tormented them with a thouſand Cruelties to make them find it: They ſold firſt all the Publick Goods; then things conſecrated, even to the Ornaments of the Temples, and the Offerings had been made: Which yet amounting not to the leaſt part of the Summ, the Magiſtrates ſold the Free Perſons; firſt the Maids and Children, then the Women and Old Men, who yielded but little; and after all, the Young Men, many of which ſlew themſelves. At laſt *Caſſius* returning from *Syria*, had compaſſion on their miſery, and remitted the Remainder of the Tax. Theſe were the Calamities wherewith *Tarſus* and *Laodicea* were afflicted.

Caſſius

Caſſius and *Brutus* conſulting together what they were beſt to do; *Brutus* was of Opinion they ſhould go into *Macedon*, and give Battel to the Enemies, who had forty Legions; eight of which had already paſſed the Ionian Sea. *Caſſius* judged on the contrary; that the Enemy being ſo numerous were not to be dreaded, ſeeing they would ſcatter of themſelves for want of Proviſions; and therefore, that it were better to begin the War with the Rhodians and Lycians, who held for the Enemies, and were very ſtrong in Shipping, leſt they ſhould fall into their Rear whilſt they were engaged with *Cæſar* and *Anthony*. This Opinion was followed; *Brutus* undertook the Lycians, and *Caſſius* thoſe of *Rhodes*, where he had been educated, and had ſtudied thoſe Sciences taught in *Greece*. And becauſe he had to deal with People very expert in Sea-Fights, he fitted up all the Ships he had, manned them both with Sea-Men and Soldiers, and exerciſed them at *Mynda*. As for the Rhodians, the moſt prudent of them were fearful to come to Extremities with the Romans; but the People made inſolent with thoſe Victories, which they remembred to have gained againſt People, to whom the Romans were no ways comparable, were very glad of it; and began to ſet in order three and thirty of the beſt Veſſels they had. However, they ſent Deputies to *Caſſius* to deſire him not to contemn *Rhodes*, which had always revenged it ſelf on thoſe that had deſpiſed them: Nor to violate the Treaties between the Romans and the Rhodians, by which they had promiſed not to bear Arms one againſt the other. That if he found fault with them for refuſing their Ships, they would ſend Deputies to the Senate; and if the Senate ordered it, they would aſſiſt him with all their Forces. To this *Caſſius* made Anſwer, that now it was no more time to make uſe of Words, but Arms: That as for thoſe Treaties which obliged them not to bear Arms one againſt another, they had firſt violated them by aſſiſting *Dolobella* againſt him: That the ſame Treaties contained likewiſe a Promiſe of aſſiſting one the other; and that when *Caſſius* demanded theirs, they mocked him with a pretence of ſending Deputies to the Senate, now diſperſed into all parts in their flight from thoſe Tyrants had made themſelves Lords of the City; Tyrants which he would puniſh as well as the Rhodians their Abettors, if they did not ſuddenly ſubmit themſelves. This Anſwer increaſed the fear of the Wiſe Men: But the People ſuffered themſelves to be led by *Alexander* and *Mnaſeus*; who encouraged them by putting them in mind how *Mithridates*, and before him *Demetrius*, had in vain attempted *Rhodes* with far greater numbers of Shipping. Wherefore they made *Alexander* Prytane, which is the chief and moſt powerful Magiſtrate of the City; and *Mnaſeus* they made Admiral. However, they again deputed to *Caſſius*, *Archelaus*, under whom he had ſtudied the Greek Learning; who, as one that had lived familiarly with him, taking him by the hand, ſpoke thus. X.

The

The Speech of *Archelaus* to *Caſſius*.

WIll you that love the Greeks, ruin a Greek City; and that fight for Liberty, take it from Rhodes *that is a Free City? Are you envious of the Glory of the Dorick Nation, which never yet was overcome; or have you forgot thoſe Noble Stories you learnt at* Rhodes, *and at* Rome *it ſelf? At* Rhodes *the mighty Actions the Rhodians, when aſſaulted in their City, have done againſt a number of Kings; and above all, againſt thoſe were thought invincible,* Demetrius *and* Mithridates, *for the Defence of that Liberty for which you ſay you are now in Arms? At* Rome, *the important Services we have done the Romans, eſpecially againſt King* Antiochus; *the Monuments of which you may there behold engraven in Copper? This I ſay to oblige you to conſider our Nation, the Honour of our City, its good Fortune which never yet abandoned it, its Affection to the Romans, and the Aſſiſtance it has offered them. But as to what may concern your ſelf,* Caſſius; *you ought particularly to bear ſome reſpect to a City wherein you have been educated, taught, cured of your Sickneſs, and where you have a long time ſojourned, and that even in my School; which makes me hope that the pains I have formerly took in inſtructing you, will not prove unprofitable to my Country, in diſpenſing her from engaging in a War with her Nurſling and Scholar; wherein of two things, one muſt be inevitable; all the Rhodians muſt periſh, or* Caſſius *muſt be overcome. I will add a little Counſel to the Requeſt I make you. In the important Affair wherein you are engaged for the Publick Good, take the Gods for the Guide of all your Actions; thoſe Gods by which you ſwore, when by* Cæſar's *intermiſſion we laſt renewed the Alliance between us; and after we had ſworn mutually, gave hands in token of that Faith which ought to be kept, even to Enemies; but with much more reaſon to Friends, and thoſe from whom we have received our Education. Beſides, we ought not only to conſider the Gods, but alſo take care to preſerve our Reputation for the ſake of Men; for thoſe who violate Treaties are abhorred of all the World; and after having once broke it, neither Friends nor Enemies have any more Relyance on their Word.*

XI. After theſe words the Old Man let not go his Hand, but wet it with his tears; which *Caſſius* could not ſee without bluſhing: and yet at laſt he made this Anſwer.

Caſſius's Anſwer to *Archelaus*.

IF you diſſwaded not the Rhodians from affronting me, you have affronted me your ſelf; and if you told them your thoughts, becauſe they did not believe you, I will revenge you. Now, it is manifeſt they have affronted me, firſt in refuſing that Aſſiſtance I demanded, in which they have deſpiſed me; Me that have been bred and educated in their City. Secondly, In preferring Dolobella *before me, who was neither fed nor bred there: And what is yet more odious; whilſt* Brutus, *and I, and all the reſt of the Senators that fly from Tyranny, labour*

bour as you ſee to reſtore our Country to Liberty; and that Dolobella *and others, whoſe Party you favour, oppreſs it. You, Gentlemen of* Rhodes, *that are ſuch mighty Lovers of Liberty, you make a pretence that you will not concern your ſelves in our Civil Wars; though this be no Civil War, ſince we pretend not to the Sovereignty. It is a declared War againſt Tyrants, and the Republick demands your Aſſiſtance; you decline it by deſiring to be left in Liberty, under colour that you have Alliance with the Romans, and yet have no compaſſion for ſo many Romans unjuſtly condemned to death, and proſcribed, with Confiſcation of their Goods; feigning that you expect the Orders of the Senate, now ſo oppreſſed, that it is in no power of defending it ſelf: Yet it is a long time ſince you received thoſe Orders by Decree, commanding all the Oriental Provinces to obey* Brutus *and I. As for you,* Archelaus, *you ſet a great value upon the Services the Rhodians have done us in the increaſe of our Empire, and of which you have received ample Recompence: But you ſay nothing to what you owe to our Aſſiſtance, now that we fight for Liberty and the Safety of our Country; though the Dorians, had we never had any Commerce together, ought to gain the Romans Friendſhip, defend from Oppreſſion the Roman Commonwealth. If without conſidering any of theſe Reaſons, you ſtand upon the terms of Alliance made between us by* Julius Cæſar, *the Founder of the Tyranny; it expreſly ſays that the People of* Rome *and the People of* Rhodes *ſhall aſſiſt one the other in neceſſity. Aſſiſt therefore the Romans in the Extremity wherein they now are;* Caſſius *ſummons you to it according to the terms of the Treaty: He is a Roman, and Commander over the Romans, authorized by Decree, which commands all the People of the Eaſt to receive his Orders:* Brutus *requires the Execution of the ſame Decree; and* Pompey *too, appointed by the Senate to the Superintendence of Sea Affairs. Add to theſe the Prayers of all the Senators who are eſcaped, part to* Brutus *and me, and part to* Pompey; *though by the Treaty the Rhodians are to help any ſingle Roman that calls to them for Aid. But if you take not us either for Pretors, or ſo much as for Romans; but treat us like Strangers or Fugitives, or as the Tyrants call us, for condemned Men; you have indeed no Alliance with us, but with the People of* Rome: *But we Strangers that are not comprehended in this Treaty, will make War upon you till you pay us an abſolute Submiſſion.*

After this Anſwer *Caſſius* diſmiſſed *Archelaus* with much Civility: And after his Return *Alexander* and *Mnaſeus*, the Commanders of the Rhodians went to *Myndus* with their three and thirty Ships, to out-brave *Caſſius*; and it may be too, they had ſome hopes of Victory, the remembrance how they dealt with *Mithridates* near this place begetting thoughts in them that they might now likewiſe come off with ſucceſs. The firſt day they were ſatisfied with ſhewing their skill at the Oar, and ſo returned to *Gnidus:* The next day they came again reſolved to fall upon *Caſſius* Fleet: The Romans wondring at their boldneſs, weighed, and went to meet them; and now they fought bravely on both ſides. The Rhodians by nimble rowing hither and thither, with their lighter Veſſels charged the Romans ſometimes in the Bow, and ſometimes on the Broad-ſide; but when the Romans could grapple with them, they fought with them hand to hand, as if upon firm Ground. At laſt, *Caſſius* having a greater number of Ships than the Enemy, ſurrounded them in that manner, that they could no more turn about in that nimble manner as before; but if charging the Romans a Head, they went preſently off again, they muſt needs come to dammage, being cloſely blocked up: And the Rhodian Prows not being able to pierce the

ſtrong

ſtrong built Roman Ships, whereas the Roman gave ſhrewd ſhocks whenever they joyned Board and Board to the lighter Rhodians. So that at laſt they had three Ships taken with all their Gang, and two ſunk; the reſt eſcaped to *Rhodes*, but in an ill condition; and the Romans retreated to *Myndus*, where they refitted ſeveral of their Ships that had come to dammage. Such was the Succeſs of the Sea-fight between the Romans and Rhodians near *Myndus*; where *Caſſius* was not in perſon, but beheld it from the top of a Hill. After he had refitted his Ships, he came to *Loryma*, a Fort ſtanding upon the Continent, but by the Sea ſide, and belonging to the Rhodians. From hence he tranſported his Land Army, commanded by *Fanius* and *Lentulus*, upon Ships of Burthen into the Iſland; and himſelf with fourſcore Galleys, went and anchored near the City, beſieged now by Sea and Land; where he for ſome time remained without doing any thing, in hopes the Enemy would ſubmit: But they charged him as fiercely as at firſt; and again with the loſs of two Ships, found themſelves inveſted on all ſides. The Walls were immediately lined round with Soldiers, to defend themſelves from *Fanius*, who at the ſame time ſtormed the City by Land; and from *Caſſius*, who approached with his Fleet and all things neceſſary for an Attack. For foreſeeing he ſhould ſtand in need of them, he had brought along Towers of Wood ready framed; which were ſoon ſet together and mounted. Thus *Rhodes*, after the ill ſucceſs of two Fights, was beleagured by Sea and Land; unprepared to ſuſtain a Storm, as is uſual in unexpected Surprizes; ſo that in all likelihood the Enemy would in a ſhort time become Maſter of it, either by Force or Famine. The moſt prudent of the Inhabitants had no doubt of it; and were already capitulating with *Fanius* and *Lentulus*, when they were all aſtoniſhed to ſee *Caſſius* with the choiceſt of his Forces in the midſt of the City, without perceiving any Violence, or that he had made uſe of any Scaling Ladders. Many thought, and not without reaſon, that ſome of his Friends in the City had opened him the Wickets to ſave it from Plunder, or before it ſhould be forced yield for want of Proviſions. *Rhodes* being thus taken, *Caſſius* ſeated himſelf in a Tribunal, upon which was fixed a Spear, as if he had taken the City by Force: and having drawn up his Army to a ſtand, he publiſhed a Proclamation forbidding the Soldiers to plunder or commit any violence upon pain of death. After which he called by name about fifty of the Inhabitants of *Rhodes*, whom he put to death; and five and twenty others which abſented themſelves, he condemned to Baniſhment. In concluſion, he ſpoiled all the Temples, and all the Publick Places of all the Riches, and of all the Gold and Silver which he could find; and moreover, commanded every particular Perſon to bring in all he had at a prefixed day; with threats to put to death thoſe that concealed any thing, and promiſe to reward the Informer with the tenth Penny if he were Free, and with Liberty if he were a Slave. At firſt many ventured upon Concealments, imagining the threats would not be executed with ſeverity; but when they ſaw the Reward given to the Informers, they grew fearful, and requeſted that the time might be prolonged; which being granted, ſome dug up their Money from under Ground, others drew it up out of Wells, others out of Sepulchres; ſo that they brought much greater quantities than before. To ſuch calamity was the City of *Rhodes* reduced, in which *Lucius Varus* was left Governor. *Caſſius* extraordinarily well ſatisfied to have taken it in ſo ſhort a time, and to get withal ſo much Money, gave Command to all the other Provinces to pay him in ten Years Tribute; which was readily performed. Mean time a report was brought that *Cleopatra* with a mighty

mighty Fleet, and great Warlike Preparations were at Sea to go joyn *Cæsar* and *Anthony*: for having formerly underhand favoured their Party for old *Cæsar*'s ſake, ſhe now openly declared her ſelf for the fear ſhe ſtood in of *Caſſius*. Wherefore he cauſed *Marcus* to embark with the beſt Legion he had, and ſome Archers; and in ſixty Ships ſent him to *Peloponneſus*, giving him Order to poſt himſelf about *Tenarus*; from whence himſelf had taken off all the Cattel and other Proviſions in the Peninſula.

XII. We will now relate the Exploits of *Brutus* in *Lycia*: But here it will likewiſe be neceſſary to look a little back, the better to revive the remembrance of things. After that he had received from *Apuleius* thoſe Forces he had, with ſixteen thouſand Talents; and gathered in the Tributes of *Aſia*, he came to *Bæotia*: Where the Senate having given him order to employ this Money for his preſent Neceſſities, with the Command of the Armies in *Macedon* and *Illyria*; *Ventidius*, his Predeceſſor in the Government of this laſt Province, delivered up to him three Legions, whereof the Illyrian Army was compoſed. He took at the ſame time one from *Caius*, *Anthony*'s Brother, whom he found in his Government; and after raiſed four Legions more of new Troops. All which together, made eight Legions; among which were many of *Cæsar*'s Veterans, and great numbers of Macedonians, whom he cauſed to be exerciſed in the Roman Diſcipline: And all this without comprizing his Horſe, which were in no ſmall numbers; and his Light-armed Foot, and Archers. Whilſt he was endeavouring to raiſe Men, and gather up Money, there appeared an Adventure to him from part of *Thrace*. A King of that Country being ſlain by his Enemies, *Polemocratia* his Widdow, who was fearful for her Son, came to *Brutus*; recommending her Infant to him, and delivering into his hands the Treaſures of her dead Husband. He ſent the Infant to the Cyzicenians, to take care of him till he had leiſure to go and reſtore him to his Kingdom: But finding in thoſe Treaſures a prodigious quantity of Gold and Silver, he cauſed it to be coyned into Mony. When at the Conference with *Caſſius* they had agreed together, that before all other things they would make War upon the Lycians and the Rhodians; he undertook to fall upon the Lycians, by the Siege of the City of *Xanthus*. The Inhabitants pulled down their Suburbs, leſt *Brutus* ſhould lodge in them, or out of them furniſh themſelves with Materials for the Seige: And fortifying their City, defended themſelves by the favour of a Ditch fifty Foot deep, and proportionably broad; in ſo much that thoſe on either ſide could do each other no hurt, unleſs with Slings or Arrows; for they ſtood as if parted by a deep River. *Brutus* reſolving to fill this Ditch, cauſed Mantelets to be made to ſecure his Men's Approach, and divided the Work by night and day amongſt the whole Army; beginning to labour in good earneſt, cauſing Materials to be with all ſpeed brought from far, and omitting no care or diligence neceſſary on ſuch an occaſion. In ſhort, though at firſt it ſeemed likely that either the Enemies would hinder the Work; or, at leaſt, that it would take up ſome Months time; yet it was finiſhed in few days, and *Brutus* found himſelf at the Foot of the Wall; where he cauſed his Machines to be raiſed, and the Gates ſtormed by his Foot, continually releived by freſh Companies ſent one after another. Yet for all this did the Beſieged, though almoſt all tired out, and the moſt wounded, defend themſelves as long as their Walls ſtood. There was already ſome Breaches made, and their Towers were all ſhattered; when *Brutus* well foreſeeing what would happen, gave over the Storm at the Gates, and cauſed his Men to retreat from the Aſſault. Whereupon, the

Inhabitants imagining this Retreat proceeded from the Negligence or Cowardiſe of the Beſiegers, made a Sally by night upon their Enemies with Torches in their hands. The Romans, who expected them, running in upon them, they took their flight towards the Gates, which thoſe that had the Guard of ſhut, for fear leſt their Enemies ſhould enter with them; ſo that there happened a great Slaughter. Some time after thoſe that remained in the City ſallyed out at Noon day; and having beaten off the Guards, fired all the Machines. The Gates being left open becauſe of the misfortune that happened before, there entred with the Inhabitants about two thouſand Romans; and as the reſt were thronging in after them, the Portcullis all on a ſuddain fell upon them; whether by order of the Xanthians, or that the Ropes that held them broke. Thus of the Romans that had engaged themſelves too far, ſome were loſt, and the reſt found themſelves incloſed, not being able to lift up the Portcullis for want of Cordage: ſo that knocked down from above by the Xanthians in thoſe narrow Streets, they with much difficulty gained the Publick Place, which was not far off; where ſtill extremely tormented with the Arrows ſhot at them: and having neither Bows nor Arrows, they retreated into the Temple of *Sarpedon*, for fear of being at laſt over-preſſed by the multitude. Mean while the Romans troubled, and fearful for thoſe ſhut within the City, attempted all ways poſſible to relieve them: And *Brutus* went from Quarter to Quarter, to encourage his Soldiers; but they could not break open the Gates, almoſt covered over with Bars of Iron; and their Ladders and Towers of Wood were burnt. Notwithſtanding, ſome applyed themſelves to make new Ladders; others raiſed Perches, Forks and other pieces of Timber againſt the Walls to ſerve inſtead of Ladders; others faſtned Iron Hooks upon Ropes, caſt them over the Battlements; and when they catched hold, climbed up by help of the Rope. The Oenandes, Neighbours and Enemies to the Xanthians; and therefore now ſerving under *Brutus*, began to ſcramble up the Rocks and Precipices, where the Romans with much pain followed them; and though many tumbled back, yet ſome gained the Wall, and opened a little Gate, before which was a Paliſade of very ſharp Stakes; over which ſome of the braveſt, aſſiſted by thoſe already within, paſſed: So that now being a conſiderable number, they attempted to break open a great Gate, which was not on the inſide lined with Bars of Iron; to which effect thoſe without laboured likewiſe. The Xanthians were at the ſame time fighting with thoſe ſhut up in the Temple of *Sarpedon*, who made a great noiſe; which made thoſe who both within and without were endeavouring to break open the Gate to make one great puſh for all; which effecting their buſineſs, they about Sun-ſet entred pell mell into the Town, ſhouting out as loud as they could, that thoſe in the Temple might hear them. The City being taken, the Inhabitants retreated to their Houſes; where they ſlew all thoſe they loved beſt, who of themſelves came to offer themſelves up to death. *Brutus* hearing the cries and groans which this fury cauſed throughout the City, thought the Soldiers had been plundering; and by Proclamation forbad it: But when he underſtood the true cauſe, he had compaſſion of People ſo fond of their Liberty, and ſent to offer them Compoſition: but they with Darts and Arrows drove back thoſe that came to ſpeak with them; and after having ſlain all their Domeſticks, and layd their Bodies upon Piles, they ſet them on fire; and then ſlaying themſelves, they burnt with the reſt. *Brutus* preſerved from the flame all the Temples he could, and took Priſoners only a few Slaves, and about one hundred and fifty Virgins and Women who had no Men to kill them. And this was the third time

the

the Xanthians were deſtroyed for defence of their Liberty: for being being beſieged by *Harpalus* the Median, Lieutenant to *Cyrus*, they choſe rather to die than yield, and their City ſerved them for a common Tomb; which *Harpalus* put not himſelf to the trouble to hinder. And under *Alexander*, the Son of *Philip*, they fell under the like misfortune; refuſing to ſubmit to that Conqueror of ſo many Nations.

XIII. From *Panthus*, *Brutus* went down to *Patara*, which ſeemed to be the Port of the Xanthians; inveſted the City, ſummoned the Inhabitants to ſurrender, under the penalty of being treated like their Neighbours: And the better to perſwade them, brought before them Priſoners of *Xanthus*; who making a Recital of their Miſery, exhorted them to be wiſer. The Patarans making no Anſwer, *Brutus* gave them the reſt of that day to conſider of it, and retreated. The next morning he returned before the place; when the Inhabitants cryed out from the Walls, that they were ready to follow his Orders, and opened to him the Gates. Being entred, he neither put to death nor baniſhed Perſon, but cauſed be brought to him all the Publick Mony of the City; and commanded likewiſe every particular perſon to bring in what he had, under the ſame Penalties and the ſame Rewards as *Caſſius*, after the taking of *Rhodes*, had decreed to the Concealers and Informers: which was exerciſed ſo punctually, that there was not a Concealer, ſave one who was accuſed by his Slave. After this Traytor had ſhewed to the Centurion that was ſent, the place where the Mony was hid, as they carried away all the Family before *Brutus*, the Maſter ſaid not a word; but his Mother followed crying out, to ſave his life, that it was ſhe that had hid it. Upon which the Slave, without being asked, ſaying, that the Mother lyed, for that it was her Son himſelf had hid it, *Brutus* praiſing the Son's ſilence and the Mother's affection to her Son, ſent them away with their Mony without any Puniſhment; but for the Slave that would have deſtroyed both Maſter and Miſtreſs, he cauſed him to be hanged. At the ſame time *Lentulus* ſent to *Andriac*, which is a Port of the Myrians, broke the Chain which croſſed over the Port; went up to *Mira*, which was ſurrendred to him by the Inhabitants; and after having taken their Mony, as was done at *Patara*, returned to *Brutus*: whither came the Lycian Deputies, promiſing him to ſerve him and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. He impoſed on them a certain Tribute, ſent back to *Xanthus* all the Free People, gave order to the Lycian People to meet him at *Abydos*; whither having ſent his own Ships, he marched himſelf by Land, there to wait for *Caſſius*, who was to come from *Ionia*, that they might together paſs over to *Seſtos*. Mean while *Murcus*, who had poſted himſelf about *Peloponneſus*, with deſign to engage Queen *Cleopatra*'s Fleet if ſhe paſſed that way; underſtanding that ſhe had been driven by Storms upon the Coaſts of *Lybia*, and that ſome of her Wracks were brought as far as *Lacedemon*; ſhe her ſelf being ſurprized by Sickneſs, being forced to make her Retreat into *Egypt*; he, that he might not loſe time, and do nothing with ſo great a number of Ships, croſſed over to *Brunduſium*; where he ſeized upon the Iſland that makes a part of the Harbor; from whence he hindred the Remainder of the Enemy's from being tranſported over into *Macedon*, or Proviſions to be carried to thoſe were there. But *Anthony* beſieged him with thoſe few long Ships he had; raiſing to this purpoſe Towers upon Rafts of Timber, whilſt he made his Companies, one after another, go aboard the Ships of Burthen, and taking the opportunity of the Wind off Shore (for fear of being ſurprized in their paſſage by *Murcus*

Fleet) put out to Sea. Yet he found that this Seige would prove very painful; wherefore he called *Cæsar* to his Assistance, who was now fighting with *Pompey* on the Sicilian Sea for *Sicily* it self. But it is necessary that I say something of this *Pompey*, the youngest of the Children of the great *Pompey*.

XIV. After that his Brother was killed in *Spain*, *Cæsar* despised him as a young Man, unexperienced and incapable of attempting any great matter: and indeed, he was retreated towards the Ocean, at the Head of a few High-way-Men, with whom he rambled the Country, not known to be *Pompey*. But at last a greater number of Vagabonds joyning with him, seeing himself Commander of pretty considerable Forces; and declaring himself for *Pompey*'s Son, all the Soldiers who had served under his Father or under his Brother, and had neither Employ nor certain Residence, came to him as to their General. *Arabion* likewise came from *Africa* after having been expelled his Father's Estates, as we have heretofore said. The name of *Pompey* soon spread it self through all *Spain*, the greatest of the Roman Provinces: And he shewed himself sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; yet not daring to adventure a Battel with *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants. When all these things were known at *Rome*, *C. Cæsar* sent *Carinas* and greater Forces to defeat *Pompey*: But he with his flying Army fell upon *Carinas* when least looked for, and then made his Retreat to places of Security; for he had already got some Towns, both small and great. Wherefore *Cæsar* sent to succed *Carinas*, *Asinius Pollio*; who made no farther Advances than his Predecessor had done: And *Cæsar* being dead, the Senate recalled *Pompey*; who came thereupon to *Marsilia*, to attend what course the Affairs of the City would take. Afterwards the Superintendence of Sea-Affairs being given to him, with the same Power that formerly his Father had; instead of returning to the City, he went and gathered together such Shipping as he found in several Ports; and with a considerable Fleet set Sail from *Spain*. At the beginning of the Triumvate he landed in *Sicily*; where *Bithynicus*, who was Governor, refusing to surrender to him the Government, he besieged him in the Isle; till such time as *Hirtius* and *Phanius*, Proscripts, who escaped, perswaded *Bithynicus* to yield to *Pompey*. Thus he soon beheld himself extremely powerful in *Sicily*; Master of a great number of Ships, of an Island commodious for *Italy*, and of a mighty Army; composed as well of the People he had at first, as those which the Proscripts brought him, Free Men and Slaves, or which came to him from those Cities of *Italy* decreed by the Triumvirs for a Reward of their Soldiers after the Victory; for the Inhabitants of those Cities abhorred nothing more than the name of that Victory. Wherefore, they secretly opposed it all they could possible; forsaking their Country, which they now held no more for their Country; and retreating to *Pompey*, who was their Neighbour, and now in the esteem of all the World. Besides, he had Seamen, Africans and Spaniards, very expert Men; so that he wanted neither Officers, nor Soldiers, nor Ships, nor Mony. *Cæsar* having notice of these things, sent away *Salvidienus* with his Fleet, to go drive *Pompey* out of *Sicily*, as if it had been an easie thing; and himself followed with his Land-Army through *Italy*, to *Rhegium*, where he had ordered the Navy to meet him. But *Pompey* met *Salvidienus* with a great Fleet, and engaged him in the Entrance of the Streights, near *Scylla*. *Pompey*'s Ships were the nimblest, and his Sea-men the most skilful; whereas the Roman Vessels were heavy, and therefore not so yare in working: Besides, the Sea, which was very

very boysterous in the place where they fought, was less troublesome to *Pompey*'s Sea-men, who were used to it, than to *Salvidienus*'s, who perhaps had never past that Strait; and therefore were not able to keep any steddy course, for they could neither row nor stere. Towards Evening *Salvidienus* first retreated, and *Pompey* drew off soon after. The loss of Ships was equal: *Salvidienus* refitted his Ships in a Port called *Balara*, nigh unto the place where they fought, and whither he at first retired; and *Cæsar* being arrived in those Quarters, gave his promise to those of *Rhegium* and *Vibone*, that he would except their Cities from the number of those which were to be given in reward to his Soldiers; which they were sorely afraid of, because they lay so nigh the Strait of *Sicily*.

Thereupon, *Anthony* having sent in haste for him, he embarked for *Brundusium*; leaving *Sicily* on the Right Hand, and referring to another Season the reducing of that Island, and the War against *Pompey*. *Murcus* having intelligence of his coming, that he might not be surrounded by *Cæsar*'s and *Anthony*'s Powers, at once quitted *Brundusium*, to go and watch in their passage for those Ships of Burthen that carried the Enemy's Army to *Macedon*. They were convoyed by Gallies; but the fair Wind contributed more to their Security than their Convoy. *Murcus* troubled to see his hopes frustrated, watched once more to surprize them as they returned empty; but both then, and afterwards, when they were loaden again with more Forces, they escaped him with full Sails, till the whole Army, together with *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, were got over. Though *Murcus* believed Fortune opposite to his designs, yet he stayed still in his Post to hinder, as much as in him lay, the transportation of Ammunitions, Provisions, or the new raised Forces. Thither, as to a convenient place, came to joyn Forces with him *Domitius Ænobarbus*, sent by *Cassius* and *Brutus* with fifty other Ships, one Legion, and some Archers: For because the Enemy could have but small store of Provisions elsewhere, they thought it a matter of importance to hinder the transportation of any out of *Italy*: And indeed, *Murcus* and *Ænobarbus* with one hundred and thirty long Ships or Gallies, a great number of smaller Vessels, and a considerable Army, did very much annoy *Cæsar* and *Anthony* by guarding this Passage. Mean while *Ceditius* and *Norbanus*, whom the Triumvirs had sent before into *Macedon* with eight Legions; having from *Macedon*, advanced by way of the Mountains, towards *Thrace*; after fifteen hundred Furlongs March, were got beyond the *Philippi*'s, and went and seized upon the Strait of *Torpides* and *Salapæes*, in the Estates of *Rascupolis*, which were then the only known Passages from *Europe* to *Asia*. And this was the first stop that presented it self to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were crossed over from *Abidos* to *Sestos*. This *Rascupolis* and *Rascus*, his Brother, Princes of the Blood-Royal of *Thrace*, and Sovereigns of a certain Country, were of different Parties; and with a thousand Horse each, *Rascus* held for *Anthony*, and *Rascupolis* for *Brutus* and *Cassius*. When therefore *Cassius* and *Brutus* informed themselves of the Ways, *Rascupolis* told them that the Ways of *Aena* and *Maronia* were the greatest Road, and the shortest and most ordinary Way to go to the Straits of *Salapæes*, then possessed by the Enemies; and that to fetch a turn about the March would be thrice as long, and very difficult. Upon this Advice, they judging that the Enemy had not seized upon the Post, so much to cut off their passage, as that thereby they might have the greater conveniency of forraging and fetching Provisions out of *Thrace* than *Macedon*, they set forward on the way of *Aena* and *Maronia*, and from thence went to *Lysimachia* and *Cardia*, which XV.

which ſerve as Gates to the Neck of the Thracian *Cherſoneſus*, from whence the next day they came to the Black Gulf. Here they muſtered their Armies, and found they had nineteen Legions, nine for *Caſſius*, and eight for *Brutus*, which were not quite full, and two which they diſtributed into the others to make them complete, ſo that the whole amounted to about fourſcore thouſand Foot; as for Cavalry *Brutus* had four thouſand Gaul and * Luſitanian Horſe, and two thouſand Thracians, Illyrians, Parthians and Theſſalians, and *Caſſius* had two thouſand Spaniards and Gauls, and four thouſand Archers on Horſeback, Arabians, Medes and Parthians, beſides the Kings and Tetrarchs of the Galatians in *Aſia*, who brought with them good ſtore of Foot, and five thouſand Horſe. Theſe were the Forces *Brutus* and *Caſſius* had at the Black Gulf, and with which they fought the Battel, the remainder of their Forces being employed upon other Affairs. The Army being here purged with the uſual Ceremonies, they payed what they had promiſed to thoſe who had not yet received it; for they had taken a courſe not to want Money, becauſe indeed they ſtood in need of it, to gain by force of gifts the hearts of the Soldiers, and eſpecially of the Veterans who had born Arms under *C. Cæſar*, for fear leſt at the ſight or name of his Son they ſhould change their minds. Beſides they thought it convenient the Army ſhould be ſpoke too; and at the ſame time cauſed to be erected a great Tribunal, whereon the Generals with the Senators only being mounted, and all the Army as well their own Forces as the Auxiliaries, drawn round about them, they took great delight to view one another. The Commanders began to take heart, and to hope well in the great number of their Soldiers, and the Soldiers began to grow in love with their Commanders; for there is nothing unites hearts ſo much as common hopes. Now becauſe there was a great noiſe made by ſo vaſt a multitude, ſilence was commanded by ſound of the Trumpet, and then *Caſſius*, who was the elder of the two, advancing ſomewhat out of his place, ſpoke in this manner:

* *Portugals.*

The Oration of Caſſius.

XVI. "THat danger which is common to us, Fellow Soldiers, obliges us to "be faithful one to another, beſides that you are farther engaged "by receiving the Donative we had promiſed you, which ought to beget "a belief in you that we will keep our words with you for the future, and "you ought to hope for a happy ſucceſs of this War from your own va"lour, from our Conduct, and from the Generoſity of theſe great Men of "the Senate, whom you ſee here ſitting. We have as you well know "great ſtore of Munitions, Proviſions, Arms, Money, Ships, and many "Provinces and Kingdoms, which declare for us. Wherefore we need not "make uſe of words to exhort to reſolution and concord thoſe whom com"mon defence and intereſt obliges. As for the Calumnies which our two "Enemies caſt upon us, you know them, and 'tis that knowledge binds "you ſo firmly to our Party: yet I ſhall be well content to give you this "day an account of our Actions, that you may the more clearly underſtand, "never was any War more honeſt and juſt than this we are now going up"on. By ſerving with you under *Cæſar* in many Wars, in ſome of which "we likewiſe commanded, we contributed to his Greatneſs, and therefore

"were

" were always his Friends, that no Man may think we attempted his life " out of any particular grudge. Peace being made, as he was Criminal, he " ought to have been accuſed, not by us who were his Friends, and whom " he had raiſed to Honours in the City, but by the Laws, and by the Com- " mon-wealth; but becauſe neither the Laws, nor the Determinations of " the Senate, nor the Decrees of the People were now any more of any " account, but he had thrown down all thoſe things inſtituted by our Fore- " fathers, when they expelled Kings, and ſwore never again to ſuffer the " Regal Power, we being their Succeſſors have prevented the violation " of their Oath, we have diverted from our ſelves, and caſt off from our " own Heads thoſe imprecations they pronounced, by not ſuffering one " Man, though ſo much our Friend and Benefactor, to be longer Maſter of " the Treaſures and Forces of the Republick, or have the diſpoſe of all " Dignities and Governments, to the ſhame of the Senate and Roman Peo- " ple: or in ſhort, change the Laws according to his fancy, uſurping over " the People and Senate and abſolute power and Sovereign Authority; poſ- " ſibly in thoſe times you did not make ſufficient reflections on theſe things, " but regarded only in him the quality of Generaliſſimo. But now you may " better underſtand what I ſay, by what particularly concerns you; you " are of the People, during War you obey your General, and in Peace " have the right of giving your vote. The Senate firſt deliberates all mat- " ters, that you may not be deceived, but it is you, who in your Aſſemblies, " either by Tribes or Centuries create Conſuls, Tribunes of the People, " Pretors, who give Sovereign Sentences, and decree to us either Rewards " or Puniſhments, according as we have well or ill behaved our ſelves in " our Charges. Thus for giving to every Man according to his deſert, our " Empire owes to you its felicity; and when you diſtribute honours to thoſe " deſerve them, they have likewiſe to you a particular obligation. 'Twas " by this very power you made *Scipio* Conſul, to whom in teſtimony of his " valour you gave the ſirname of *African*, by this you created annual Tri- " bunes of the People, who had power to oppoſe the Senate, when it was " neceſſary for your advantage. But what need I relate things, your ſelves " ſo well know. Since *Cæſar* made himſelf Maſter of the Common-wealth, " you have not by your Votes nominated any Magiſtrate, neither Pretor, " nor Conſul, nor Tribune of the People, you have given no perſon a teſti- " monial of his Virtue, nor have had the power to grant him any reward. " In ſhort, no perſon is obliged to you, neither for his Government, nor " for Judgment given in his behalf; and what is yet more worthy of com- " paſſion, you have not been able to ſecure from outrage the Tribunes of " the People, who are your particular Magiſtrates, and whom by your " Decree you have declared ſacred and inviolable. But thoſe inviolable " perſons you have beheld infamouſly degraded from a ſacred Dignity, " deveſted of a ſacred Habit, without any legal trial, by the command of " a ſingle perſon, and that for maintaining your rights, and declaring their " indignation againſt thoſe who would have given him the Title of King. " The Senate ſuffered it with regret for your ſakes only; for the Office of " Tribune belongs to the People, and not to the Senate. But not having " the power to accuſe, or bring to judgment this Man, becauſe of the great " Armies whereof he made himſelf Maſter, to the prejudice of the Roman " People, to whom they belonged, we applyed the only remedy left for the " chaſing away the Tyranny, by conſpiring all together againſt his perſon; " for it was requiſite this Affair ſhould be aſſented to by all honeſt Men, " though it were executed but by a few. And immediately after the Action

" the

" the Senate declared it done by common deliberation, when they forth-
" with propoſed us rewards as for having ſlain a Tyrant. But *Anthony* op-
" poſing it under pretence of appeaſing the tumult, and we our ſelves not
" deſiring any greater reward than the ſervice of our Country, they were
" not ordered becauſe they would not defame *Cæſar*, being content to have
" thrown down the Tyranny. However, they decreed a general Indemni-
" ty, with prohibitions to all perſons of proſecuting in form of Juſtice for
" the action done; and a ſmall time after, becauſe *Anthony* incenſed the
" multitude againſt us by his Orations, the ſame Senate gave to us
" the greateſt Provinces of the Empire, with the command of Armies, and
" an abſolute power over all their Territories from the Ionian Sea to *Syria*;
" was it to puniſh us as Villains and Murderers, that they thus honoured
" us with the ſacred Purple, with Rods and Axes? 'Twas for the ſame
" reaſons they recalled from Baniſhment the young *Pompey*, who had no
" hand in the Conſpiracy, but only was the Son of that great *Pompey* who
" firſt took up Arms for the Common-wealth, and did in ſome meaſure op-
" poſe the Tyranny, by concealing himſelf in *Spain*. That they ordered
" the value of his Father's Eſtate ſhould be payed him out of the publick
" Monies: that they made him Admiral over all Seas, to the end, that
" having a love for the Common-wealth he might not be without com-
" mand. After all theſe, can you deſire more ample teſtimonies to incline
" you to a belief, that the Senate knew and approved our Action, unleſs
" poſſibly you expect they themſelves ſhould tell you ſo; but they will tell
" it you, and with telling it you reward your ſervices, as ſoon as they ſhall
" have again attained the power of ſpeaking, and giving rewards. For you
" know in what condition the Senators Affairs ſtand at preſent, they are
" proſcribed without any form of Juſtice, their Goods are confiſcated, and
" without hearing them ſpeak they are ſlain in their Houſes, in the Streets,
" in the Temples, by the Soldiers, by their Slaves, by their Enemies; they
" are dragged out of their Coverts, and hunted from place to place, that
" they may have no way to eſcape. We never were uſed to bring our E-
" nemies Heads into the place, but only their Arms, and the Prows of their
" Ships: now they expoſe there the Heads of the Conſuls, Pretors, Tri-
" bunes of the People, Roman Knights, and reward thoſe commit ſuch
" Villanies. For 'tis a dreadful diſorder. The enmities which have a long
" time layn hid, now declare themſelves openly, and many of the Pro-
" ſcripts periſh by the private hatred of their Wives, Children, Freed Men
" and Slaves, ſo many cruelties has this Plague occaſioned in the City, to
" which the Triumvirs gave the firſt examples, by proſcribing their Bro-
" thers, their Uncles and their Tutors. 'Tis ſaid, that *Rome* formerly be-
" came a Prize to the moſt Barbarous Nations upon earth; but the Gauls
" cut off no Heads, nor abuſed not dead Bodies, nor were troubled that
" their Enemies fled, or hid themſelves: and we our ſelves in all the Cities
" we have taken, have neither acted, nor heard that ever were acted the
" leaſt of thoſe cruelties which are now acted, not in a vulgar City, but in
" the Miſtreſs of the World, by Magiſtrates created to reform and reſtore
" the Common-wealth. Was ever the like committed by *Tarquin*, who
" only for acting a violence upon a Woman he loved, was driven out of
" *Rome* by our Fore-fathers, and for that ſole Action the Royalty aboliſhed?
" yet after all this, Citizens, we are treated as execrable perſons by the Tri-
" umvirs, who ſay they revenge the death of *Cæſar*, by proſcribing perſons
" who were not in the City when he was ſlain, ſeveral of whom you ſee
" here, who were only proſcribed for their Riches, or Birth, or affection

" to

"to the Common-wealth. Why was *Pompey* proſcribed with us, he who "was in *Spain* at the time of the action, unleſs it be becauſe he is a Son to a "Father that loved the Common-wealth; becauſe the Senate recalled him "and gave him the Admiralty, therefore the Triumvirs judged him wor-"thy of Proſcription? Were the Women confederate in the Conſpiracy, "thoſe whom they have taxed with ſuch immenſe Contributions? Had "the People committed any crime, for the puniſhment of which they had "reaſon to command every Man that was worth above a hundred thouſand "Drams to make Declaration of it, under a penalty, if he failed. And "yet with all theſe cruelties, all theſe exactions, they have not been able to "raiſe Money to pay that Donative they promiſed to thoſe Soldiers that "ſerve them; whilſt we that have done nothing but what is reaſonable, "have ſatisfied you the rewards we promiſed you, and have greater pre-"pared for you. The truth is becauſe we have reſpect to Juſtice in all our "actions, the Gods favour our Deſigns. The Gods (I ſay) after whoſe "example you ought to conſider humane Affairs, look upon your Fellow "Citizens, under whoſe Command you have often fought, and who have "with applauſe adminiſtred the Conſulate, you ſee as well as we whither "they have been forced to flie for Refuge, becauſe they have been good "Men, and Lovers of their Country. They embrace our Party, offer up "Vows for the proſperity of our Arms, and will never decline our intereſts. "Therefore have we propoſed a greater and juſter reward to thoſe ſhall "ſave them, then our Enemies promiſe to their Murderers. On the other "ſide the Triumvirs imagine, that after having ſlain *C. Cæſar*, becauſe he "alone uſurped the Sovereign Power, we will ſuffer them to divide it a-"mongſt them, inſtead of reſtoring the Government of the Common-"wealth to the People, according to the eſtabliſhment of our Predeceſ-"ſors. But as our intentions are different in this War, theirs tending only "to Dominion and Tyranny, as their Proſcriptions have already made ap-"pear, and we having no other aim but the liberty of our Country, in "which we ſhall content our ſelves to live equal with other Citizens, un-"der the authority of the Laws, there is no doubt but Gods and Men will "eſteem our Party the moſt juſt; and there's nothing in War gives better "hopes than the juſtice of the cauſe. Nor let any one make a ſcruple that "he has formerly ſerved under *Cæſar*; for he ſerved not him but his Coun-"try: nor was it he gave you rewards, but the Common-wealth, in the "ſame manner as you are not now the Army of *Caſſius* or of *Brutus*, but "the Army of the Romans: we are only your companions, and if we com-"mand you, it is only in the name of the Senate and People of *Rome*. "Had our Enemies the ſame intentions with us, how eaſily might we all "diſarm with ſecurity, and ſurrender up to the Common-wealth their Ar-"mies, to be employed for the publick Good, we would our ſelves become "ſuppliants for it, if we thought they would accept of theſe conditions. "but becauſe they have no heart to do it, nor can hope to find ſecurity for "themſelves, after their Proſcriptions and other crimes they have com-"mitted; Let us go, Fellow Soldiers, let us go fight with courage and "cheerfulneſs for the Senate and People of *Rome*, and having no other end "but Liberty.

Here all the Soldiers cryed with one voice;

Let us go whither you think fit to lead us.

And *Caſſius* glad to ſee them ſo well diſpoſed, as ſoon as ſilence was made, continued to ſpeak in this manner:

"May the Gods, who preſide over juſt Wars, reward my Fellow Soldiers your Faith and Affection. As for that foreſight your Generals, as "they are Men, ought to have, obſerve but how much we are at this preſent ſtronger than our Enemies: we are equal in number of Legions, "though we have left Men in many places where we judged it neceſſary: "we have far the greater number of Horſe, Ships and Auxiliary Forces "ſent us from Kings and Nations, extending as far as the Medes and Parthians. Our Enemies can only aſſault us before, whereas we can likewiſe fall upon them behind, for we have *Pompey* in *Sicily*, and *Murcus* in "the Ionian Sea, beſides *Ænobarbus* has his Fleet well fleſh'd with Seamen, "with two Legions, and good ſtore of Archers, who do ſorely annoy "them, whereas behind us, all is peaceable, both on Sea and Shore. As "for Money, which ſome call Nerves of War, they have none at all, not "being able to pay what they promiſed their Army, that brought in by "Proſcriptions not anſwering their expectations, for no honeſt Man would "buy thoſe Lands, the purchaſe of which would render him odious to all "the world: and they can have none elſewhere, *Italy* being drained dry "by Seditions, Exactions, and Proſcriptions, whereas we have taken ſuch "effectual care, that we have it in ſuch abundance, that we are able to give "you another Donative; and the Provinces we have left behind us will ſufficiently ſupply us. As for Proviſion which occaſions all the difficulty for "the ſubſiſtance of great Armies, they can be ſupplyed only from *Macedon*, a Mountainous Country, or *Theſſaly*, a Province of ſmall extent, "and that by Land with incredible labour, and if they pretend to have it "brought from *Africa*, *Lucania* or *Povilia*, *Pompey*, *Murcus* or *Ænobarbus* will cut off their paſſage. For our parts we have already plenty, and "more will dayly be brought by Sea from all the Iſlands, and all the Provinces between *Thrace* and the *Euphrates* eaſily, without the oppoſition of "any perſon, we having no Enemy behind us. Theſe are, Fellow Soldiers, the works of humane fore-ſight, we expect the reſt from you, and "the Gods. For our parts, beſides what you have already received, we "will pay you what we have promiſed, and as we have already rewarded "your fidelity with a Donative; ſo by God's aſſiſtance, after having gained "the Victory, we will recompence you with ſomething worthy your ſervices. And in the mean time, the more to encourage you, and becauſe "I ſee the whole Aſſembly diſpoſed to do well, as ſoon as I deſcend from "this Tribunal, we will give every Soldier fifteen hundred Italian Drams, "to every Centurion five times as much, and to every Tribune proportionable.

XVII. After having thus ſpake, and gained the hearts of the Army by Actions, by Words, and by Gifts, he diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, which yet would not break up till after many Acclamations to *Brutus* and *Caſſius* with promiſes of good ſervice, immediately they diſtributed in ready Money what they had promiſed, gratifying with ſomewhat more, ſuch as had ſignalized themſelves upon any other occaſions, and as they received their Money they ſent them forward on their march towards *Doriſca*, whither in few days the Ceneral followed them. At the ſame time two living Eagles came and pearched

pearched upon the Siver Eagles of the Standard-bearers, and pecking at them (as ſome ſay) and covering them with their Wings, there ſtayed. The Generals cauſed Food to be given them till the day before the Battel, when they fled away. After two days March on the Banks of the Black Gulf, the Army came to *Aena*, and from thence to *Doriſca*, and other Maritime Cities, as far as Mount *Serria*, which advances it ſelf into the Sea, from thence the Army turned into the Land; and *Tullius Cimber* was commanded, with the Fleet, one Legion, and ſome Archers, to proceed on the way along the Coaſt. Now this Coaſt was formerly uninhabited, though the Land were excellent good, becauſe the Thracians made no advantage of the conveniency of the Sea, nor ſo much as came near the Shore, for fear of Ships that paſſed by. Afterward the Chalcidians and other Greeks uſing the Sea, inhabited, tilled it, and ſettled a Trade, beſides that many Thracians were well ſatisfied to change the Mountains for ſuch a Reſidence, till ſuch time as *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas* chaſing away the Chalcidians and others, there remained no other marks of its ever being inhabited, ſave the pavements of ſome Temples. *Tullius* then coaſting along this deſert Shore, according to his Orders; when he came near the Straits of *Salapeas* he began to ſet out the Lines of a Camp, and to chuſe out certain Caves in the Shore might ſerve to harbor his Ships, that *Norbanus* thinking it needleſs to guard both Paſſes, might quit them. And indeed part of what he had projected, happened; for as ſoon as *Norbanus* ſaw the Ships, fearful leſt he alone ſhould not be able to defend the paſſage of *Salapeas*, he ſent preſently to *Ceditius* to quit that of *Torpides*, and come to his aſſiſtance, which he did, and thus *Brutus* and *Caſſius* finding the Strait of *Torpides* deſerted, paſſed it. But the deceit being diſcovered, *Norbanus* and *Ceditius* ſo well defended that of *Salapeas*, that *Brutus*'s People not being able to force it were diſheartened, growing fearful leſt at laſt they ſhould be forced to go that great way about, which at firſt they had declined, and withal return back all the ground they had gone; beſides that Summer was far ſpent. Whilſt they were in this trouble, *Raſcupolis* told them, that he would find out a way by which in three days they ſhould croſs all the Mountains of *Salapeas*, which never any before had paſſed, by reaſon of the craggineſs of the Rocks, want of Water, and the thickneſs of the Woods, but if they would reſolve to carry Water with them, and cut a way through the Wood large enough for them to paſs, they ſhould march under covert without being ſeen by any Man, nay, not ſo much as by the very Birds, and on the fourth day ſhould arrive at the River *Arpeſſa*, which falls into the *Heber*, from whence in one day they might reach *Philippi*, and ſo incloſe their Enemies, that it would be impoſſible for them to eſcape. Though no advice could be propoſed, in the execution whereof there could be more difficulty, yet this was followed, the Soldiers being chiefly encouraged to it, by the hopes they had in ſo ſhort a time, to behold ſo great a number of Enemies in their power. *Lucius Bibulus* having then together with *Raſcupolis* taken upon him the charge of preparing the way, they cauſed one half of the Army to move, who, though it were with much labour and difficulty, marched on briskly and cheerfully, eſpecially after thoſe who were ſent before to diſcover, brought word, that from the tops of the Hill they might ſee the River; but the fourth day the Soldiers ſpent with travel, and tormented with thirſt, becauſe the water brought with them failed, began to make reflection upon what had been told them (that it was but three days march ere they ſhould find water) and to ſuſpect ſome treaſon: not but they believed thoſe who aſſured them they had ſeen the River, but they imagined they were led out

of the way, and therefore afflicted themſelves, as thinking they were betrayed; and when *Raſcupolis* came to encourage them, they railed and threw ſtones at him. At length *Bibulus* entreating them in the name of the Gods, to wait with patience the cloſe of that day, towards the Evening thoſe that were in the Front perceived the River, whereupon with ſhouts of joy giving the word back, it ſoon reached thoſe in the rear. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* having advice that a part of their Army was happily paſſed, cauſed the reſt to file off the ſame way, yet they could not conceal their march from the Enemy, nor did they incloſe them as *Raſcupolis* had made them hope. For *Raſcus* his Brother having heard ſome ſhouts, grew ſuſpicious, and going himſelf upon the ſcout, made a perfect diſcovery, with wonder that ſuch mighty Forces had paſſed through a Country ſo dry, and where the Wood was ſo thick, that he ſcarce believed the very Beaſts could have found a paſſage; and immediately giving notice hereof to *Norbanus*, he the ſame night deſerted *Salapeas*, and with what People he had fled towards *Amphipolis*, inſomuch, that in all the Armies nothing was ſo much ſpoke of as theſe two Thracians, of the one for having been Guide to the Army through ſuch an unknown way; and of the other for diſcovering it. Thus *Brutus* and *Caſſius*'s Forces by a wonderful Adventure came to *Philippi*, whither *Cimber* being likewiſe arrived, they had a general Rendezvous. This City was formerly called *Data*, and before that * *Crenides*, becauſe of the many Springs about the Hill on which it is ſeated. *Philip*, who found this place convenient to make War upon the Thracians, fortified it, and called it by his name. On the North lie Woods, through which *Raſcupolis* brought the Army: on the Eaſt are the Straits of *Salapeas* and *Torpides*: and on the Weſt vaſt places which reach as far as the Cities of *Murcina*, *Dorabiſca*, and the *Strymon*, which is about * one hundred and fifty Furlongs diſtant. The Soil is good, and the Country pleaſant, and 'tis ſaid that heretofore a young Damſel, as ſhe was gathering Flowers, was raviſhed by a God, and that in paſſing a River hard by, the Yoke of his Chariot broke, whence the Greeks called that River *Zygaſtes*: from *Philippi* to *Amphipolis* is an eaſie deſcent, ſo that Men go up hill from *Amphipolis*, and down from *Philippi*. At ſome diſtance from *Philippi* is another eminence, ſaid to be conſecrated to *Bacchus*, where are Mines of Gold, called *Aſyles*, thence advancing ten Fulongs are found two other Eminencies diſtant from *Philippi* eighteen Furlongs, and eight one from the other, upon which *Brutus* and *Caſſius* pitched their Camps; *Caſſius* on the Southern, and *Brutus* on the Northern. They purſued not *Norbanus* in this flight, becauſe word was brought that *Anthony* came on apace, having left *Cæſar* ſick at *Epidamnum*. The Plain was very proper for a ſet Battel, and the Eminencies commodious to encamp on; for on one ſide were Mariſhes and Pools of Water as far as the *Strymon*; on the other inacceſſible Straits. The ſpace between both of eight Furlongs was as it were the Paſſage or Gate out of *Europe* into *Aſia*, they cauſed Walls to be built from one Camp to another, and left a Gate in the middle to joyn together when they pleaſed. Hard by they had a River called *Gangua* or *Gangira*, and on their Backs they had the Sea, by which they brought their Proviſions from *Thaſſa*, not above one hundred Furlongs diſtant, where they kept their Stores, and for their Gallies they left them at *Nea*, not above ſeventy Furlongs diſtant, inſomuch that they were extremely ſatisfied with having found a place ſo commodious, and where they could with ſo great advantage poſt themſelves.

* Κρεναι *ſignifies a fountain or ſpring.*

* *Near twenty Miles.*

Mean

Mean while *Anthony* advanced by great Marches to poſſeſs himſelf of *Amphipolis*, which he had deſigned to make the Seat of the War. And becauſe he found *Norbanus* had fortified it to receive him, wherewith he was extremely well pleaſed: He left there all his Stores, with a Legion commanded by *Pinnarius*, to keep the Guard of them; and with an aſtoniſhing boldneſs advancing ſtill forward, went and encamped in the Plain, eight furlongs diſtant from the Enemy. Now was plainly to be ſeen the advantage that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* had over *Anthony* in the Seat of their Camps: For they were encamped upon Hills, he on the even Plain; they fetched Wood from the Mountains, he from a Mariſh; they watered at a River, he at a Well which himſelf dug; their Stores were at *Thaſſa*, not far diſtant; his at *Amphipolis*, * three hundred and fifty Furlongs from the Camp: So that in all appearance *Anthony* ſeemed to have encamped there out of pure neceſſity, all the high Ground being ſeized upon, and the reſt of the Plain ſo low, that ſometimes the River overflowed it. And indeed, in ſinking Wells, they found abundance of freſh Water. However, though this boldneſs were an effect of neceſſity, yet it ſtroke ſome kind of terror in the Enemy; who were amazed to ſee him, after ſo long a March, as ſoon as he arrived, come, and with ſo much ſcorn encamp ſo nigh them. Wherefore they raiſed a great number of Forts, with Ditches, Paliſſadoes and Walls, whilſt he only wrought upon the Lines of his Camp. *Caſſius*, for his part ſeeing this raving fury of *Anthony*'s, cauſed a little ſpace of Ground that lay betwixt his Camp and the Mariſh, which before he had neglected, to be now fortified, that he might omit nothing for the ſecurity of the Camps; for the outmoſt ſide of *Brutus*'s was defended by Rocks, and that of *Caſſius*'s by the Mariſh; and the ſpace between both ſhut up with Ditches, Palliſſadoes, Walls and Gates. Whilſt the one and the other were buſie at their Intrenchments, their Horſe and Light armed Foot made tryal againſt each other in ſome Skirmiſhes: But after that their Works were brought to perfection, and *Cæſar* was come (though he had not yet recovered ſo much health as to be able to fight in Perſon, and was fain to be carried about the Ranks in his Litter) all their Forces drew out in order of Battel. On the other ſide, *Brutus* likewiſe drew out his Army upon the Hill, but offered not to come down, for he had no deſire to fight, being in hopes the Enemy would ſoon be in want of Proviſions. There were on each ſide nineteen Legions; of which, thoſe on *Brutus* ſide were not compleat, whereas in thoſe of *Cæſar*'s there were Supernumeraries. As for the Horſe, accounting the Thracian Auxiliaries on both ſides; *Anthony* and *Cæſar* had thirteen thouſand Horſe, and *Brutus* and *Caſſius* had twenty thouſand: So that both for the number of Men, the bravery and valour of the Commanders, the Arms and Artillery, it was a glorious ſight to ſee theſe two Armies. Yet they lay ſeveral days without doing any thing; for *Brutus* and *Caſſius* would not fight, but rather ſtarve their Enemies; they having for themſelves *Aſia* and all the Countries adjacent to furniſh them with all things neceſſary, which were brought to them by Sea; whereas the Enemy neither had Proviſions, nor any place whence to fetch them; for the Merchants could not bring any from *Egypt*, at preſent afflicted with Famine: *Pompey*, *Murcus* and *Ænobarbus* ſtopped their coming from *Africa*, *Italy* and *Spain*; and *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, who only fed the Army, were not long able to maintain it. *Caſſius* and *Brutus* knew all this very well, and were therefore in no haſte to give Battel; but *Anthony*, who was apprehenſive of Famine, reſolved to force them to it. He imagined that if ſecretly he could contrive the making of a way croſs the Mariſh, he might cut off the Enemy's Paſſage for

XVIII.

* *Above forty Miles.*

for their Proviſions brought them from *Thaſſa*. Having therefore ſeveral times cauſed the Army, with all their Enſigns, to draw out into Battel, as if all his Force had been there; wrought night and day with a Party he had drawn out of the Groſs, to make a little way through the Mariſh; cutting of Buſhes, and raiſing a Cauſway; ſupported with Walls on both ſides, leſt it ſhould tumble down; and driving in Piles on thoſe places he could not fill up, on which he placed Bridges of Wood with ſuch a profound ſilence, that the Enemy perceived nothing; for the Buſhes they left on both ſides the Cauſway hindred their Proſpect. The Work being finiſhed in ten days, he ſent by night a great number of Cohorts to the other ſide; who ſeizing on ſome advantageous Poſts, raiſed Forts which they ſoon brought into a condition of defence. *Caſſius* was aſtoniſhed at this Undertaking, and at the ſecrecy of its Execution: And to put the change upon *Anthony*, by hindring his Communication with his Forts: He undertook likewiſe a like Work quite croſs the Mariſh, from his Camp to the Sea. They therefore began to raiſe Terraſſes, and to place Bridges of Wood on Piles in the deepeſt places, as had been done by *Anthony*; and already the Cauſway which he had made was broken, ſo that thoſe which were paſſed over had no way of Return, nor could he, though he knew it, releive them. This put him in ſuch a rage, that, though it was already Noon, he immediately made his Army which was on the other ſide march to the Intrenchment which firſt *Caſſius* had made between his Camp and the Mariſh; making them bring with them Spades, Pick-axes and Ladders; reſolving after he had carried it, to ſtorm *Caſſius* his Camp. Mean while, as *Cæſar*'s Men made their Bravadoes in that Space which was between the two Camps, *Brutus*'s Men thinking it a ſhame for them, if, armed as they were, they ſuffered their Enemies, unpuniſhed, to affront them to their very Beards; without any other Orders than that of a Tribune, ſallyed out; and charging them in Flank, killed as many as they could reach: and having once begun the Fight, turned upon the Groſs of *Cæſar*'s Army, which was marching towards them; put them to flight, and purſued them to the very Camp, and at laſt became Maſters of the Camp it ſelf, which was in common between *Cæſar* and *Anthony*. *Cæſar* was not there becauſe of a Dream, by which he was advertized to abſent himſelf that day, as himſelf has writ in his Commentaries. But *Anthony* ſeeing the Fight grow hot, was very glad to ſee the Enemy engaged, for he was mighty fearful of wanting Proviſions; yet he would not return into the Plain for fear of diſordering his Ranks in countermarching his Army, but continued his March towards the Hill; which, in ſpite of the Darts lanced at him from above by the Enemy, he mounted, and came to handy ſtrokes with *Caſſius*'s Army, which was there drawn up, and ſtood amazed at an Attempt ſo little judicious. Having preſently broken them, and put them into diſorder, he aſſaulted the Trench between the Camp and the Marſh; and with an incredible briſkneſs pulled out the Palliſſadoes, filled up the Ditch, beat down the Rampart, cut in pieces the greateſt part of thoſe that defended the Gate, paſſed over the Bellies of the reſt, and threw himſelf into the place. Many of his People entred by the Breaches of the Rampart, ſome clambered over heaps of dead Bodies: And all this was done in ſuch a moment of time, that thoſe who were at work in the Mariſh came not to the Aſſiſtance of their Companions till their Trench was gained; and then *Anthony* and thoſe that entred with him charging them with fury, drove them back into the Mariſh; and returned to aſſault *Caſſius* his Camp, whilſt the reſt of the Army were ſtill fighting with *Caſſius*'s People without the Trench. The

Camp,

Camp, becauſe it was ſtrong of it ſelf, was very ſlenderly guarded, and therefore ſoon forced; whereupon, thoſe who defended themſelves without, and were before hard put to it, ſeeing now their Camp in the power of the Enemies, betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight. Thus the Advantage became equal on both ſides; *Brutus* beat the Enemy on the left Wing, and took their Camp; and *Anthony* on the other ſide, by a wonderful boldneſs took *Caſſius*'s Camp, after having ſlain great numbers of his Men. The duſt flew ſo thick in the Field of the Battel, that one Party knew not what had happened to the other. And when the Soldiers came to know the place where they were, they called to them their Fellows, who looked rather like Day-labourers than Soldiers; being ſo beſmeared with duſt, they could ſcarce be known; and certainly had one Party of them met another loaden with Booty, they had again fought for their Spoil. It is thought that on *Caſſius*'s ſide there might be ſlain about eight thouſand beſides Lacquies, and on *Cæſar*'s ſide twice as many more.

Caſſius having loſt his Camp, and all hopes of regaining it, retreated to a Hill hard by *Philippi* to ſee what paſſed; but becauſe the duſt was ſo thick that he could ſee nothing but that his Camp was taken, he commanded *Pindarus* his Eſquire to kill him. As *Pindarus* was excuſing himſelf from doing it, there came a Man from *Brutus*, to tell him that *Brutus* on his ſide had the better, and was Maſter of the Enemy's Camp: To which he made only this ſhort Anſwer; *Tell him I wiſh him an entire Victory.* And turning at the ſame time towards *Pindarus*; *Why delay you*, ſaid he, *diſpatch and free me from this Infamy.* *Pindarus* thereupon ran him with his Sword into the throat; and ſo died *Caſſius*, according to the opinion of ſome. Others ſay, that ſome Horſe-men coming to bring him the News of *Brutus*'s Victory, he imagined they were Enemies, and ſent to *Titinius* to know the certainty; and that thoſe Horſe-men having received *Titinius* as *Caſſius* his Friend, with Careſſes and Shouts of joy, he believed *Titinius* was fallen into the hands of the Enemy; and ſaying, *We have ſtayed to ſee them take away our Friend*, retired with *Pindarus* into his Tent, and was no more ſeen: wherefore, ſome think he ſlew his Maſter without having any Command to do it. However it were, *Caſſius* died on his Birth-day after this Battel, which paſſed as we have deſcribed. *Titinius* likewiſe ſlew himſelf for grief that he was not come ſooner, to give him an Anſwer: And *Brutus*, weeping over *Caſſius*'s Body, called him the laſt of the Romans, whoſe Vertue would never find its Equal; lamented his haſte and precipitation, and yet eſteemed him happy in being delivered from thoſe cares and troubles in which he was engaged, and of which he knew not the Succeſs. At length, having delivered the Body to his Friends to be privately diſpoſed, leſt the ſight of it might ſadden the Army; without taking any food, or ſleeping, he ſpent the night in rallying *Caſſius*'s Troops. On the Morrow the Enemies appeared in Battel, that they might make it be thought they had no diſadvantage: but knowing their thoughts, *Let us arm too*, ſaid he, *and by a like Fiction conceal our loſs.* But the Enemy retreating at the ſame time that he drew up his Army in Battel, he jeſtingly ſaid to his Friend; *Theſe people who came out to fight us, thinking us wearied, durſt not make the Experiment.* The ſame day of this Battel of *Philippi*, there happened on the Ionian Sea a memorable Defeat. *Domitius Calvinus* was bringing over to *Cæſar* upon Ships of Burthen, two Legions; one of which was for its valour honoured with the Title of Martial; with a Pretorian Cohort, or Regiment of two thouſand Men, four Troops of Horſe, and other choice Foot, which were con-

XIX.

convoyed by ſome Gallies. *Marcus* and *Ænobarbus* engaging them with one hundred and thirty long Ships, part of the Ships of Burthen eſcaped at firſt with a freſh Gale; but the Wind ceaſing all on a ſuddain, the reſt were ſurprized with a Calm, and were not able to ſtir; as if God had delivered them up to their Enemies; who began to aſſault them one after another, and to ſend them to the bottom; for the Gallies, which were but few in number, could not releive them, being kept off by the long Ships: Not but that, in the danger wherein they were, they did all that was poſſible for Men to do; they at firſt laſhed their Ships faſt together with Booms and Cables, that the Enemy might not ſeparate them. But when this ſucceeded well for a while, *Marcus* at length caſt into them great numbers of flaming Darts, which forced them to caſt off as faſt as they had got together, and ſtrive to get clear of one another, leſt they ſhould all burn together. So that they again ſaw themſelves expoſed to the ſhock of *Marcus* Prows, or elſe were ſoon encompaſſed each one by a great number. The Soldiers were in deſpair, eſpecially thoſe of the Martial Legion; that, brave as they were, they muſt die unrevenged. Some ſlew themſelves for fear of being burnt; others leaped into the Enemies Ships, and were cut in pieces fighting: Some Ships half burnt rowed a long time upon the Water, with the Men wherewith they were laden; ſome whereof periſhed by the Fire, others by Hunger and Thirſt. Others graſping Maſts or Planks, were caſt either upon Rocks or deſert Shores. Some were ſaved beyond all hopes; and ſome there were remained five days upon the Sea, licking the Pitch, or eating Sails and Cordage; till at laſt the Waves caſt them on Shore. Many overpreſſed with ſo many misfortunes, yielded themſelves with their Veſſels; among which were ſeventeen Gallies, whoſe Sea-men and Soldiers turned to *Marcus*'s Party, and ſwore Fidelity to him. *Calvinus* their Captain, whom all Men thought loſt, returned the fifth day to *Brunduſium* with his Ship. And this, that may be called Ship-wrack or Sea-fight, happened on the Ionian Sea, the ſame day that the Battel of *Philippi* was fought, to the wonder of all the World that knew it.

XX. As for *Brutus*, having drawn together his Army, he ſpoke to them in this manner.

The Oration of *Brutus*.

IN what paſſed yeſterday, Fellow-Soldiers, we gained the advantage of our Enemies in all points; for you begun the Fight chearfully, though you had no Command to do it; cut in pieces the fourth Legion, drawn up of purpoſe in that Station becauſe of its Valour; and purſued them into their Camp, which you took and plundered: So that this Victory very much exceeds the Loſs we ſuffered on the Left Wing. You might have made it perfect, had you not thought it better to riſle the Enemies Carriages, than utterly to ruin them; for moſt of you let the Men eſcape, to fall upon the Baggage. In which, yet we had the better; for of two Camps we had, they took but one; whereas, we became Maſters of all they had: ſo that in that point their loſs was twice as great as ours. Hitherto then, we have had all the advantage of the Fight. And now, to know the whole of our Strength, you need only ask the Priſoners; they will tell you how ſcarce Victuals are in their Army, how dear they coſt, with what difficulty they

they are brought to them, and that they can ſcarce find any more to bring: For Pompey, Murcus *and* Ænobarbus, *who keep the Sea with two hundred and ſixty Ships, prevent the bringing any from* Sicily, Sardinia, Africa *and* Spain: *They have already drained* Macedon, *and now only* Theſſaly *affords them a Subſiſtance; and pray judge you if that can laſt any long time. Wherefore, when you behold them urging you to fight; know that, ready to periſh with hunger, they ſeek an honourable death: Therefore our endeavours ought to be to fight them firſt with Famine, and when we ſee it convenient for our purpoſe we may fall on; and ſhall then find them ſo weak and feeble, they will not be able to defend themſelves; but let not us permit our Courage to tranſport us before it be time. If any one ſay this is retreating inſtead of advancing, let him look upon the Sea behind us; which brings us abundance of all Conveniences, offers us an opportunity of overcoming without danger, provided you can but have patience, and not grow hot when they come to make a Bravado, and defie you to the Battel: For it is not Generoſity in them, as yeſterday's Fight made appear; but that they may deliver themſelves of another fear. But though I now deſire you to moderate your Courage, yet pray remember to act with the ſame warmth and vigour when I ſhall demand the effects of it. And I promiſe you, when it ſhall pleaſe God to give us a perfect Victory, to pay you punctually the Rewards we have promiſed; in the mean time, for thoſe brave things you did yeſterday, I will this day give every Soldier a thouſand Drams, and the Officers proportionably.*

Theſe words were followed by the diſtribution of the Donative to each Legion; to which ſome ſay, he added the Promiſe of giving them the Plunder of *Lacedemon* and *Theſſalonica*. On the other ſide, *Cæſar* and *Anthony* foreſeeing well that *Brutus* had no deſign to fight, drew together their Army; to whom *Anthony* ſpoke in this manner.

The Oration of *Anthony*.

THough when our Enemies talk of yeſterday's Action, they may ſay, that in part they gained the Victory, becauſe they put ſome of ours to flight, and took our Camp; yet in reality they confeſs you to be abſolutely victorious; for I dare aſſure you that neither to morrow nor in a long time after it, they will not dare to engage you again unleſs they are forced to it; which is an indubitable proof of your yeſterday's victory, and their preſent fear. As Wreſtlers in the Gymnick Games, when they decline the ſtrife, acknowledge themſelves the weaker. They have indeed aſſembled all this mighty Army only to come and encamp in the paſſages into Thrace, *and there continue: for the ſame fear that made them fortifie themſelves at our firſt coming; hinders them from drawing out after the diſgrace they yeſterday received, which was ſuch as obliged the moſt ancient and moſt experienced of their Generals to kill himſelf, a moſt ample Teſtimony of their diſorder. Theſe are the reaſons why they come not down when we defie them, but truſt more in their Rocks than their Arms. Now brave Romans make your gallantry appear, and force them to fight as yeſterday you forced them, and certainly it would be diſhonourable for you not to dare to aſſault Cowards trembling with fear, or to ſuffer it to be ſaid that men like you were of leſs ſtrength than Walls. For we are not come hither to remain all our lifetime in the Field, where we cannot ſubſiſt, for all proviſions will ſoon*

fail us, and if that were not, yet every wiſe Man will put an end to War with the ſooneſt, and enjoy the ſweets of peace the longeſt he can poſſibly: we will therefore give orders to lay hold on time and occaſion. We I ſay whoſe courage and conduct you repent not to have yeſterday followed, and you for your parts let your Generals ſee your bravery, now that they demand the effects of it, and trouble not your ſelves for the baggage you yeſterday loſt; for our riches conſiſt not in that, but in the victory, which if we gain will not only reſtore what our Enemies took from us, but make all they have ours; if therefore you are in haſt to recover them, make haſte to fight. Not but that yeſterday we recovered a great deal, it may be more than we loſt; for they had in their Camp all the riches of which they had robbed Aſia; *and you, when you came from home, left behind you whatever was precious, and brought nothing but what was neceſſary. So that if there were any thing valuable in our Camp, it was your Generals Equipage, a loſs they are ſo far from conſidering they are ready to venture all that they have left to make you perfectly victorious: nor ſhall that hinder us from giving as a reward of your Victory five thouſand Drams to every Soldier, five and twenty thouſand to every Centurion, and to every Tribune fifty thouſand.*

XXI. On the morrow he drew out his Army, but the Enemies not coming down, he was troubled, yet he continued every day to do the ſame; *Brutus* on his ſide always kept one part of his Army at their Arms, in caſe he ſhould be forced to fight, and planted the other upon the way by which the Victuallers brought their Proviſions to favour their paſſage: there was a little Hill near *Caſſius* his Camp, of which the Enemies could not poſſeſs themſelves but with difficulty, becauſe from the Camp they might be galled with Darts and Arrows; yet *Caſſius* had placed a Guard there for fear leſt ſome might be ſo bold as to come and lodge there. *Brutus* having ſlighted it, *Cæſar*'s People one night ſeiſed upon it, bringing with them great quantities of Hides and Hurdles to defend them from the Darts. This Hill being taken, ten other Legions went and encamped five Furlongs off, near the Sea, and two Legions advancing four Furlongs further, poſted themſelves ſo, that they might reach to the very ſhore. Their deſign was to make an attempt either upon the Shore, or croſs the Mariſh, or by ſome other invention to cut off the paſſage of Proviſions to *Brutus*, but he took care to prevent them by building Forts directly oppoſite to the Enemies Camp, which gave them no ſmall vexation; for they were manifeſtly afflicted with Famine, which dayly more and more growing upon them, as much increaſed their fears. *Theſſaly* was not able to ſupply them with Proviſions enough, and by Sea they could not hope to have any, *Brutus* being Maſter, beſides the news of the Sea Fight on the Ionian Sea was come to both Armies, which gave them freſh occaſions of fear, and Winter approaching, it would be an unſufferable annoyance if they ſhould be forced to endure it, encamped in the Mariſhes. To make the beſt proviſion in theſe ſtraits they could, they ſent a Legion into *Achaia* to get in what proviſion they could, and ſend it away ſpeedily to the Army, but that could not all warrant them from the dangers wherewith they were threatned. Wherefore ſeeing all their endeavours could not oblige the Enemy to a Fight, and that in vain they every day drew out into the Plain, they advanced up to the very Trenches with ſhouts and revilings to incenſe *Brutus*'s Men, who they reſolved not to beſiege, but to force to fight at what rate ſoever. But *Brutus* continued firm in his firſt reſolution, the rather, becauſe he knew they were ready to periſh with hunger, and becauſe his Fleet had got the better in the

Sea

Sea Fight, ſo that perceiving the deſpair the Enemies want had brought them to, he choſe rather to ſee himſelf beſieged, or endure any thing than fight with hunger-ſtarved and deſperate Men, who expected no other relief than from their Arms. But to this the Soldiers could not conſent, nor endure to be thus ſhut up like Women, without doing any thing. The Officers themſelves complained not that they diſapproved *Brutus*'s deſign, but that aſcertaining themſelves upon the diſpoſition they beheld in the Soldiers, they believed they ſhould advance the Victory. The mildneſs and courteous temper of *Brutus* to all Men occaſioned much of this; for *Caſſius* was ſevere and imperious, the Officers of his Army executed his Orders without asking a reaſon of them; and though they did not approve them, durſt not contradict them. But *Brutus* was willing to do all things with the approbation and conſent of thoſe commanded in the Army. At laſt the Soldiers began to gather in Companies, and to ask one another, *Why has our General ſo ill an opinion of us? what fault have we committed? have we not beaten and put to flight our Enemies, cut in pieces their beſt Companies, and forced their Camp?* Yet he ſtill diſſembled it, and would not ſpeak to them for fear of doing any thing might reflect on his Honour, by ſuffering himſelf to be led by a blind multitude, eſpecially the Strangers, who as unconſtant as Slaves would every day be changing Maſters, and on the firſt occaſion would deſert him. But when he ſaw himſelf importuned by the Tribunes and the Centurions, who adviſed him to take that opportunity, whilſt the Soldiers burning with a deſire to fight, would poſſibly do ſomething great, (beſides, if any misfortune happened, they could retreat within their Trenches, and defend themſelves) he grew angry that his Officers ſhould give him ſuch counſel, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſo eaſily carried away by the impatience of his Soldiers, who choſe rather to hazard the loſs of all, than to overcome without danger. However, he conſented, though to theirs, and his own ruine; ſaying only this ſhort ſentence, *I ſee I am reduced to make War as* Pompey *did, and rather to be commanded than to command.* For my part I believe he ſaid no more for fear of diſcovering what he moſt of all feared, leſt the Army which had formerly ſerved under *Cæſar* ſhould upon diſcontent go over to the Enemy. For this was what both *Caſſius* and he had from the beginning ſome ſuſpicion of, and therefore took care not to give the Soldiers any cauſe of diſſatisfaction.

Thus *Brutus* drew his Men out of the Camp much againſt his will, and drew them up in order, but ſtill forbad them going too far from the Hill, that their retreat might be more eaſie, and that they might from above charge the Enemy more advantageouſly with their miſſile Arms. Both Parties were in a brave and fighting condition, and therefore came reſolutely forth to the Battel, animated by reaſonable conſiderations; on the one ſide the fear of Famine, and on the other by a juſt Shame, for having forced their General to fight before he had a mind to it. Wherefore they burn'd with deſire to make him ſee in their deeds the ſame Bravery and Courage they had boaſted in words, for fear leſt he ſhould reproach them of having been carried away rather by raſhneſs than prudence. *Brutus* going on Horſeback from Quarter to Quarter with a ſevere look, put them in mind of it, and the better to imprint it in their thoughts, as time gave leave, ſpoke theſe words, *You would needs fight, and have forced me to conquer in another manner than I deſired. But have a care you do not deceive both your own hopes and mine: you have the advantage of the Hill, which fights for you, all behind you is on your ſide, whereas the Enemy are to defend themſelves both* XXII.

againſt you and Famine. To which diſcourſe which he made as he went up and down the Army, they anſwered him with ſhouts of joy and promiſes of well doing. *Cæſar* and *Anthony* in the mean time went each on their ſide through the Ranks, encouraging their Soldiers with hand and voice, without flattering them, or diſſembling the condition wherein they were, being certain to die by Famine if they got not the Victory, which was a powerful motive to ſpur them on: *We have found our Enemy*, ſaid they, *and have got him now, Fellow Soldiers, out of his Trenches. from whence we have taken ſo much pains to draw him; but after having provoked him by ſo many defiances, have a care of your Honour, and let your Actions make good the threats you have uttered. Chuſe now either to fight againſt hunger an invincible Enemy which gives no Quarter, or againſt Men who cannot ſtand before you, if you employ but your Arms, your Courage, nay, your very Deſpair, as you ought to do. For our Affairs are in ſuch a condition, they admit of no delay, this day muſt put an end to the War, either by an entire Victory, or a glorious death. If you come off victorious, you will in one ſole day and one only Fight get Proviſion, Treaſure, Fleets, Arms, and beſides all the Donative we have promiſed you for the Victory, which will ſurely be ours, if in giving the onſet we remember the neceſſity to which we are reduced; and after having put them in diſorder, ſeiſe the Gates of their Camp, and drive them either among the Precipices, or into the Plain, ſo that they can no more rally, or ſhut themſelves up in thoſe Trenches, where, by a cowardiſe unheard of yet in any Enemy, they place their hopes not in fighting, but in not fighting at all.* By theſe words *Cæſar* and *Anthony* ſo encouraged their Soldiers, that they would have bluſhed not to have anſwered their Generals expectation, beſides there being no other way to remedy their want of Proviſions, which was augmented by what had happened on the Ionian Sea; they choſe rather to undergo the worſt that could befal them in Fight, than to periſh by a miſery inevitable, Upon theſe Motives the two Armies were inflamed with an incredible ardour. The Soldiers no more remembred they were Fellow Citizens, but threatened each other as if they had been two Nations that had been at a perpetual enmity. Such power now had anger got over them above either reaſon or nature. And in ſhort, both Parties divined that this Battel would decide the deſtiny of the Roman Empire, as indeed it did. After having employed one part of the day in preparing themſelves, about nine of the Clock two Eagles began to fight between the two Armies, who obſerved them with a profound ſilence, till ſuch time as that on *Brutus*'s ſide turning tail, gave occaſion to the contrary Party with great ſhouts to run on upon their Enemies. The Charge was fierce and cruel, for they threw away, as uſeleſs, their Piles and all other Weapons ordinarily uſed in Fight, to come to the Swords point; they gave neither blow nor thruſt in vain, and each ſide endeavoured to break through, and diſorder the oppoſite Ranks, the one Party fighting for ſafety more than for Victory; and the other for Victory only, remembring that by their importunity they had forced their General to engage. Nothing was to be ſeen but ſlaughter, nor heard but groans: as ſoon as any one fell, thoſe of his Party drew him off, and another freſh Man ſtepped in out of the next Rank to ſupply his place. Mean while the Generals acted wonders, they run from place to place, and ſhewed themſelves every where, encouraging thoſe whom they ſaw had the advantage, and exhorting others whom they perceived overpreſſed, yet to hold out a little till they could ſend freſh Men to diſengage them. Thus the Front of the Battel was always full: yet at laſt *Cæſar*'s People either preſſed forward by their fear of Famine, or ſpur-

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red on by his good fortune (for *Brutus*'s Men were no way faulty) made the first Line of the Enemies a little recoil, who gave ground without any trouble or disorder, as if it had been a great Machine removed at once; but at last the first Rank being broken, those who fought in it retreated more nimbly into the second, and those of the second into the third, that it begat some confusion, for they were both pressed upon by the Enemies and those of their own Party, so that they betook themselves to a disorderly flight. And now *Cæsar*'s Men, according to the command they had received, seised upon the Gate, though with a great deal of danger; for they were sorely galled by Darts from the Rampart, and by those who yet stood their ground without, till such time as the Enemy, utterly defeated, and put to the Rout, not being able to gain entrance, fled some towards the Sea, others to the Mountains by the Valley of the River *Sygastus*. The Generals parted betwixt the Remainder of the Work; and *Cæsar* staying to oppose those who made offer to sally out of *Brutus*'s Camp, and to guard their own; *Anthony* took upon him the whole Function of General: he pursued the Fugitives, cut in pieces those who yet made any resistance, and fearful lest the chief Commanders escaping from this Defeat should get on Foot another Army, he sent his Horse to all the Avenues, some to one side, and some to another: one Party under the Command of *Rascus* the Thracian, who knew the Country, fetched a turn about the Mountains, so that the Trenches and Precipices of the Camp were surrounded on all sides by Guards placed by *Anthony*, to hinder any person from retreating, and if any did come out, they hunted them like Beasts: others followed *Brutus* upon full speed, and were not far from him when *Lucilius Lucinus* seeing them come, stopped, and as if he had been *Brutus*, prayed them to carry him to *Anthony*, and not to *Cæsar*, which confirmed their opinion that it was *Brutus* indeed, because he would not fall into the hands of his mortal Enemy: *Anthony* having notice that they were bringing him, went forthwith to meet them, making reflection upon the Fortune, Dignity, and Virtue of the Man, and consulting with himself how he should receive him. When he was near, *Lucinus* advancing, fiercely told him, Brutus *is not taken, nor shall baseness ever make a Prisoner of Virtue: for my part, I only deceived those that would have taken him, and behold me now in your power.* Whereupon *Anthony* seeing the Horsemen that brought him ashamed at their mistake, comforted them with these words: *The Prize you have taken is not of less value then that you thought to have made; nay, 'tis rather of much greater, as a Friend is worth more than an Enemy.* And at the same instant delivering *Lucinus* into the hands of some of his Friends to have a care of him, he afterwards treated him like a person in whom he had confidence.

XXIII. As for *Brutus* he escaped into the Mountains, where rallying some considerable Forces resolved to return by night into his Camp, or get down to the Sea side; but because the Enemy had seised of all the Passes, he stayed there all that night in Arms with the People he had: and it is said, that looking up to the Stars he pronounced this Verse:

Thou know'st, O Jupiter, *who causes all these woes.*

Meaning it by *Anthony*: and indeed as some relate, *Anthony* himself, when in his own misfortune he was touched with repentance, acknowledged, that whereas he might have made an accommodation with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he made himself Serjeant to *Octavius*. That same night *Anthony* encamped

camped directly oppoſite to *Brutus*, without other intrenchment than heaps of Arms and dead Bodies, which ſerved him inſtead of Ramparts; and *Cæſar* having watched till Midnight, being ſick withdrew, and left the Guard of the Camp to *Norbanus*. On the morrow, *Brutus* ſeeing that the Enemy quitted not their Poſt, and that he had with him but four Legions, and thoſe too not complete, he believed it not ſecure for him to ſpeak to them himſelf, but ſent the Tribunes, aſhamed of the fault they had committed, to ſound the minds of the Soldiers, and know of them whether they would undertake to open themſelves a way through their Enemies to regain their Camp where their Companions ſtill guarded their Equipage: but theſe People went ſo chearfully to the Fight, and had ſo long and ſo generouſly ſuſtained the Enemy, as if God had now forſaken them, returned anſwer to their General, that the counſel he gave them was worthy of him, but that for their parts they had ſo often tempted fortune, that they would not now quite loſe all hopes of making conditions for themſelves. Then ſaid *Brutus* to his Friends; *I can do my Country no farther ſervice, if they have taken ſuch reſolutions.* And at the ſame time he called *Strato* the Epirot his Friend, whom he intreated to kill him; *Strato* adviſing him to think more ſeriouſly upon it, he called to one of his Domeſticks, upon which *Strato* ſaid, Brutus, *ſince you are reſolved, you have a Friend more ready to execute your laſt command than all your Slaves.* And ſaying ſo, thruſt his Sword betwixt his Ribs, which he received without moving. Thus ended *Brutus* and *Caſſius* the moſt generous and illuſtrious of the Romans, whoſe Virtue had never been equalled, had it not been ſullied with *Cæſar*'s Blood, who though they were of *Pompey*'s Party, from Enemies had made them Friends, and afterwards loved them like his Children. The Senate had always a great inclination for them, and after their death did much compaſſionate their misfortune: for their ſakes only they had paſſed the general Amneſty, and when they left the City gave them Government for fear they ſhould paſs for baniſhed Men. Not that all that compoſed this noble Body hated *Cæſar*, or were ſatisfied with what was done; for living they had been admirers of his Virtuee and Fortune; and dead, they had ſolemnized his Funeral at the publick Charge, confirmed all that he had done, and granted places and truſts in the City according to the Memorandums by him left, not thinking it poſſible for themſelves to diſpoſe of it more prudently: and yet the affection they bore theſe great Men, and the care they took of their ſafety, gave occaſion to ſuſpicions and ſcandals, ſo mightily they were favoured by the Senate. And the greater part of the Exiles preferred them before *Pompey* himſelf; for *Pompey* being near the City might incline to an Accommodation, whereas they were far off and implacable. Moreover, when they ſaw themſelves forced to take up Arms, they had in leſs than two years got together more than twenty Legions, almoſt twenty thouſand Horſe, more than two hundred long Ships, and conſiderable Stores of all warlike Proviſions. They had raiſed likewiſe vaſt Sums in *Aſia*, either by good will, or by force: and in thoſe Wars they waged with divers Cities who held on the adverſe Party, they almoſt continually came off victorious, till they became Maſters of all that Country extending from *Macedon* to the *Euphrates*: and all thoſe with whom they had mad War ranged themſelves on their Party, and continued faithful to them. They likewiſe made uſe of many Kings and Princes; nay, of the Parthians themſelves, though Enemies to the Romans; but this was only in matters of ſmall conſequence, for in the great Affairs when all was diſputed, they ſtayed not their coming for fear of teaching a Barbarous Nation, and always an Enemy,

how

how to fight with the Romans. But what moſt of all ought to be admired at, is, that the greateſt part of their Army was compoſed of Soldiers that had ſerved under *Cæſar*, and that after his being ſlain, the affection of the Soldiery was unhappily tranſported to theſe his Murderers ſo firmly, that they afterwards were more ſtedfaſt in obſerving their faith to them againſt his Son, than to *Authony* himſelf who had commanded them under *Cæſar*, for none of them deſerted *Brutus* or *Caſſius*, even in their utmoſt misfortune, whereas all of them revolted from *Anthony* at *Brunduſium* in the very beginning of the War he had with *Octavius*. They made their pretence of taking Arms, both now and in *Pompey*'s time not private advantage, but the name of the Common-wealth; ſpecious indeed, but uſually of little effect, and when they thought themſelves no longer ſerviceable to their Country, they equally deſpiſed their lives. As for their particular conduct, *Caſſius* like the Gladiators which mind only their Enemies, had fixed his thoughts upon War, and thought of nothing elſe. But *Brutus* who in all times and occaſions was a Philoſopher, was pleaſed to look into, and underſtand many things; yet when all is ſaid that poſſibly can be to aſſure them great Men, the aſſault they made upon *Cæſar*'s perſon was the only cauſe none of their deſigns proſpered: and certainly it was no ordinary crime, nor of little conſequence, for they had unhappily murdered their Friend, their Benefactor, one who by right of War might have diſpoſed of their lives, and yet had ſaved them, their General in the Senate, in a ſacred place, cloath'd in his holy Robes, the moſt powerful of all the Romans; and which is moſt of all, the Man of all the world moſt ſerviceable to the Empire and his Country. And Heaven accordingly ſent tokens of its anger, and preſages of their ruine: for when *Caſſius* offered Sacrifices to purge his Army, one of the Lictors put a Crown reverſed upon his Head; a Golden Image of Victory, which he then offered, fell down of it ſelf, many Flocks of Birds of Prey came and ſet about his Camp without making any noiſe, and almoſt dayly they ſaw Swarms of Bees. They ſaw likewiſe that *Brutus* celebrating at *Samos*, in the midſt of their jollity and Feaſting, wherein he was not uſed to be out of temper, with a ſudden paſſion uttered theſe Verſes:

But 'twas Latona's *Son, and angry Fate*
Advanc'd my death——

And that when he was deſigning to paſs out of *Aſia* into *Europe* with his Army, as he watched by night, and his Candle almoſt ſpent, there appeared to him a Ghoſt with a ſtrange kind of countenance, at which not moved, he asked what it was, God or Man, to which the Ghoſt anſwered; Brutus, *I am thy evil Genius, thou ſhalt ſee me again at* Philippi. And in truth, 'tis ſaid, it appeared to him the day before the laſt Battel, and that when he drew his Army out of the Camp an Ethiopian met him, whom preſently the enraged Soldiers cut in pieces. This was likewiſe a token of their misfortune, that *Caſſius* after a Fight, wherein the loſs had been almoſt equal, fell ſo eaſily into deſpair; and that *Brutus*, forced to violate the prudent reſolution he had taken, to temporize, yet engaged with ſtarved People, whilſt he had abundance of Proviſions, and the conveniency of the Sea. Though theſe two Men had often been in many perillous occaſions, yet they were never wounded, but they murdered themſelves as they had murdered *Cæſar*, and ſo received puniſhment for the crime they had committed. *Anthony* finding *Brutus*'s Body, covered it with a Purple Robe, and after having burned

burned it, ſent the Aſhes to *Servilia* his Mother; his Army which yet conſiſted of fourteen thouſand Men, as ſoon as they knew of his death ſent Deputies to *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, who having pardoned them, divided them betwixt them. Soon after, thoſe that were in the Forts yielded likewiſe, but on condition that the Plunder both of the Forts and the Camp ſhould be the Prize of *Cæſar*'s and *Anthony*'s Soldiers. As for the perſons of Note and Quality who had ſided with *Brutus*, ſome fell in the Fight, others like their Generals ſlew themſelves, and others forced their deaths from their Enemies hand, of which number were *L. Caſſius* Nephew to the General, and the Son of the famous *Cato* of the ſame name, who ſeveral times threw himſelf into the midſt of his Enemies, and at laſt took off his Head-piece, either that he might be the eaſier known, or the eaſier killed, or both: *Labeo* known for his wiſdom, and for being Father to that *Labeo* to this day holding a prime degree among the famous Doctors of Law, cauſed a hole to be dug in his Tent, to the proportion of his Body, and after having given his Orders to his Servants, and writ to his Wife and Children Letters, which he gave to his Slaves to carry, took by the Right Hand one of the faithfulleſt of them, and having made him walk round about him, according to the Roman cuſtom when they enfranchiſe a Slave, commanded him to take a Sword, and preſented him his Throat, and ſo made his Tent his Grave. The Thracian *Raſcus* brought back many People from the Mountains; and for all the ſervice he had done *Anthony* and *Cæſar*, asked only the pardon of his Brother *Raſcupolis*, and obtained it; which was enough to ſignifie, that at the beginning of the War theſe Thracians had no private difference, but ſeeing two great Armies coming into their Country to make War, not knowing which would have the better, one took one part, and the other the other, that happen what would he on the conquering ſide might make his Brother's compoſition. As for *Portia Brutus*'s Wife and young *Cato*'s Siſter, when ſhe heard they were both in this manner loſt, in ſpite of all her Servants care to prevent her death, ſhe ſwallowed burning Coals, and died. Many perſons of Quality being eſcaped to *Thaſſa*, ſome of them embarqued to retire elſewhere, others with the remainder of the Army choſe *Meſſala Corvinus* and *Lucius Bibulus* for their Chiefs, to whom they promiſed to do what they pleaſed; and the reſt treating with *Anthony*'s Men, as ſoon as they came to *Thaſſa* delivered into their Hands all the Money, Proviſions, and ſtore of other warlike Preparations. Thus by a hazardous boldneſs *Cæſar* and *Anthony* in two Fights won the greateſt Victory that ever till now was gained; for never did two ſuch Roman Armies fight together. Nor were their Forces raiſed in haſte out of the Citizens, but all choſen Men, not Apprentices, but old Soldiers, experienced both in Foreign and Civil Wars, all ſpeaking the ſame Language, all exerciſed in the ſame Military Diſcipline, equal in experience and valour, which made it not eaſie for them to vanquiſh each other: beſides never in any War did ſo many Citizens once Friends and Comrades fight with ſo much heat and courage, which is ſufficiently proved in that, conſidering both Battels, the Vanquiſher loſt not leſs than the Vanquiſhed. However, *Cæſar*'s and *Anthony*'s Men found the prediction of their Generals true; for in one day, and one Battel they were not only delivered from the danger of Famine, and the fear they were in of periſhing, but this glorious Victory gave them likewiſe all things in abundance, and the conceptions of many Mens minds when they went to fight, that this day would decide the ſtate of the Empire, were accompliſhed; for the Common-wealth was never more reſtored, nor was there any more need for the Citizens to come to

these extremities, except in the quarrel between *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, which was the last of the Civil Wars; for as to what happened in the mean time, when after the death of *Brutus*, *Pompey* and all those who escaped from the Defeat, having yet considerable Forces renewed the War, there was nothing parallel to it, either for Gallantry, or affection of Cities, or Soldiers towards their Generals, besides no persons of Quality were concerned, neither did the Senate declare for them, nor had they ever such Reputation and Glory as *Cassius* and *Brutus*.

The End of the Fourth Book of the Civil Wars of Rome.

APPIAN
OF
ALEXANDRIA,
HIS
HISTORY
OF THE
Civil Wars
OF
ROME.

PART II.

BOOK V.

The Argument of this Book.

I. *AFter* Caſſius *and* Brutus's *death* Cæſar *comes into* Italy, *and* Anthony *goes into* Aſia. II. *The Actions of* Anthony *in* Aſia. III. Cleopatra *comes to viſit him in* Aſia, *with whom he falls ſo deeply in love, he goes and ſpends the Winter with her in* Alexandria. IV. Cæſar *endeavours to ſettle*

ſettle the Colonies, but finds it a matter of much difficulty. V. *The Soldiers inſolence, with the cauſes of it.* VI. Lucius Anthony's *Brother,* Fulvia *his Wife, and* Manius *fall at variance with* Cæſar. VII. *An Accommodation vainly endeavoured, they take up Arms.* VIII. *The beginning of the War with the Siege of* Peruſia *by* Cæſar. IX. Lucius *loſes all hopes of defending himſelf, and capitulates.* X. Lucius's *Speech to* Cæſar, *yielding himſelf at diſcretion.* XI. *The taking and burning of* Peruſia. XII. *The end of this War.* XIII. Anthony *and* Cæſar *diſtruſting each other, make preparations.* XIV. Brunduſium *beſieged by* Anthony. XV. *Agreement between them by* Cocceius's *intermiſſion.* XVI. *Mutiny of the People againſt* Cæſar, *ſuppreſſed by* Anthony. XVII. *Accommodation between* Cæſar *and* Pompey. XVIII. Anthony's *Preparations againſt the Parthians.* XIX. *The Accommodation between* Cæſar *and* Pompey *broken, and* Cæſar *prepares for War.* XX. *Sea Fight between* Cæſar's *and* Pompey's *Lieutenants.* XXI. *Another Sea Fight between* Cæſar *and* Pompey, *wherein* Cæſar *has the worſt.* XXII. Cæſar *loſes moſt of his Ships by ſtorm.* XXIII. *Difference happens between* Cæſar *and* Anthony, *which is accommodated by* Octavia's *intermiſſion.* XXIV. Cæſar *invades* Sicily *with three Armies. His Fleet again ſcattered by Tempeſts, ſo that he is forced to put off the War till the next year.* XXV. Pompey *thinking himſelf freed from the War by* Cæſar's *misfortunes at Sea, calls himſelf the Son of* Neptune: *and* Menodorus *his Admiral goes the ſecond time and ſubmits to* Cæſar. XXVI. Cæſar *again invades* Sicily, *and* Agrippa *his Admiral engaging* Pompey's *near* Myles, *gains the Victory.* XXVII. Cæſar *going in perſon into* Sicily *to beſiege* Tauromenia *is aſſaulted by* Pompey *by Sea and Land, leaves* Cornificius *encamped, and about to repaſs with his Ships, is defeated by* Pompey, *himſelf hardly eſcaping.* XXVIII. Cornificius *with much loſs rejoyns with* Agrippa. XXIX. Cæſar *lands all his Forces in* Sicily, *and cuts off* Pompey *from Proviſions.* XXX. *The laſt Sea Battel between* Cæſar *and* Pompey *where* Pompey *is defeated.* XXXI. Pompey *flies towards* Anthony: *and* Lepidus *endeavouring to ſeiſe* Sicily, *is by* Cæſar *reduced to the condition of a private Man, and ſent to* Rome. XXXII. Cæſar's *Soldiers mutiny, who disbands one Party, and contents the other.* XXXIII. *He ſettles* Sicily, *returns to* Rome, *where he is received with general applauſe.* XXXIV. Pompey *would deceive* Anthony, *but is diſcovered.* XXXV. *He makes War upon* Anthony's *Lieutenants in* Aſia. XXXVI. *He is at length taken and ſlain.*

AFter the death of *Brutus* and *Caſſius, Cæſar* went into *Italy,* and *Anthony* into *Aſia,* where meeting with *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt,* he no ſooner beheld her but he became inflamed with a love proved ruinous to them both, and occaſioned multitudes of miſeries to all *Egypt,* wherefore the Egyptian Affairs will make a part of this Story, yet without bearing that Title; for I have yet much to treat of the Civil Wars, which continued long after the death of *Brutus* and *Caſſius,* though without any Head or General obeyed like them, till *Sextus* the youngeſt Son of *Pompey* the Great, who had got together the Remains of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*'s Party, being dead, and *Lepidus* deſpoiled of that part of the Empire he pretended to, all the Sovereign Power remained divided between *Cæſar* and *Anthony:* which things paſſed in this manner; *Caſſius* ſirnamed the *Parmeſan* was left in *Aſia* by *Caſſius* and *Bru-*

tus, with a Fleet and an Army to officiate there as Superintendent of the Revenues. After *Cassius*'s death, in hopes that the like would not happen to *Brutus*, he made choice of thirty of the Rhodian Ships, which he thought himself able to manage with Seamen and Soldiers, and burning all the rest except the Sacred Galley, that he might deprive the Rhodians of attempting any thing, took the Sea with this Fleet. *Clodius* whom *Brutus* had sent into that Island with thirteen Ships, finding it revolted (for *Brutus* was slain at the time of his arrival) drew off three thousand Men that were there in Garrison, and went to joyn with the Parmesian. *Torilus* came likewise to them with many other Ships, and all the Tribute Money he could gather at *Rhodes*. To this Fleet, grown already in some measure powerful, flocked all those dispersed throughout *Asia* to exercise any Office, bringing with them all the Soldiers they could, and to that end making Levies of Slaves, Captives, and the Inhabitants of the Islands where they touched, *Cicero* the Orator came thither likewise, and with him all the Persons of Quality escaped from *Thassa*; so that in a short time great multitudes were assembled of considerable Forces, both by Sea and Land, with Officers to command them. At length taking with them one *Lepidus*, whom *Brutus* had left in *Crete* with some Forces for Guard of that Island, they steered their course towards *Murcus* and *Ænobarbus*, who had a powerful Fleet on the Ionian Seas: there dividing themselves, one part joyned with *Murcus*, and went towards *Sicily*, which was a considerable recruit to *Pompey*; and the other stayed with *Ænobarbus*, who designed to form a party by himself: thus out of the ruines of *Brutus* and *Cassius* sprung up two new Armies. Mean while *Cæsar* and *Anthony* made magnificent Sacrifices to the Gods for the Victory at *Philippi*, testifying their acknowledgments to the Soldiers by praises, till they could be able to give them the promised Rewards. To this end *Cæsar* took his way forthwith into *Italy*, undertaking the charge of distributing Land to them, and giving them Houses, a charge which he thought the least toilsome, and fittest for him, not being well in health, whilst *Anthony* went into the beyond Sea Provinces, to get together mony to discharge their promises. After this they made a new division of the Empire, and besides those Provinces they already had, parted between them those which were *Lepidus* his share: for *Cæsar* designed to make the Transalpine Gauls free, according to the intention of his Father, and *Lepidus* was accused of holding intelligence with *Pompey*. However *Cæsar* had resolved to give him other Provinces, if the information made against him proved not true. They dismissed likewise all the Veterans, save only eight thousand Men, who desiring to continue in the service, were shared betwixt them, and added to the Pretorian Cohorts. Their Forces comprising likewise those which had quitted *Brutus*'s Party, still consisted of eleven Legions, and fourteen thousand Horse, of which *Anthony*, because of his Expedition, took six Legions and ten thousand Horse; so that *Cæsar* had left him only five Legions, and four thousand Horse, with some Troops *Anthony* had left in *Italy* under the Command of *Calenus*, to whom he gave order to deliver them to *Cæsar*, instead of those taken from him, and this done, *Cæsar* began his March towards the Ionian Sea.

II. *Anthony* arriving at *Ephesus*, offered most magnificent Sacrifices to the Goddess, and pardoned all those of *Cassius* and *Brutus*'s Party that had taken Sanctuary in the Temple, save only *Petronius*, one of the Conspirators against *Cæsar*, and *Quintus* who had delivered *Dolobella* to *Cassius*

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at *Laodicea*. After which the Greeks and all the other Nations inhabiting *Asia* on the Confines of *Pergamus*, having sent Deputies to him to treat their composition, he assembled them together, and spoke to them in this manner:

The Oration of *Anthony*.

You know, Gentlemen, that Attalus *your King having by testament given you to the People of* Rome, *you soon found our Government more easie and more advantageous than his: for we remitted you all those Tributes you were used to pay him, till there rising up among us some disturbers of the publick Peace, we were forced to lay some Contributions upon you: we imposed them upon you, not according to your Estates, or to continue the payment of them after the danger was past, but we taxed you only in some part of your Revenues, to the end we might participate together in the publick charge. After which, when the Commissioners sent by the Senate to collect them oppressed you, making you pay more than demanded by us,* C. Cæsar *discharged you of a third of all the impositions, and settled orders, that no more injustice should be done you by committing to your selves the collecting of the Moneys from the Country. Notwithstanding which, that great Man to whom you were obliged being slain as a Tyrant by our * good Citizens, you have supplyed with vast Sums the Murderers of your Benefactor against us who did all we could to revenge him. Wherefore Fortune favouring the juster cause, and having decided it, not as you would have had it, but according to reason, we should have punished you more rigorously if you had assisted them with your Arms; but because we are willing to believe that you have done nothing but what you were forced to, we shall deal the more gently with you. We stand now in need of Money, of Lands, and of Cities, to discharge our selves of the promises made to our Soldiers to reward them after the Victory. Our Army is composed of twenty eight Legions, which, accounting the light armed Foot, amount to one hundred and seventy thousand Men, besides the Horse and some other Companies: you may therefore judge what Money we are obliged to raise for so great a number of Men. As for the Lands and Cities,* Cæsar *is gone into* Italy, *to distribute them, and to speak it in a word to change all the habitations of that people; so that to the end you be not forced to quit your Lands, your Cities, your Houses, your Temples, and your Sepulchres: you must furnish us with Money, but yet not all (for you cannot do that) but a part, and the least part too: and I believe when you know our Demands, you will go away satisfied. You have in two years payed our Enemies ten years Tribute, we ask no more of you; but it must be payed in a year, for necessity presses us, besides we favour you, and you cannot but confess the penalty is less than the crime.*

* By way of Irony.

Thus spake *Anthony* with design to raise Money to pay eight and twenty Legions, though at the time of their Accommodation at *Modena* they had promised rewards to three and forty complete Legions, but the War had reduced them to that number. Scarcely had he pronounced his last words, but the Greeks prostrating themselves upon the ground, humbly represented to him, that after the violences they had suffered from *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they were not worthy of punishment but pity, that they would

would willingly have given to their Benefactors all their Goods, if they had not been robbed of them by their Enemies, whom they had not only been forced to furniſh with all their ſtamped Money, but likewiſe to deliver up all their Plate and Goldſmiths Work to be by them coined. At length they prevailed with him that they ſhould only pay nine years Tribute in two years; and beſides this Taxes were layed upon the Kings, Potentates and free Cities according ro their Eſtates. As he went from Province to Province, *Lucius* Brother to *Caſſius*, and all who were afraid of him hearing of his clemency at *Epheſus*, came to ask pardon. He forgave all ſave only thoſe who had a hand in the Conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar*, for to them he remained implacable. He comforted thoſe Cities had ſuſtained the greateſt loſſes, exempted the Lycians from Tribute, exhorted the Xanthians to rebuild their City, gave the Rhodians *Andros*, *Tino*, *Naxos* and *Mynda*, which ſoon after he again took from them becauſe they uſed them hardly, he declared thoſe of *Laodicea* and *Tharſus* free and exempt from all Impoſitions, and by Ordinance which he cauſed to be proclaimed, diſcharged from ſervitude all the Thracians had been ſold. The Athenians coming to wait upon him, he gave them firſt *Tino*, then *Egina*, *Icono*, *Zea*, *Sciatha* and *Pararetha*. After which paſſing through *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, the Lower *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, he charged them with great Impoſitions. To whatever place he came he took cogniſance of all differences between the Cities and the Kings. As in *Cappadocia* between *Syſinnus* and *Ariarathes*, where he adjudged the Kingdom to *Syſinnus* for his Mother *Glaphyra's* ſake, who was very beautiful. And in *Syria*, whence he expelled all the Tyrants who had ſet themſelves up in every City.

III. Being in *Cilicia*, *Cleopatra* came to him, to whom having complained, that ſhe had not aſſiſted *Cæſar*, ſhe made no other excuſe, but that at the beginning of the War ſhe had ſent four Legions to *Dolobella*, that afterwards having fitted out a Fleet, ſhe was prevented by Tempeſts, and the ſudden death of that young Conſul. That though *Caſſius* had twice with threats demanded her aſſiſtance, ſhe had refuſed it. That when they were upon the Ionian Sea, ſhe was her ſelf embarqued upon a magnificent Fleet, to come and joyn with them, without any conſideration either of *Caſſius* or *Murcus*'s Naval Power, but that bad weather and other loſſes with her own ſickneſs had made her return into *Egypt*, where ſhe received news of the Victory. Here *Anthony*, wounded in the very ſoul by the charms of this Queen, became as fooliſhly in love as if he had been a young Man, though he were now above forty years of age. True it is, he is reported to have always had a natural inclination for this paſſion, and that formerly when ſhe was but a child he conceived a love for her, having ſeen her at *Alexandria*, when he ſerved under *Gabinius* as General of the Horſe. *Anthony* therefore all upon a ſudden neglecting the care of his Affairs, *Cleopatra* diſpoſed of all things at her pleaſure, without conſidering either reaſon or juſtice, inſomuch that *Arſinoe* her Siſter having taken Sanctuary at *Miletum* in the Temple of *Diana Leucophryna*, *Anthony* ſent ſome thither who ſlew her, and commanded the Tyrians to deliver up to *Cleopatra*, *Serapion* Governour of *Cyprus*, who was fled into the Sanctuary at *Tyre*, becauſe he had taken part with *Caſſius*; and gave the ſame order to the Aradians, touching another who had fled for refuge into their City, becauſe the Brother of *Cleopatra*, overcome by *Cæſar* in a Naval Engagement on the *Nile*, being

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ſeen no more, this unhappy Man had told the Aradians, that he was *Ptolemy*; and at laſt ordered the Epheſians to bring before him *Megabyzes* the High Prieſt of *Diana*, becauſe he had received *Arſinoe* as a Queen; but the Epheſians having beſought *Cleopatra* in his behalf, ſhe pardoned him. Thus in a ſhort time might a ſtrange change be perceived in *Anthony*'s ſpirit; cauſed by that paſſion which was the beginning and end of all thoſe miſeries afterwards befel him: for after *Cleopatra*'s return to *Egypt* he ſent his Horſe to *Palmyra* a City near the *Euphrates*, to ſack it; his pretence for doing it being very ſlight, for he could accuſe the Inhabitants of nothing; but that being ſituated between the Dominion of the Romans and that of the Parthians, they ſtrove to accommodate themſelves the beſt they could with one and t'other; and indeed it was a City of Trade, through which were tranſported from *Perſia* to *Rome* all the commodities of *India* and *Arabia*, but his main deſign was to enrich his Cavalry. The Palmyrians foreſeeing it, had cauſed all they had of value to be carried to the other ſide of the River, on the Banks of which they planted good Archers to defend the approach, (for there are the beſt Archers of the world) ſo the Cavalry finding not a perſon in the City, returned without drawing their Swords, or making any purchaſe. The Parthian War which happened ſoon after, ſeems from hence to have taken its birth, many of the Tyrants of *Syria* being retired with them: for *Syria* till the time of *Antiochus* the Pious, and his Son of the ſame name, had been governed by Kings of the race of *Seleucus Nicator* (as we have already ſaid, writing the Affairs of *Syria*) but this Province being reduced by *Pompey*'s Arms, he placed therein *Scaurus* for Governonr, to whom the Senate ſent others for Succeſſors, among whom was *Gabinius*, who went to make War againſt the People of *Alexandria*: to *Gabinius* ſucceeded *Craſſus*, who was ſlain by the Parthians, and after him *Bibulus*. At length after the death of *C. Cæſar*, during theſe troubles which were almoſt univerſal, there roſe up in every City Tyrants, ſupported by the Parthians; for after *Craſſus*'s misfortune they had ſpread themſelves into *Syria*, and had intelligence with the Tyrants, which *Anthony* now forced to retire to them, whom after he had expelled, charged the People with Impoſts, and made this impertinent attempt upon the Palmyrians, he took no farther care how to appeaſe the troubles wherein he beheld the Province, and put his Army in Garriſon, and went to find out *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*, where being magnificently received, he ſpent the Winter, without any mark of Command, both habited and living like a private Man, whether becauſe he was in a Country dependant on another, and in the Royal City, or that he might the more pleaſantly paſs away the time whilſt Winter laſted: for he baniſhed all manner of care, and diſpenſed with the Officers, put off his uſual habit to wear a ſquare Robe after the Greek Faſhion, with white Attick Hoſe, ſuch as are worn by the Prieſt's of *Athens* and of *Alexandria*, which they call *Phacaſion*, and only viſited the Temples, Schools, and Philoſophy Aſſemblies, holding converſation with none but the Greeks in ſervice of *Cleopatra*, for whoſe ſake alone he had undertook this Journey.

Mean while, *Cæſar* going to *Rome* was very much diſtempered in Body, eſpecially at *Brunduſium*, where the danger was ſo great, that a report was raiſed of his being dead: but at length by degrees the Diſtemper diminiſhing, he entred the City, where ſhewing *Anthony*'s orders to thoſe who had charge of his Affairs, they preſently ſignified to *Calenus*, that he ſhould deliver to him the two Legions, and wrote to *Sextus* in *Africa* to ſurrender up IV.

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the Province, which was performed. After which *Cæsar* finding that *Lepidus* was not guilty of what he had been charged with, quitted to him *Africa*, instead of those Provinces that had been taken from him, and exposed to sale what were left of the Goods of the Proscribed. But when it came to the point of sending Soldiers to Colonies, and giving them Lands, many difficulties presented themselves. The Soldiers pretended they ought to give them the best Cities of all *Italy*, according to the promise made them before the War. And the Cities demanded that all *Italy* should contribute to this charge, or that others should draw lots with them, and that for the Lands the Generals should pay the purchase; but there was no Money in the Treasure. There were dayly to be seen coming to *Rome* young and old, Women and Children, who assembling in the great place, or in the Temples, with tears in their eyes cryed out: That being Italians, without having committed any fault, they were driven from their Lands, and their Houses, as if it had been a conquered Country. The Romans had compassion on them, and their deplorable condition drew tears from a multitude of People, especially when they considered that this War had not been undertaken for the publick good, but to satisfie the ambition of the Chiefs, who had no other aim than the seising of the Empire. Besides, they were sensible, that they gave not the Soldiers the recompense promised after the Victory, nor sent them into Colonies with any other intent, but that the Common-wealth should never more get Head again, the Usurpers of the Government having so many People, obliged by their good turns, ready to take up Arms at their first command. *Cæsar* made excuse to the Cities from the necessity constraining these things, telling them withal he was much afraid the Soldiers would not be so content neither. And indeed they were not content; for they oppressed their Neighbours, and took not only more than the Lands set out to them, but likewise the best they could pick out. And in vain did *Cæsar* reprove them, or gave them other things to hinder them from these violences; for their Generals standing in need of them to secure their Dominions, they stood but in little awe. Moreover, the five years of the Triumvirate drawing to an end, they stood in each others assistance for their common security, the Generals, that by the Soldiers means they might keep their Command, and the Soldiers, that by their means they might keep possession of what had been given them; for all their hopes being that the grant would stand good so long as the Donors were Masters of the Empire, they were concerned to atttempt any thing for the maintenance of their power: wherefore *Cæsar* gave many other gifts to the maimed Soldiers, borrowing for this purpose Money from the Temples, which increased the affection of the Soldiery to him, who found themselves obliged by his having gratified them with Cities, Land, Money and Houses. Those who were despoiled of all these things made great clamours, and continuall railed against him, but however they affronted him, he bore all to content the Soldiery.

V. *Lucius* Brother to *Anthony* now Consul, *Fulvia* his Wife, and *Manius*, who had the charge of his Affairs in his absence, observing *Cæsar*'s Conduct, and to the end that all might not seem to be his doings, or the whole obligation be owned to him alone, and consequently he have all the thanks, to *Anthony*'s prejudice, used all the artifices possible, to delay the sending the Soldiers to the Colonies, till his return out of *Asia*: but when they could not succeed in that design, because of the earnestness of the Army, they required of *Cæsar* liberty to be themselves the Conductors of *Anthony*'s

thony's Forces. By the agrrement made with *Cæsar* he had quitted to him the employment, but they denyed it, and *Fulvia* going her self to the Head of the Legions with *Anthony*'s Children, besought them not to suffer their General to be deprived of the Glory and satisfaction to testifie his good will to them: besides, *Anthony*'s reputation was very great among the Soldiery, and high in esteem with all the world; for *Cæsar* being sick at the time of the Battel at *Philippi*, all the honour of that Victory seemed due only to *Anthony*. Though *Cæsar* saw well this was a violation of their agreement, yet in favour to his Associate in the Empire, he consented, and so they conducted the Legions to their Colonies, where they committed strange disorders; for that *Cæsar* might not seem more indulgent than those who conducted them, they gave them all manner of License. Many Cities neighbouring on those where they had Lands set out, having received much injury, came to complain to *Cæsar*, telling him, that the Colonies were much more injust than the Proscriptions; for they proscribed only their Enemies, whereas by means of the Colonies multitudes of innocent persons were ruined, *Cæsar* was not ignorant of the injuries done, but he could not remedy them, for he had no Money to pay the old Proprietors the purchase of their Lands, and he would not delay the recompence promised to their Forces, because of the Wars they were still engaged in: *Pompey* was powerful at Sea, and able to starve the City by cutting off Provisions: *Ænobarbus* and *Murcus* were fitting out another Fleet, and another Army; so that if *Cæsar* and *Anthony* performed not their promise, they had reason to fear they should be but ill served by their Soldiers. Add to which that the five years of the Triumvirate was near expired, and they had therefore still more reason to gain the good will of the Army; wherefore they passed by many things patiently, and seemed as if they did not see their insolencies; till such time that one day as *Cæsar* was at the Theatre, a Soldier who could get no room in the place appointed for them, had the impudence to go seat himself with the Roman Knights. The People having observed it, *Cæsar* caused him to be taken away, whereat the rest were so enraged, that when the Plays were done, gathering about *Cæsar* they demanded their companion, because not having seen him afterwards they thought him dead. The Soldier coming in at the same time they imagined him brought out of Prison, and though he denyed it, and told them the matter as it passed, they told him he lyed, had been suborned, and was a Traytor to betray his Comrades. Such was their insolence in the Theatre, as a consequence to which, he having appointed them a day for their meeting in the Field of *Mars*, for the division of Lands, they were so hasty that they came thither long before day-light. And fretting at *Cæsar* that he came not so soon as they thought fit, *Nonius* a Centurion freely reproving them, and representing to them the respect they oughtto their General, who made them not wait out of any pride or scorn, but because he was sick, they began to rail at him, and call him flatterer, and by degrees their fury increasing, proceeded to affront and throw stones as him. He thereupon fled, they pursued him, he threw himself into the River to make his escape, but there they killed him, and drawing his Body out of the Water, brought it and layd it in the way by which *Cæsar* was to pass. His Friends hereupon counselled him not to go and expose himself to these Bedlams, but lest absence might more increase their fury, he went, and seeing *Nonius*'s Body, turned off by another way. There as if this had been the crime only of some particular Men, he exhorted them for the future to spare one another, made division of their Lands, permitted those had done good ser-

vice to demand the usual rewards, and gave them likewise even against his own judgment, to many that were unworthy, insomuch that the multitude admiring his gravity, began to repent and be ashamed, and withal to demand that those guilty of *Nonius*'s death might be punished, upon which he told them he knew them well, but that he was content with their confession and repentance, and would remit the punishment. Thus having obtained not only pardon for their fault, but likewise gifts and rewards, they all upon a sudden changed their anger into applause and acclamations. These two examples chosen among many others make it evidently appear how difficult it is, to govern in such times as those the spirits of the Soldiery, which is occasioned when Generals are not commissioned to the Command of their Armies by lawful Authority and Nomination as ordinarily happens in Civil Wats, and when Armies are not raised according to ancient custom, for the service of their Country. And in reality all those People bore not Arms for the Roman People, but for those that had set them on foot, not by order of War, but by private promises, not against the Enemies of the State, but to satisfie particular animosities, not against Strangers, but against Citizens their Equals in Birth and Dignity: all these things ruined Military Discipline. The Soldiers conceited not they made War, but did service to particular persons that would oblige them, and from whom they hoped for acknowledgments, and the Commanders made use of them as they had occasion for their own advantage. And whereas the ancient Romans never pardoned any Runaways, they now gave them rewards; for the Pleas were equally specious, each party deeming the other Enemy to the State, the Leaders themselves making the same pretence, and all saying they had no other end than the service of their Country. Thus the Soldiers were his, gave most; as well as whole Armies and many illustrious persons, thought they did not deserve the name of Runaways, which things caused often shifting of sides; for on what ever party they ranged themselves, they still served their Country: wherefore the Generals that were sensible of this, were fain to wink at many things, and confided not so much in the fidelty of their Soldiers, or the authority of the Laws, as in the power of their Largesses, so ordinary were tumults and mutinies now in Armies.

VI. Mean while *Rome* was distressed for want of Provisions; for *Pompey* hindred the bringing any by Sea, and in *Italy* they had almost given over Husbandry, because of the continual Wars, and that little Corn there was the Armies consumed. There were likewise committed in the Cities many Robberies and Violences by night, after which no inquest was made, because they layd all upon the Soldiers; wherefore the People shut up their Shops, and drove away the Magistrates, as standing no more in need of Officers or Artificers in a miserable City, where all things were exposed to Robbery and Plunder: *Lucius* a Lover of the publick wellfare, and Enemy to the power of the Triumvirate, which seemed to last beyond the time prescribed by its establishment, had often sharp words with *Cæsar*; and when the old Proprietors of Lands came to complain to the Magistrates of the oppression of the Soldiery, he alone would hear their complaints, and promise them his protection, and they on the other side engaged themselves to serve him in what ever he would employ them. This gave occasion to *Anthony*'s Soldiers, and to *Cæsar* himself, to reproach him that he busied himself against his Brother, and to give advice to *Fulvia* to have a care of kindling an unseasonable War. Notwithstanding which *Manius* maliciously

liciouſly cunning, having buzzed in her ears, that as long as *Italy* was in peace her Husband would ſtay with *Cleopatra*, but if once there were War would preſently come away, ſhe ſuffered her ſelf to be perſwaded, and out of her womanly paſſion obliged *Lucius* to ſeek ſome occaſion of a Rupture. To which effect *Cæſar* being gone to ſettle the reſt of the Colonies, ſhe ſent along *Anthony*'s Children together with *Lucius*, that it might not be thought he alone had the authority. And he happening to command ſome part of his Cavalry to march ſpeedily to the Sea Coaſt of the Brutians, leſt *Pompey* ſhould plunder them, *Lucius* either fearing or diſſembling that he was afraid theſe Horſe were drawn off againſt him and his Nephews, fled forthwith to *Anthony*'s Colonies, deſiring of them Guards for his ſecurity, accuſing *Cæſar* of infidelity towards their General: *Cæſar* on the contrary ſent to tell them that there was no ſhadow of change in the Friendſhip betwixt them and *Anthony*, but that *Lucius* ſought a pretence to make them arm againſt each other, becauſe he was an Enemy to the Triumvirate in the maintenance of whoſe power the Soldiery were to be concerned, if they would not be driven from their Colonies, and that for his Horſe they were ſtill in the Country of the Brutians executing his orders. The principal Officers of *Anthony*'s Army underſtanding well all theſe things met together at *Theana* with *Cæſar*, where a Treaty was made on theſe conditions: That the Triumvirs ſhould not diſturb the Conſuls in the Government of the Common-wealth; that they ſhould give Lands only to thoſe had ſerved at *Philippi*: that *Anthony*'s Forces in *Italy* ſhould as well as *Cæſar*'s have a ſhare of the Proſcripts Money, and in the produce of the ſale lately made of their Goods: that for the future no one ſhould conſtrain them to ſerve out of *Italy*, except two Legions which *Cæſar* might employ in the Expedition againſt *Pompey*: that thoſe *Cæſar* ſhould ſend to *Spain* might paſs the *Alpes* without being impeded by *Aſinius Pollio*, and that *Lucius* ſatisfied with theſe conditions ſhould diſmiſs his Guards, and follow the functions of his authority with all ſecurity. Theſe Articles being agreed upon by the Officers of *Anthony*'s Army, there were but two of them executed, and *Salvidienus* paſſed the *Alpes* in ſpite of thoſe would have hindred him: inſomuch that the performance of the reſt being delayed, *Lucius* retired to *Præneſte*, ſaying, that having no Guards, he was afraid of *Cæſar*, who was always accompanied with Soldiers, becauſe of his quality of Triumvir. *Fulvia* likewiſe fled for refuge to *Lepidus*, out of fear, as ſhe ſaid, for her Children, and ſhe had a better opinion of him than of *Cæſar*. However it were, both one and the other wrote to *Anthony*, and ſome of their Friends who could lay open all the Affair carried the Letters, of which I could not find the Copies, though I have made a curious ſearch. Things ſtanding in this poſture, the principal Officers of both Armies met together to terminate the differences yet between their Generals by an equitable judgment, reſolved to force to a compliance thoſe that would not ſubmit, and they invited *Lucius* his Friends to joyn with them; upon their refuſal, *Cæſar* to render them odious, began to vent his complaints in all places as well to the Officers of the Armies, as the principal Citizens, which occaſioned a great many perſons to go from the City to *Lucius*, to beſeech him to have compaſſion of *Italy*, almoſt ruined by Civil Wars, and to make choice of ſome, who, with them, or with the Officers might endeavour an accommodation. *Lucius* had both a reſpect for them and the matter whereof they ſpoke. But *Manius* anſwered fiercely, that whilſt *Anthony* amuſed himſelf to raiſe Money among Strangers, *Cæſar* by his cringing and flexibility ſecured to himſelf all the Militia, and all

the ſtrong places of *Italy*. That to this purpoſe, to the damage of *Anthony*, to whom *Gaul* appertained, he had enfranchiſed it, and that inſtead of eighteen Cities deſigned to reward the Veterans, he had granted them almoſt all *Italy*, and that whereas Lands were due only to twenty eight Legions that had ſerved, he had given to four and thirty; that he had taken Money out of the Temples, which had never before been done whatever Famine were in the City, and that on pretence of a War againſt *Pompey*, but indeed to gain himſelf Soldiers to employ againſt *Anthony*: beſides he had appraiſed the Proſcripts Goods at ſuch low rates, that it was rather giving than ſelling them: wherefore if he really deſired peace, he ought firſt to give an account of what he had done, and do nothing for the future but what ſhould be reſolved upon common deliberation. Thus *Manius* by this arrogant anſwer would have had *Cæſar* no more to have the arbitrement of any thing, but that the agreement made between him and *Anthony* (by which each had an abſolute power in things whereof he took charge, and what one did the other was to approve) ſhould be utterly void. Wherefore *Cæſar* ſeeing they were abſolutely determined for War, began to prepare likewiſe. Two Legions that were in the City of *Ancona* having advice hereof, they having formerly belonged to *Cæſar*, and ſince to *Anthony*, and having ſtill reſpect for both, ſent Deputies to *Rome* to entreat them to conſent to an Accommodation: whereupon *Cæſar* anſwering that he had no deſign againſt *Anthony*, but that *Lucius* would make War upon him, the Deputies and Officers of *Anthony*'s Forces joyned together, deputed ſome to *Lucius*, to perſwade him to admit of a determination of the Differences between *Cæſar* and him, by the way of Juſtice, letting him know, that if he would not ſubmit, they would take the matter into their own hands. After having obtained of *Lucius* what they deſired, the City of *Gabes* was made choice of for the meeting, being the half way betwixt *Rome* and *Præneſte*, where Benches were ſet up for the Judges, and two Tribunals, from whence to plead Cauſes: *Cæſar* who came firſt had ſent ſome Horſe on the way which *Lucius* was to come, to diſcover if there were no Ambuſh; theſe met with ſome of *Anthony*'s Horſe which *Lucius* had likewiſe ſent to ſcout before, and ſlew ſome of them: *Lucius* retreated thereupon for fear (as he ſaid) of Ambuſhes, and never afterwards notwithſtanding all the prayers of *Anthony*'s Officers, and all their aſſurances to be his ſafe conduct, would return, ſo that thoſe who laboured for Peace, not ſucceeding, it came to an open War, and they began already to tear one another in pieces by bloody Declarations. *Lucius*'s Forces were compoſed of four Legions he had raiſed when he entred into the Conſulate, beſides the eleven Legions of *Anthony*'s commanded by *Calenus*, and all thoſe were in *Italy*: and *Cæſar* had four Legions at *Capua* and his Pretorian Cohorts with ſix Legions *Salvidienus* brought him from *Spain*. For Money, *Anthony*'s Provinces where there was no War, furniſhed *Lucius*; and *Cæſar* drew from all his except *Sardinia*, at preſent engaged in War, and borrowed from all the Temples with promiſe to pay the intereſt, till he reſtored it to the Temple of the Capitol in *Rome*, at *Antium*, at *Lavinia*, at the * Foreſt, and at *Tibur*, in all which Temples there are to this day ſtore of conſecrated Treaſure.

* *Of* Aricia, *where was the Nymph* Ægeria.

VII. Nor were all things quiet out of *Italy*, for *Pompey*'s Force and Reputation was much increaſed by the Procripts, the old Inhabitants of the Colonies, and even by this breach with *Lucius*; for all thoſe who either feared their own ſafety, or were deſpoiled of their goods, or had any diſlike to the

the preſent ſtate of Affairs, flocked in to him; beſides a great number of Youth, who ſought their Fortune by War, and thought it indifferent to engage under one or another General, ſince they were all Romans came in to him, as judging his cauſe the more juſt: Beſides he was grown rich with Prizes taken at Sea, and had ſtore of Shipping with all things neceſſary; *Murcus* likewiſe had brought him two Legions with fourſcore Ships; and there was coming to him another Army from *Cephalonia*, which makes ſome think that if he had now invaded *Italy*, he might eaſily have become Maſter of it, oppreſſed, as it was, with Famine, and rent in pieces with Inteſtine Diviſions: but *Pompey* by an inexcuſable imprudence choſe rather to defend himſelf, than aſſail others, which proved in the end his own loſs. As for what happened in *Africa*, *Sextus*, Lieutenant to *Anthony*, according to *Lucius* Command, had delivered up his Army to *Fagio*, *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant, afterwards having received Orders again to withdraw it; upon *Fagio*'s refuſal to return it, he declared War againſt him, and having raiſed conſiderable Forces of disbanded Soldiers and Africans, with ſuch aſſiſtance as he had from the Kings of that Country, goes to charge the Enemy, cuts in pieces the two Wings of his Army, and makes himſelf Maſter of his Camp; ſo that *Fagio* deſpairing, and thinking he was betrayed, ſlew himſelf. Thus *Sextus* repoſſeſſed himſelf of both the Provinces of *Africa*, and *Bocchus*, King of the Moors, by *Lucius* perſwaſion went to make War againſt *Carinas*, who commanded in *Spain* for *Cæſar*. On the other ſide *Ænobarbus*, with ſeventy Ships, two Legions, a great number of Archers and Slingers, ſome light armed Infantry, and Gladiators, cruiſing on the Ionian Sea, waſted all thoſe Coaſts that acknowledged the Triumvirate; and coming nigh to *Brunduſium*, took part of *Cæſar*'s Galley's, burnt others, and having forced the Inhabitants to ſhut themſelves up within their Wall, ſpoiled their Country. *Cæſar* ſent thither one Legion, and commanded *Salvidienus* to haſten out of *Spain*, whilſt both perſons laboured to raiſe men in *Italy*, where there happened ſome fights, ſome skirmiſhes, and many ſurpriſes. The people had a far greater inclination for *Lucius*'s, then for the adverſe party, becauſe they made War againſt the new Colonies, and not only the Cities, whoſe Lands they had divided to the Soldiers, declared for him; but likewiſe all *Italy*, who feared the like oppreſſion; ſo thoſe that *Cæſar* had ſent to borrow the conſecrated Mony, being driven out of the Cities, and ſome of them ſlain, the Inhabitants became Maſters of their Walls, and declared for *Lucius*. But if theſe took his part, the new Poſſeſſors of Lands ſided with *Cæſar*, as if both one and the other had only regarded their proper intereſts. Affairs ſtanding thus, *Cæſar* aſſembled in the Palace the Senate and Roman Knights, and thus ſpoke to them.

The Oration of *Cæſar*.

I Know I am contemn'd by Lucius *party, as weak and infirm; and I know that contempt will increaſe upon this my conventing you; but I am yet aſſured I have a ſtrong and powerful Army, as well that which* Lucius *wrongs by detaining from them their due rewards, as the other which fights under my Command; nor is there any thing wanting to me, but good will, for I cannot eaſily reſolve on a Civil War, unleſs conſtrained, or deſire to engage thoſe Citizens,*

tizens, remaining to deſtroy each other; but eſpecially, I delight not in a War like this, which is not to be in Thrace *or* Macedon, *but in the very heart of* Italy, *and which muſt occaſion infinite miſeries, though no man were to be ſlain, wherefore I have hitherto temporized, and do now proteſt, that I neither complain of* Anthony, *nor have given him cauſe to complain of me: 'Tis your intereſt, and you ought to let* Lucius *and his Counſellors know they are in the wrong, and let me intreat you to reconcile us together. If they will not believe you, but continue obſtinate, they ſhall ſoon find my delay was an effect of my prudence, and not of my fear, and you may bear witneſs for me to* Anthony, *that I am forced to what I do, by the inſolence of* Lucius.

Cæſar having ſaid theſe words, they ſent forthwith to *Lucius* to *Preneſte*, who made them no anſwer, but that blows had already been ſtruck on both ſides, and that *Cæſar* deceived them, having already ſent a Legion to *Brunduſium*, to hinder *Anthony*'s landing, beſides *Manius* ſhowed them a Letter from *Anthony*, whether true or forged is uncertain, commanding them to defend his Authority by Arms, whereupon the Deputies of the Senate demanding, if any had invaded *Anthony*'s; for if ſo they would make them do reaſon by ways of Juſtice. *Manius* thereupon propoſed many other things, ſo they went away without doing any thing; yet they went not together to return *Cæſar* any anſwer of their Legation, whether they had given him an account of it privately, or that they were aſhamed, or for ſome other reaſon.

VIII. Thus War being declared, *Cæſar* took the Field, leaving *Lepidus* with two Legions for guard of the City, at which time many perſons of quality declared their diſlike of the Triumvirs, by going over to *Lucius*. Now what paſſed moſt conſiderable in this War was thus: Two of *Lucius* his Legions quartered at *Alba* mutined, and having turned away their Officers, were upon the very point of revolting, when both *Lucius* and *Cæſar* were upon their way thither; *Lucius* got there firſt, and by the force of Money and Promiſes, kept them in their Duty. After which, as *Firmius* brought him another Army, *Cæſar* fell upon his Rear-guard, and forced *Firmius* to an Eminence; from whence eſcaping the next night into a City of his faction, called *Sentia*; *Cæſar* would not purſue him, for fear of an Ambuſh, but on the morrow beſieged the place and the Army. On the other ſide *Lucius* having a deſign upon *Rome*, ſent before three Regiments, who with wonderful diligence entred the City privately by night, himſelf followed with the flower of his Horſe and the Gladiators, and was received by *Nonius*, who having that day the guard of the Gate, with all his Soldiers ſubmitted to him, and *Lepidus* went out to meet with *Cæſar*; *Lucius* thus entred the City, aſſembled the people, and told them that *Anthony* and *Lepidus* ſhould in few days give an account of the violences committed in their Magiſtracy, and that *Anthony* was diſpoſed to quit that unlawful power, to accept of the Conſulate, that is to ſay, a Dignity eſtabliſhed by their Anceſtors, inſtead of a tyrannical Dominion. Theſe words were received with the univerſal joy of the people, who already imagining the Triumvirate aboliſhed, made acclamations to *Lucius*, giving him the Title of Emperour. Soon after he left the City to march againſt *Cæſar*, paſſing by his Brother's Colonies, where he raiſed another Body of an Army, and fortified all the Cities he found affectionate to his Party: but *Barbarius* Queſtor to *Anthony* being returned upon ſome difference

difference he had with his General, told all Men, that he was mightily incenſed againſt thoſe made War upon *Cæſar*, to the ruine of their common power, which made many that diſcovered not *Barbarius*'s deceit, deſert *Lucius*, and joyn with *Cæſar*. *Lucius* then marched to meet with *Salvidienus*, who was coming with an Army of Gauls to *Cæſar*, followed in the rear by *Aſinius* and *Ventidius*, two of *Anthony*'s Lieutenants; ſo that he could not well paſs farther, when *Agrippa*, one of *Cæſar's* beſt Friends, fearing leſt *Salvidienus* ſhould be incloſed, went and ſeiſed upon * *Inſubria*, from whence *Lucius* drew great Succors, thinking thereby to oblige *Lucius* to turn his Arms upon him, and quit his deſign upon *Salvidienus*, who would not fail to follow him in the rear, nor was he deceived in his imagination: *Lucius* therefore fruſtrated in his hopes, would willingly have joyned with *Aſinius* and *Ventidius*, but *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* lying on each ſide him, ſorely annoyed him, and had given good order for guarding the Straits; when he ſaw himſelf engaged in this manner, not daring to venture a Battel, he retired nigh to *Perugia* a ſtrong City, where he encamped, ſtaying for *Ventidius*. *Agrippa*, *Salvidienus* and *Cæſar* himſelf coming in at the ſame time, with the three Armies there beſieged him, *Cæſar* having ſpeedily drawn together all his Forces, that *Lucius* who was the Head of the War might not eſcape him. He ſent likewiſe ſome Forces towards *Aſinius* and *Ventidius* to retard their march, though they made no great haſte, for they approved not of this War, and did not well know *Anthony*'s mind; beſides there was jealouſie between them, and being of equal Dignity each was ambitious of the ſole Command of the Army. Mean while, *Lucius* thus beſieged durſt not hazard a Battel, being the weaker both in number and quality of Soldiers, his Army conſiſting for the moſt part of new raiſed Forces, nor durſt he take the Field, or adventure a Retreat, being on all ſides ſo belayd; wherefore he ſent *Manius* to *Ventidius* and *Aſinius* to haſten them to come to his relief, and gave order to *Titinnius* to go with four thouſand Horſe to waſte the Country under *Cæſar*'s protection, that he might oblige him to raiſe his Siege, whilſt he ſhut himſelf up in *Perugia*, reſolved if he were forced to it to ſpend the Winter there, or at leaſt ſo much time till *Ventidius* came up to him with the other Army, but *Cæſar* preſently ſet his Men to work on the Circumvallation, which he was forced to make ſix and fifty Furlongs in circuit, becauſe of the Hills, among which the City is ſeated, from whence he drew two Lines down to the *Tiber* to hinder any thing from being brought to the City. *Lucius* on his part cauſed the foot of the Hills to be fortified with Trench and Paliſado like to the Circumvallation, whilſt *Fulvia* ſent freſh diſpatches to *Ventidius*, *Aſinius*, *Ateius* and *Calenus* to haſten them with all ſpeed to his relief, and withal raiſed a new Army, which ſhe ſent to him under the Command of *Plancus*, who meeting with one of *Cæſar*'s Legions on their March to the City, cut them in pieces. As for *Ventidius* and *Aſinius* doubtful of *Anthony*'s mind they temporized, and yet preſſed to it by *Fulvia*, they began to march on and to come to diſengage *Lucius*, *Cæſar* together with *Agrippa* preſently ſet forward to meet them, after having placed a very good Guard before *Perugia*, but they not being able to joyn *Plancus*, or put themſelves into a condition to fight, retired one to *Ravenna*, the other to *Rimini*, and *Plancus* to *Spoleto*; and *Cæſar* having left a part of his Forces to hinder their conjunction, returned to the Siege at *Perugia*. There he with all poſſible diligence cauſed to be made a double Ditch of thirty Foot wide, and as many deep, on which he raiſed a Rampire, with fifteen hundred Towers of Wood, ſixty Feet diſtant one from the other, with ſtore of Redoubts, and all

* *Dutchy of* Milan.

all things neceſſary for defence as well againſt the Beſieged, as thoſe that would force his Lines; this was not done without frequent Sallies, and many Engagements, wherein *Cæſar*'s Light-armed Foot did wonders in lancing their Javelings; but when *Lucius*'s Gladiators could come to a cloſe Fight with them, they made a great ſlaughter. The work being brought to perfection, the Beſieged began to be afflicted with Famine, which augmented from day to day, for neither *Lucius* nor the Inhabitants had made any Proviſion of Victuals, which coming to *Cæſar*'s knowledge, he cauſed the Lines to be guarded with double care and diligence. Now on the Eve of New-years-day, being a ſolemn Feſtival, *Lucius*, imagining they would not have ſo much care of the Watch as ordinarily, went and ſtormed the Gate of their Trenches, believing, that by opening this paſſage, he might gain an entrance into the City for thoſe other Forces he had in divers Quarters. But the Legion then upon the Guard preſently running in, and *Cæſar* himſelf with the Pretorian Cohorts, *Lucius* after a long Fight reſolutely maintained, was forced to a Retreat: and this happened at the ſame time that at *Rome*, where they had layed in ſtores of Corn for Proviſion for the Soldiers, the People deteſting both the Wars and the Victories, ran to all the Magazines, and pillaged them of all the Corn. After this *Ventidius* and thoſe with him judging it ſhameful for them not to relieve *Lucius*, periſhing with Famine, ſet forward to their aſſiſtance, and at firſt over-run thoſe Forces which *Cæſar* had left to oppoſe their Deſigns, but *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* coming in with a greater power, they were fearful of being ſurrounded, and ſo turned off to *Fulcinia*, a little City about one hundred and ſixty Furlongs from *Perugia*, where *Agrippa* having beſieged them, they gave *Lucius* notice of there being there, by great Fires which they kindled in the Night time, *Ventidius* and *Aſinius* were of the mind to ſally out and fight: *Plancus* on the contrary ſaid they had better ſtay a while, for fear of engaging themſelves between *Agrippa* and *Cæſar*; ſo the Beſieged in *Perugia*, who had rejoyced at the firſt ſight of the Fires, ſeeing their Companions came not, imagined they had met with ſome obſtacle, but when the Fires were quite extinct, then they believed them abſolutely defeated; whereupon *Lucius* oppreſſed with Famine, would once more attempt an Aſſault by night, and from the firſt Watch till it was light did all he could to force the Lines, but being every where repulſed, he retreated into *Perugia*, where having taken an exact account of the Proviſion remaining, he forbade giving any to the Slaves, whom yet he ſet Guards over, leſt flying to the Enemy they ſhould betray the extremities of the Garriſon; ſo that whole Troops of thoſe poor wretches might be ſeen walk ſtaggering through the City, and as far as the Rampire, eating Graſs, or green Leaves, or whatſoever they could find; and when they were dead, *Lucius* cauſed them to be interred very deep, leſt if he ſhould have burnt them, the Enemy ſhould have knowledge of it, or letting them lie, they ſhould putrefie, and by their corrupt ſtench engender the Plague. But when there appeared no end either of Famine or Funerals, the Soldiers quite wearied out, deſired *Lucius* they might once more attempt the Enemies Trenches, promiſing themſelves this time to carry them, he approved their reſolution, and told them: *In our laſt Aſſault we fought not ſo ſtoutly as the preſent occaſion and our neceſſity did require: now we have no other way but either to yield, or if that ſeem worſe than dying, to fight it out to the death.* All of them courageouſly accepting of theſe conditions, they beſought him to lead them on in open day, that if there were any Cowards among them the night might not keep them from being known. *Lucius* made his Sally about break of day,

day with a great quantity of Iron Inſtruments, many kind of Ladders, Tools of all ſorts to fill up the Trenches, with portable Towers to lay Bridges over to the Walls, all kind of miſſile Arms, with Stones and Bundles of Oſiers or Wattles to throw upon the Stakes. They then began the Aſſault with ſuch fury, that they preſently filled up the Ditch, paſſed the Paliſade, and gained the Foot of the Wall, which ſome laboured to undermine, and others brought Ladders to ſcale, others drew cloſe up their Towers with a wonderful contempt of their lives, though there fell upon them Showers of Stones, of Darts, and of Leaden Bullets. They aſſaulted the Lines in ſeveral places at once, ſo that the Enemy diſtracted, could not ſo vigorouſly apply themſelves to the defence of all: whereby it happened in one place *Lucius*'s Men having brought up a Tower, had caſt their Planks upon the Wall, where, though fighting in extreme danger, as being galled both in Front and Flank by the Enemies miſſile Arms, they at length forced their way, and ſome of them gained the Wall, followed pell mell by others; and poſſibly their deſpair had met with a happy ſucceſs, if the Enemy, knowing there were not many of theſe Machines, had not oppoſed the moſt valiant of *Cæſar*'s Soldiers, to theſe weak and tired Men, who ſoon tumbled them down the Walls, and having broken in pieces their Machine with contempt, wounded them from above: yet with broken Arms and wounded Bodies, their very voices almoſt failing them, they ſtill reſolutely ſtood to it; but when they ſaw the Bodies of thoſe who had been ſlain upon the Wall ſtripped and thrown after them, the contumely ſeemed unſufferable, and they ſtood like Men ſtruck dumb, or like Wreſtlers at the Gymnick Games that would breath themſelves a while: ſo that *Lucius* ſeeing them in this condition, took compaſſion on them, and ſounded a Retreat. However, when *Cæſar*'s Soldiers, joyful for their ſucceſs, made a great noiſe with their Arms as a mark of Victory, they reentred with fury, and bringing out Ladders (for they had no more Towers) in a deſperate mood attempted to ſcale the Wall, but all in vain, and indeed it was impoſſible; wherefore *Lucius* running about to all places, beſought them not to caſt themſelves away, and brought them off weeping, and much againſt their wills. After this fierce Aſſault, *Cæſar*, to prevent the Enemies from making the like upon his Trenches, lined his Walls with Courts of Guard, giving order that at the firſt ſignal they ſhould mount the Rampire, ſome in one place, and ſome in others: and this they did continually, though none aſſailed them, with deſign to exerciſe the Soldiers, and ſtrike terrour into the Enemy.

IX. Mean while *Lucius*'s Soldiers began to be quite out of heart, and to neglect their Guards, as it often happens after ſuch unfortunate repulſes; and many, not only of the Soldiers, but Officers went and ſubmitted themſelves to *Cæſar*. *Lucius* himſelf, touched with pity to ſee ſo many Men ſo miſerably ending their lives, would willingly have conſented to an Accommodation, if he had not had with him ſome particular Enemies of *Cæſar*'s, who were fearful to fall into his hands; but when it was known that he kindly received the very Runaways, all Mens minds grew more inclinable to peace; ſo that *Lucius* fearing, leſt if he alone reſiſted, they would deliver him to *Cæſar*; wherefore ſeeing ſome appearance of hopes, he thus ſpoke to his Army:

The Oration of *Lucius* to his Army.

I Had a deſign, Fellow Soldiers, to reſtore my Country to liberty, ſeeing the Triumvirate changed into a Tyranny, and that this Authority thought to be only eſtabliſhed againſt Brutus *and* Caſſius, *continued yet after their deaths; for* Lepidus *being deprived of his part of the Empire, whilſt* Anthony *is gathering up Money in the remote Provinces, this Man who beſieges us diſpoſes all things at pleaſure, and the Roman Laws, which he makes a mock of, ſerve him but for a pretence: but when to remedy this diſorder, and redeem the Commonwealth from Slavery, I requeſted that after having given the promiſed Recompenſes to the Soldiery he ſhould lay down the Sovereign Authority, not obtaining it by requeſt, I ſought to conſtrain it according to the power inveſted in me by the quality of Conſul, but he raiſed a report among the Soldiers that I oppoſed the Colonies in favour of the ancient poſſeſſors: it was a long time ere I knew he ſlandered me in this manner; and when it was told me, I could not believe it, ſince I had my ſelf appointed Commiſſioners to divide the Lands among you: nevertheleſs the greater part giving ear to this Calumny, joyned themſelves with* Cæſar's *Faction to make War upon us; but have made War againſt themſelves, as time will make it appear. For your part I am your witneſs, that having adhered to the juſter cauſe you have ſuffered infinitely, and at laſt we are not overcome by our Enemies, but by Famine, which has forced our Officers to deſert us. True it is, it would be much for my Glory to fight for my Country, even to the laſt extremities, and my good will would be recompenſed with immortal praiſes, but I cannot reſolve it, out of my affection to you whoſe ſafety I prefer before my own Glory. I will therefore ſend Deputies to the Conquerour to deſire him to deal as he pleaſe with me, ſo he will but pardon you who are his Fellow Citizens, and have been his Soldiers, who have committed no fault in fighting for a cauſe ſo apparently juſt, and who have not been overcome by Arms, but by want of Proviſions.*

After theſe words, he choſe three out of the principal Men of his Army, and ſent them to *Cæſar*, which drew tears from the eyes of all the reſt, deploring either their own, or their Generals condition, who having ſuch noble and generous thoughts for his Country was yet reduced to that ſhameful neceſſity. The three Deputies repreſented to *Cæſar*, that they were all of the ſame Country, had formerly fought under the ſame Colours, that the Chief of both Parties had been good Friends, and that he ought to imitate the Generoſity of the Ancients, who were haters of deadly diſſentions, with many other things tending to the ſame purpoſe. *Cæſar* who well knew the Army was compoſed of Veterans and new raiſed Soldiers, cunningly anſwered, that he would pardon *Anthony*'s Men for their General's ſake, but for the reſt they ſhould yield upon diſcretion. This he ſpoke publickly, but drawing apart *Furnius* one of the three Deputies, he gave him hopes of a general pardon, excepting only his particular Enemies, but thoſe who thought themſelves of that number, ſuſpecting this private conference between *Furnius* and *Cæſar* was to their prejudice, reviled him at his return, and beſought *Lucius* either to obtain a general Peace, or to continue the War

War without Quarter, ſince it had not been undertaken for any particular animoſities, but for the Common-wealth. *Lucius* moved to compaſſion for perſons of equal quality with himſelf, praiſed their reſolution, and promiſed to ſend other Deputies; but after ſaying he could find no Man fitter for that Negotiation than himſelf, he went without a Herauld, only ſome running before to give *Cæſar* notice *Lucius* was coming. *Cæſar* preſently came forth to meet him, and when they were in ſight of each other, attended by their Friends, and in the habit of Generals: *Lucius* ſtopped his Train, and taking with him only two Lictors came forward, thereby making known his intention: *Cæſar* having obſerved it, imitated his Modeſty, the better to give him aſſurance of his future good will; and when he ſaw *Lucius* advanced to the Trenches in token he yielded to diſcretion, he came out himſelf, that *Lucius* might ſtill be at freedom to diſpoſe of his Affairs: theſe ſigns of their good inclinations they by turns gave each other at their approach: but when they were met near the Trench, after mutual ſalutations, *Lucius* thus began:

The Speech of *Lucius* to *Cæſar*.

CÆſar, *had I made this War with Strangers, I ſhould have thought it baſe to have been overcome, but much baſer to have thus yielded my ſelf, and ſhould ſoon have found a way to have freed me from that infamy; but having to deal with a Citizen of my own quality, and for my Country, I think it no ſhame to be vanquiſhed in ſuch a cauſe, and by ſuch a Man: I ſay not this that I would refuſe to ſuffer what ever you pleaſe (for I come to you without a Herauld) but to obtain pardon for others, which as it is juſt, will be no leſs profitable to your Affairs, which to make you the more clearly underſtand, I will ſeparate my intereſt from theirs, that being fully perſwaded I alone am the cauſe of what has paſſed, you may diſcharge all your anger upon me; yet think not whatever I ſay I would have offended you (that would have been unſeaſonable) only let me ſpeak, truths cannot be diſſembled, I undertook this War againſt you, not to ſeiſe the Sovereign Power after your defeat, but to reſtore to the Senate the Government of the Common-wealth, of which the Triumvirate deprived them, ſince when you eſtabliſhed it, you confeſſed your Government not lawful, but neceſſary for a time, ſo long as* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *with whom you could make no peace, ſubſiſted. After the Heads of that Diſſention were dead, the Remains of their Party (if yet there be any Remains) being ſtill in Arms, not againſt the Common-wealth, but becauſe they feared you, and the five years of the Triumvirate being expired, I demanded the reſtoration of the Magiſtrates power, according to the ancient order, preferring the good of my Country before mine own Brother, becauſe I hoped for his conſent at his return, and in the mean time to finiſh the work whilſt I was in authority; which had it proceeded from you, you alone had had the Glory of it; but not being able to perſwade you, I went to the City where I thought I might by force effect it, being a Citizen of conſiderable Birth, and withal Conſul. This is the ſole cauſe of this War, which ought neither to be attributed to my Brother, nor to* Manius, *nor to* Fulvia, *nor to the diſtribution made of Lands to thoſe Soldiers had ſerved at* Philippi, *nor to the compaſſion I might have conceived for thoſe turned out of their Beings, ſince I my ſelf ſent Commiſſioners on the places to ſettle my Brother's Legions in their Colonies, and to drive out the old Proprietors: but it* X

was your invention to throw upon me and the Colonies the cauſe of the War, and an artifice by which gaining the hearts of the Veterans you have got the Victory; for being perſuaded I was their Enemy, they have done all they could againſt me, and you had reaſon to make uſe of this policy, being in open War with me. Now you have got the Victory, if you are an Enemy to your Country treat me likewiſe as an Enemy; for I had a deſign to ſerve it, if I had not been hindred by want of Proviſion. Theſe things I ſpeak yielding my ſelf (as I have ſaid) freely up, to uſe at your diſcretion, and coming alone to you, that you may perceive what thoughts I have heretofore had of you, and what I ſtill preſerve. Thus far touching my ſelf: for what concerns my Friends, and all the reſt of the Army (if my advice may not be ſuſpected by you) I will give you what ſhall be for your advantage. Let me counſel you not to uſe them hardly for any difference between us, leſt, being ſtill a Man expoſed to the reach of Fortune, you make thoſe ſerve under you backward in hazarding themſelves to danger, when by your example they ſhall have learn'd there is no hopes of ſafety but in Victory. But if the counſels of an Enemy are not to be liſtened to, I beſeech you not to puniſh my Friends for my fault, or misfortune; but rather lay all the Load on me, who am the only cauſe of all that has happened. I have on purpoſe left them behind me, for fear leſt if I had ſpoke in their preſence it might have looked like an Artifice to gain favour for my ſelf.

To which *Cæſar* anſwered:

The Anſwer of *Cæſar* to *Lucius*.

WHen I ſaw you, Lucius, *coming to me without a Herald, I preſently came out of my Trenches to meet you; that you being ſtill Maſter of your ſelf might ſtill be at liberty to reſolve, ſay and do what you judged moſt advantageous for you; but ſince acknowledging your fault you yield to diſcretion, there is no need of a reply to what you impute to me with a great deal of cunning, and little truth. From the beginning you have had a deſire to vanquiſh me, and you now have done it: for had you deſired to capitulate, you had deſervedly met with a ſevere Conquerour, but now without any conditions you come to yield up your ſelf, your Friends and Army, you have taken away all anger, taken away all advantage I had over you; for I am now to conſider not ſo much what you deſerve as what becomes me, which I am glad to have the opportunity of doing, out of reſpect to the Gods, for my own intereſt, and for your ſake,* Lucius, *who ſhall not be deceived in that opinion of me which brought you hither.*

Theſe are near upon the very ſame words as I found them in the Commentaries of thoſe times.

XI. In theſe paſſages *Cæſar* admired the generous and unſhaken mind of *Lucius* ſo well biaſſed with prudence; and *Lucius* the great clemency and expeditious brevity of *Cæſar*, and others read in both their Faces the tenure of what they had ſpoke: *Lucius* preſently ſent his Tribunes to receive orders from *Cæſar*, who brought him the Muſter-Rolls of the whole Army, according to the cuſtom to this day when a Tribune comes for Orders, he preſents

preſents the General with a Counter-roll of thoſe ſerve under him. After having received Orders, they ſet the Watch as before, it being *Cæſar*'s pleaſure that for that night each Army ſhould lodge in their own Camp: on the morrow he offered Sacrifices, and *Lucius* ſent him all his Forces in Arms, and ready to march upon ſervice. As ſoon as they came in ſight of *Cæſar* they ſaluted him, calling him Emperour, and that done, drew up by Legions the Veterans apart from the new raiſed Men in a place by him appointed. After having performed the Ceremonies of the Sacrifices, *Cæſar* ſeated himſelf upon a Tribunal with a Wreath of Laurel on his Head, which is the Badge of Victory, and commanded them all to lay down their Arms, then he gave order for the Veterans to draw near, that he might terrifie them with reproaches of ingratitude; but his mind being known, all *Cæſar*'s Soldiers, whether ſuborned, or moved with affection towards their Fellow Citizens in diſtreſs, ſtepped out of their Ranks, and advancing towards *Lucius*'s Men, who had formerly been their Comrades, began to embrace them, weeping and emploring *Cæſar* for them, continuing their cries and their embraces, till ſuch time as the new raiſed Men being touched with a like compaſſion, the whole place became the object of univerſal ſorrow; wherefore *Cæſar* changing his deſign, having with much difficulty ſilenced their cries, thus ſpoke to his own Men:

The Oration of *Cæſar*.

YOu have always, Fellow Soldiers, ſo behaved your ſelves to me, that you can ask nothing I can deny: I believe the new Soldiers may have been forced to ſerve Lucius; *but for thoſe there who have ſo often born Arms with you, and with whom you now petition me, I would fain ask them what injury I have done them, or what they ever requeſted of me that I refuſed them, or what advantage they could hope from others might oblige them to take up Arms againſt me, againſt you, and againſt themſelves; for there is no labour to which I have not expoſed my ſelf for ſettling of the Colonies, in which they are to be ſharers; but take it not amiſs if their inſolency make me be no further concerned for them.*

But they inſtantly intreating him not to give over his care of them, and renewing their intreaties for their pardon.

I grant you, ſaid he, *whatever you deſire, let them be pardoned, provided for the future they be of one mind with you.*

Which after they had all promiſed, they with acclamations gave thanks to *Cæſar*, who permitted ſome of his to entertain the others as their Gueſts, and ordered the multitude to encamp apart in the ſame place where they had firſt drawn up, till ſuch time as he appointed Cities for their Winter Quarters, with Commiſſioners to conduct them. After which, before he roſe from the Tribunal, he cauſed to come to him *Lucius*, and all the perſons of Quality with him, among whom there were many Senators and Roman Knights, all caſt down, and ſorrowful for this ſudden and extraordinary change, who were no ſooner come out of *Perugia*, but a Garriſon

riſon entred the City: when they were come before *Cæſar*, he cauſed *Lucius* to be ſet down by him, and his Friends and Centurions took charge of the reſt, after being advertiſed to treat them honourably, but yet to have a care to ſecure their perſons. He ſent likewiſe to the People of *Perugia*, who begged pardon from their Walls, to come to him without their Senators, and he pardoned them, but their Senators were all impriſoned, and not long after ſlain, except only *Lucius Emulus*, who being at *Rome* one of the Judges of *Cæſar*'s Murderers, openly gave ſentence againſt them, and perſwaded others to do the like, to purge the City from that abominable villany. *Cæſar* had reſolved to give the plunder of *Perugia* to his Soldiers. But *Cæſtius* one of the Inhabitants, a crack-brained Fellow, who becauſe he had bore Arms in *Macedon* ſtiled himſelf *Macedonicus*, ſet fire to his Houſe, and threw himſelf into the Flames, which the wind driving throughout the whole City, it was in a moment reduced to aſhes, all but the Temple of *Vulcan*, ſuch was the end of *Perugia*, a City famous for its antiquity; for it is ſaid to be one of thoſe twelve Cities built by the ancient * Etruſcans, at their firſt coming into *Italy*, wherefore they formerly adored *Funo* after the manner of the Etruſcans; but now thoſe who divided among themſelves the ruines of the City, took *Vulcan* inſtead of *Funo* for their Tutelar Deity. The day following, *Cæſar* paſſed a general pardon; but the Army ſtill grumbling and growing tumultuous againſt ſome, forbore not till they were ſlain, who were all mighty Enemies to *Cæſar*, ſuch were *Canutius*, *C. Flavius*, *Clodius Bythinicus* and others.

* Tuſcans.

XII. This concluſion had the Siege of *Perugia*, together with the War againſt *Lucius*, moſt certainly a very perillous one, and which in all likelyhood might a long time have tormented *Italy*. For *Aſinius*, *Plancus*, *Ventidius*, *Craſſus*, *Ateius*, and others of this Party, who had in all conſiderable Forces, amounting to thirteen Legions, and ſix thouſand five hundred Horſe, reputing *Lucius* the Head of this War, retired every one a ſeveral way towards the Sea, part to *Brunduſium*, part to *Ravenna*, part to *Tarentum*, ſome of which went to ſeek out *Murcus* and *Ænobarbus*, others *Anthony*, ſtill followed in the rere by *Cæſar*'s Men, who offered them peace, which they refuſing, were by them much infeſted in their March; but two of theſe Legions left by *Plancus* at *Cameria*, *Agrippa* gained by fair promiſes. *Fulvia* likewiſe with her Children fled to *Puzzoli*, and from thence to *Brunduſium*, convoyed by three thouſand Horſe, ſent her by her Huſband's Lieutenants. At *Brunduſium* ſhe embarqued on five long Ships, ſent for out of *Macedon*, and departed with *Plancus* the future companion of her Voyage, who through cowardiſe deſerted the reſt of the Army, of which *Ventidius* after took the Conduct. *Aſinius* drew *Ænobarbus* to *Anthony*'s Party, which they both gave him aſſurance of by Letters, and becauſe he was to come into *Italy*, they ſecured convenient places for his landing, and laid in ſtores of Proviſion. On the other ſide, *Anthony* having ſtill other Forces near the *Alpes* commanded by *Calenus*, *Cæſar* deſigned to make himſelf Maſter of them, out of a jealouſie he had of *Anthony*, to keep them for him if he proved his Friend, or to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt him if it were true that he was not; but whilſt he was ſeeking a plauſible occaſion to do it, *Calenus* died; ſo that *Cæſar* laying hold of the opportunity, goes with all celerity and ſeiſes upon the Army, and with it of *Gaul* and *Spain* two of *Anthony*'s Provinces, *Fulvius* Son to *Calenus* out of fear yielding up all without oppoſition. Thus *Cæſar* being at one puſh ſtrengthened with eleven Legions, and theſe great Provinces, after having removed

moved the Commanders, and put his own Creatures in their places, returned to *Rome*.

But *Anthony* detained the Deputies of the Colonies ſent to him, either becauſe of the Winter Seaſon, or that they might not diſcover his Deſigns. At the beginning of Spring parting from *Alexandria* he came to *Tyre*, from thence paſſing to *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and the Province of *Aſia*, he heard of the ſucceſs of the Siege of *Perugia*, for which he blamed his Brother, his Wife, but eſpecially *Manius*. At *Athens* he met with *Fulvia*, flying from *Brunduſium*, and *Julia* his Mother, whom *Pompey* (to whom ſhe was fled for refuge) ſent upon long Ships, accompanied with the chief Men of Quality in his Party, *L. Libo* his Father-in-law, *Saturninus* and others, who beholding *Anthony*'s Magnificence, would have perſwaded him to an alliance with *Pompey* againſt *Cæſar*: to which he anſwered; *That indeed he was obliged to* Pompey *for ſending to him his Mother, which he would acknowledge in due ſeaſon; and if he muſt make War with* Cæſar, *would embrace his alliance; but if the friendſhip betwixt them ſtood firm, he would do his endeavours to reconcile* Pompey *to* Cæſar. Thus *Anthony* then anſwered: but when *Cæſar* returned to the City out of *Gaul*, underſtanding that ſome had ſailed from *Pompey* to *Athens*, but not hearing what anſwer they brought back, he began to make the old Soldiers and new Inhabitants of the Colonies jealous of *Anthony*, as if *Pompey* were ready by his allowance to come and drive them out, and place in their ancient poſſeſſions the old Proprietors, of whom many indeed had fled to him for refuge, which though eaſily believed, yet could not the affection of the Veterans to *Anthony* be ſo eaſily withdrawn, ſo much credit had the Battel of *Philippi* got him in the hearts of the Soldiers. *Cæſar*, though he thought that he ſhould be ſtronger than *Anthony*, *Pompey* and *Ænobarbus* all together in the number of Legions, for he had already above forty; yet neither having Shipping nor time to build any, he was much afraid that if they with five hundred Sail ſhould come and cruiſe about all the Coaſts of *Italy*, they would in a ſhort time ſtarve him; wherefore though many Virgins were offered him in Marriage he wrote to *Mæcenas* that he ſhould treat for him with *Scribonia* Siſter to *Libo* Father-in-law of *Pompey*, that by this means if it were neceſſary he might make peace with *Pompey*: this was no ſooner known to *Libo*, but by Letters he gave order that the Marriage ſhould forthwith be concluded. Henceforwards *Cæſar* when at any time he conceived a jealouſie of any of *Anthony*'s Friends or Forces under his Command, he ſent them to ſeveral places out of the way, and *Lepidus* he diſpatched with ſix of *Anthony*'s Legions he had in ſome ſuſpicion, into *Africa* the Province deſigned for him. He ſent likewiſe for *Lucius*, whom after he praiſed for his piety to his Brother, that what by his orders he had done, he would take the fault off upon himſelf; he yet accuſed him of ingratitude, that after ſo great an obligation he would not confeſs to him what every one talked publickly; that *Anthony* had entred into League with *Pompey* againſt him. XIII.

The

The Speech of *Cæſar* to *Lucius.*

CErtainly, ſaid he, *truſting to your words, after* Calenus's *death I preſerved for* Anthony *by the means of my Friends thoſe Legions and Provinces that he might not be left without command; but now perceiving his deſigns againſt me, I take them all as my own; but you, if you pleaſe, may ſecurely go to your Brother.*

Cæſar ſpoke thus either to try *Lucius*, or that what he ſaid might be told to *Anthony*: but *Lucius* anſwered him as he had done before.

The Anſwer of *Lucius* to *Cæſar.*

I *Knew*, ſaid he, *I muſt confeſs, the mind of* Fulvia *aſpiring to Dominion, and I made uſe of my Brother's Forces with hopes to ſuppreſs the power of you all; and if now my Brother comes to ſubvert Monarchy openly or privately, I will go to him, once more to make War for my Country againſt you, though ſo highly obliged to you; but if he ſeeks Aſſociates to maintain his tyranny, I will ſerve you againſt him ſo long as I ſhall believe you affect not the Monarchy; for I ſhall always prefer my affection to my Country before either Friend or Relation.*

Cæſar now again admiring *Lucius*, told him, that whatever offers he made, he ſhould not accept of his ſervice againſt his Brother; but that he thought ſuch a Man as he fit to be entruſted with the whole Province and Army of *Spain*, in which he ſhould have *Peduceius* and *Luceius* for his Lieutenants. Thus he ſent *Lucius* out of the way with Honour, having given private orders to his Lieutenants to watch him narrowly.

XIV. *Anthony* having left *Fulvia* ſick at *Sycione*, ſet ſail from *Corcyra* to paſs the Ionian Sea with two hundred Ships he had built in *Aſia*, wherein he had but very ſlender Forces. Upon advice that *Ænobarbus* came to meet him with a great Fleet and a mighty Army, ſome were jealous that he would not prove faithful to the new made peace, becauſe he had been condemned as an Abettor of *Cæſar*'s death, and therefore put in the number of the Proſcribed, and had taken part againſt *Cæſar* and *Anthony* in the Battel of *Philippi*. But *Anthony*, that he might not ſeem to diſtruſt any thing, held on his courſe with five of his beſt Ships, commanding the reſt to follow at a diſtance; when *Ænobarbus* with all his Fleet and Army were come in ſight, *Plancus*, who was on board of *Anthony*, began to be afraid, and adviſed him to ſtop and ſend ſome before to make tryal of the Faith of this doubted Man. But *Anthony* made anſwer; *That he had rather periſh by the violation of a peace, than ſave himſelf by betraying the leaſt fear.* They were now come ſo nigh, that they knew eaſily each other, and the Admi-

ral's

ral's Ships ſtood Stem to Stem with their Flags aloft, when *Anthony*'s chief Lictor ſtanding on the Prow, according to cuſtom, whether he had forgot that they were making towards a Man, whoſe Faith was in ſome queſtion, and who had under his Command an Army of his own, or moved by the cuſtomary duty of Subjects and inferiours to their Superiours, he commanded them aloud to ſtrike their Flag, which they obeyed, and brought up their Ship along *Anthony*'s ſide; then the Commanders having ſaluted each other, *Ænobarbus*'s Soldiers called *Anthony* Emperour, and *Plancus* with much ado recovered out of his fright. *Anthony* having received *Ænobarbus* into his Ship, they ſailed to *Paleonta* where *Ænobarbus*'s Land Forces lay, where he reſigned up his Tent to *Anthony* as his General. From thence embarquing they ſailed to *Brunduſium*, kept with five Cohorts for *Cæſar*, where the Inhabitants ſhut their Gates againſt them, againſt *Ænobarbus* as their ancient Enemy, and againſt *Anthony* for being in their Enemies company: *Anthony* enraged at this refuſal, and thinking it only a pretence, and that indeed *Cæſar*'s Men by his orders hindred his entrance, went and ſeiſed upon the Neck of the *Peninſula*, drew a line croſs, and fortified it; for the City ſtands in a *Peninſula* in form of a Creſcent; ſo that now there was no coming to the City by Land, the Line being drawn from one Sea to the other: he likewiſe raiſed Forts round the Port, which is very ſpacious, and in the Iſlands wherewith it is encompaſſed, and ſent along the Coaſts of *Italy* to ſeiſe of all commodious places, and diſpatched withal at the ſame time to *Pompey* to oblige him as much as poſſibly he could with his Fleet to infeſt *Italy*. He very gladly ſent *Menodorus* with a ſtrong Fleet and four Legions into *Sardinia*, which then held for *Cæſar*, where he drew two Legions to his Party, ſcared with the agreement between *Anthony* and *Pompey*. In the mean time *Anthony*'s Men took *Saguntum* in *Auſonia*, and *Pompey* beſieged *Thuria* and *Conſentia*, and ſent his Horſemen into their their Territories. *Cæſar* aſſailed in ſo many places at once, ſent *Agrippa* to relieve thoſe in *Auſonia*, who, paſſing by the Colonies, commanded the Veterans to follow him, as if he were to lead them againſt *Pompey*; but when they were told he acted by *Anthony*'s orders, they ſtole away every Man to their Houſes, which moſt of all terrified *Cæſar*. However, he went in perſon to *Brunduſium* with another Army, and by ſeaſonable Careſſes drew the Veterans to their duty; they now following him out of a real reſpect and reverence to his perſon, and yet holding among themſelves ſecret conferences of reconciling him with *Anthony*, whom if they found obſtinate, to make War, they would then defend their General's honour, who was now ſome days detained at *Canuſium*: in Men he much outnumbred *Anthony*; but when he ſaw *Brunduſium* ſo beleaguered, that he could no way force the Lines, he contented himſelf to encamp near it, to view the Enemy, and wait a favourable occaſion. Though *Anthony* was ſo well fortified in his Trenches, that he could well have defended himſelf againſt much greater Forces than *Cæſar*'s, yet he ſent with all ſpeed for his Army out of *Macedon*: and in the mean time by this ſtratagem amuſed *Cæſar*, he ſent by night on board the long Ships and Veſſels of Burthen great numbers of Countrymen and Servants, and in the day time landed them again one after another all armed in the ſight of *Cæſar*, as if they had been armed out of *Macedon*. And now his Machines being in a readineſs, he began his Batteries upon *Brunduſium*, to *Cæſar*'s great grief, who could no way relieve the place, when towards the Evening news was brought to both Parties that *Agrippa* had retaken *Tiguntum*, and that *Pompey* repulſed from *Thuria*, continued the Siege of *Conſentia*, which much troubled *Anthony*;

but when he heard that *Servilius* with twelve hundred Horſe was gone over to *Cæſar*, he could not contain himſelf, but riſing from Supper he mounted with ſuch of his Friends as were in a readineſs, and accompanied only by four hundred Horſe with a ſingular boldneſs beat up the Quarters of fifteen hundred near *Utria*, and ſo ſurpriſed them, that they yielding, he brought them the ſame day before *Brunduſium*, ſuch an opinion of his being invincible had the Battel of *Philippi* got him. The Pretorian Soldiers heightened by this ſucceſs, went afterwards one after another up to *Cæſar*'s Trenches, upbraiding their ancient Comrades for bearing Arms againſt *Anthony*, who had ſaved their lives at *Philippi*. Whereupon the others anſwering, that on the contrary they made War upon them, they came at length to Conferences, wherein they began their reciprocal complaints; on one ſide that they had refuſed them entrance into *Brunduſium*, and corrupted *Calenus*'s Army; and the other, that they had beſieged *Brunduſium*, made inroads into *Auſonia*, treated with *Ænobarbus* one of *Cæſar*'s Murderers, and with *Pompey* their common Enemy. At length *Cæſar*'s Men diſcovered their inclinations to the other, that they followed *Cæſar* without having forgot the Virtues of *Anthony*, and that their deſign was to procure a reconciliation between their Generals, to which, if *Anthony* would by no other means be inclined, then they muſt repel force with force; all which they went and publiſhed even before *Anthony*'s Trenches.

XV. Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the opportune news was brought of the death of *Fulvia*, who not able to bear her Husband's reproofs, was fallen ſick with diſcontent that he was angry with her, for he had left her ſick, and at his departure not vouchſafed to viſit her, which haſtened her end. All Men believed her death commodious for both Parties; for ſhe was a Woman of a turbulent ſpirit, and who only out of her jealouſie of *Cleopatra* had kindled this War. However, *Anthony* ſeemed much grieved at the accident, as believing himſelf the cauſe. There was one *Lucius Cocceius* intimately a Friend to both Generals, whom the Summer before *Cæſar* had ſent with *Cecinna* as his Envoy to *Anthony* then in *Phœnicia*, *Cecinna* forthwith returning, he had till now ſtayed with *Anthony*. Thus *Cocceius* laying hold on the occaſion, feigned that he was recalled by *Cæſar*, and deſired audience to take his leave, and *Anthony* permitting him to depart, he trying him farther, asked whether he would not write to *Cæſar*, having received Letters from him by the ſame *Cocceius*, to which *Anthony* replyed: *What can we now write to one another being Enemies, unleſs it be mutual reproaches; beſides I then returned him anſwer by* Cecinna, *the Copies of which you may take if you pleaſe.* To this cavil *Cocceius* made retort that *Cæſar* was not to be called an Enemy, who had ſo favourably treated *Lucius* and other Friends of his. *But me*, ſaid *Anthony*, *he has ſhut out of* Brunduſium, *ſeiſed upon my Provinces, and* Calenus's *Army. As for his favour ſhewed only to my Friends, that has not ſo much preſerved their Friendſhip to me, as made them my Enemies by his kindneſs. Cocceius* hearing him enter upon complaints, would no farther move an angry Man, but went to *Cæſar*, who ſeeing him, and wondred he was returned no ſooner, *Is it* (ſaid he to him) *becauſe I ſaved your Brother's life that you are become my Enemy? Cocceius* anſwered; *Is it ſo you call your Friends Enemies, and take away their Provinces and Armies?* Cæſar hereto replyed; *After* Calenus's *death ſhould I have left in the hand of ſuch a young Man Forces of ſuch conſequence,* Anthony *being abſent,* Lucius *diſcontent,* Aſinius *and* Ænobarbus *hard by, and ready to employ them againſt us? 'Twas the ſame reaſon made me haſten*

to

to get Plancus's *Legions into my hands, leſt they ſhould have joyned with* Pompey, *as the Horſe did who went over into* Sicily. To which *Cocceius* made anſwer, that things had been otherwiſe repreſented to *Anthony*, yet he did not believe them, till as an Enemy he was ſhut out of *Brunduſium*. *That was not done by any command of mine*, replyed *Cæſar*, *nor could I divine that he was coming to land there, or dream that he ſhould come along with Enemies. The Inhabitants of* Brunduſium, *and the Officers left there in Garriſon to oppoſe the attempts of* Ænobarbus, *did without orders from me ſhut their Gates againſt* Anthony, *newly confederated with* Pompey *our common Enemy, and bringing along with him* Ænobarbus *a Parricide, condemned by publick ſentence, proſcribed, and who after the Battel of* Philippi *beſieged* Brunduſium, *and to this day waſtes all the Coaſts of the Ionian Sea, who burnt my Ships, and plunders all* Italy. To which *Cocceius* made reply: *You reſerved to one another the liberty to treat with whom you pleaſed*; Anthony *has no more made peace with any Murderer of your Father than your ſelf, he has too great an honour for his memory,* Ænobarbus *was none of the Parricides, but condemned by malicious Judges, when not conſcious of the conſpiracy. And if we think him unworthy of favour for being a Friend to* Brutus, *we muſt have a care leſt we make all Men our Enemies. The peace was made too with* Pompey *not with deſign to quarrel with you, but that if you made War upon* Anthony, *he might have him for an Aſſociate, and if you did not, to reconcile you together, as being a Man you can impeach with no crime. In this too, you are in the fault; for had there been no motion of War in* Italy, *they durſt not have ſent Deputies to* Anthony. Thereupon *Cæſar* purſuing his complaints, ſaid, *'Twas* Manius, Fulvia *and* Lucius *made War upon me and* Italy, *and never durſt* Pompey *before with his Forces attempt the Coaſts till he was encouraged to it by* Anthony. *Not only encouraged*, ſaid *Cocceius*, *but commanded, for I will hide nothing from you: he will with his Fleet invade the reſt of* Italy, *now deſtitute as it is of Shipping, unleſs you make peace.* Whereto *Cæſar*, who had not without reflections liſtened to this diſcourſe of *Cocceius*: ſaid, *However*, Pompey *has but little to brag of, being repulſed from* Thuria. Hereupon *Cocceius* having now a full inſight of their controverſies, made mention of *Fulvia*'s death, how not enduring her Husband's diſpleaſure, ſhe fell ſick, and her Diſtemper increaſing by a continual melancholy, that *Anthony* was ſo unkind as not to viſit her in her ſickneſs, it had haſtened her end. *And now ſhe is dead*, ſaid he, *there needs nothing more than that you explain your mutual ſuſpicions to one another. Cæſar* mollified by this diſcourſe of *Cocceius*, made him his Gueſt for that day, who entreated him as the younger to write to *Anthony* his elder: he denyed writing to his Enemy, from whence he had received no Letters, but complained that his Mother whom he had always ſo perfectly honoured, as his Kinſwoman, had fled out of *Italy*, as if ſhe could not have commanded him as if he had been her own Son; ſo under this pretence *Cæſar* wrote to *Fulia*. As *Cocceius* was going out of the Camp many Centurions diſcovered to him the mind of the Army, who with all the reſt told this likewiſe to *Anthony*, that he might underſtand what a War he was about to engage himſelf in if he made not peace with *Cæſar*. Wherefore he adviſed him to remand *Pompey*, who waſted *Italy*, into *Sicily*, and to ſend *Ænobarbus* into ſome other part, till new Leagues were made. To this *Fulia* his Mother joyning her prayers and intreaties; there was nothing ſtood in the way but the ſhame *Anthony* feared he ſhould be expoſed to, if the Peace not ſucceeding he ſhould again be forced to have recourſe to *Pompey*'s aſſiſtance; but his Mother putting him in hopes, confirmed by *Cocceius* partaker of *Cæſar*'s privacies,

Anthony consented, caused *Pompey* to return to *Sicily*, promising to take care of all matters agreed on between them, and sending *Ænobarbus* Governour into *Bithynia*; which as soon as *Cæsar*'s Army knew, they chose Deputies to go to both Generals, whom they besought to refrain from accusing each other; for they were not made choice of to judge, but to reconcile them; so that making *Cocceius* Friend to both for Arbitrator, and nominating *Pollio* for *Anthony*, and *Mæcenas* for *Cæsar*, they decreed a mutual oblivion for all past offences, and perfect friendship for the future. And because *Marcellus*, Husband to *Octavia Cæsar*'s Sister, was lately dead, the authors of the peace desired *Cæsar* to give his Sister in marriage to *Anthony*: she was soon promised, with happy auguries, for these accommodations were atttended with universal acclamation of both Armies, with vows for their prosperity, and continued rejoycings, which held all that day and the next night.

XVI. Then *Cæsar* and *Anthony* made a new division of the Roman Empire, setling for the bounds of eithers Dominion *Scodra* a Town in *Illyria*, which seemed seated in the Center of the Adriatick Gulf; from whence Eastward as far as the *Euphrates* all the Provinces and Islands were to be under the command of *Anthony*; and *Cæsar* was to have all Westward as far as the Ocean, except *Africa* which was left to *Lepidus* under the same conditions he had received it from *Cæsar*. They agreed likewise that *Cæsar* should make War with *Pompey*, if some change happened not, and *Anthony* against the Parthians to revenge *Crassus*'s death; that *Ænobarbus* should be received into league by *Cæsar*, on the same conditions *Anthony* had before granted him. And that both Generals might have equal power to raise Soldiers in *Italy*. In these Heads consisted the last league between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*: soon after which they sent away their Friends to dispatch urgent Affairs, *Anthony* sent *Ventidius* into *Asia* to oppose the attempts of the Parthians and the young *Labienus*, who being joyned with them, infested *Syria* as far as *Ionia*, taking the advantage of the Civil Wars. But how *Labienus* and the Parthians were punished, we have writ in the Book of the Parthians War. About the same time, *Menodorus Pompey*'s Admiral again drew out of *Sardinia Helenus* one of *Cæsar*'s Lieutenants, which was the main reason of *Cæsar*'s being so incensed, that he would not admit of *Anthony*'s intermission to reconcile him with *Pompey*. Afterwards being returned to the City, the Nuptials were solemnised, and *Anthony* put *Manius* to death for exasperating *Fulvia* against *Cleopatra*, and making her the author of so many mischiefs. He likewise discovered to *Cæsar* how *Salvidienus*, who commanded the Army in *Gallia Narbonensis*, would have revolted to him, and to that purpose had sent an express to him at the Siege of *Brundusium*: all Men did not much applaud him for it, but he revealed this secret to shew his frankness and the reality of his reconciliation: *Cæsar* forthwith sent command to *Salvidienus* to make haste to him, as if he had something of importance to communicate, after which he would send him back to the Army; but at his arrival reproaching him with his treachery, he put him to death, and gave his Army, being jealous of it, to *Anthony*. Mean while, the People were much oppressed with Famine; for the Merchants could bring nothing from the East, for fear of *Pompey* and *Sicily*, nor from the West, because *Sardinia* and *Corsica* were in the possession of *Pompey* too. Nor out of *Africa*, because of the Enemies Ships cruising in the open Sea; wherefore the People attributing the cause of their want of Bread to the division of those who commanded, continually reviled them, urging

urged them to make peace with *Pompey*. But when thus neither they could not incline *Cæsar* to it, *Anthony* counselled him to haſten the War to remedy the preſent diſtreſs: but becauſe there was no Money to make the preparation, they made an Edict by which Maſters were taxed in twenty five Seſterces for every Slave they had (the like whereof had been before in the War with *Caſſius*) and withal a certain part to be payed out of new Inheritances. The People enraged, tore down this Edict whereever it was fixed up, growing furious, that after the treaſury was exhauſted, the Provinces drained dry, and *Italy* ruined by continual Impoſts and Confiſcations, the Citizens ſhould be taxed for what they had yet left, and that not to employ in foreign Wars, where the Honour of the Empire might lie at ſtake, but to revenge particular Mens quarrels, and increaſe their power, to which they were mounted by Proſcriptions and Murders, and for which the People were fain to ſuffer Famine and Miſery. They gathered together by Troops, railing in the Streets, throwing Stones at thoſe who would not joyn with them, and threatening to plunder and ſet fire on their Houſes, till at length the whole multitude was got into a Body. *Cæſar* going with his Guards and ſome Friends to appeaſe them, and give them reaſons for what he had done, as ſoon as they ſaw him they let fly their Stones, and though he ſtirred not, but ſtood their Blows, yet they had no reverence nor reſpect to him; of which *Anthony* having notice, ran ſpeedily to his relief, as he came up the *Via Sacra* none threw Stones at him, becauſe he was diſpoſed to make Peace with *Pompey*, they only warned him to be gone; but when that prevailed not, the Stones flew likewiſe about his Ears. Whereupon he ſent for the Soldiers who were without the City, and when the People forbore not their violences, the Soldiers having encompaſſed them on both ſides came up the croſs Streets upon them in the place, and in the great Street, charging the firſt he met with, who not able to flie becauſe of the Crowd, and not being in a poſture of defence, the Streets were ſoon filled with dead and wounded Men, and the Windows with cryes and lamentations. Thus *Anthony* hardly eſcaping himſelf, withdrew *Cæſar* from manifeſt danger, and brought him to his Houſe. The multitude being put to flight, they commanded the Soldiers to caſt the Corps into *Tiber*, not to expoſe the ſad ſpectacle to the Citizens view, but this cauſed a far greater affliction, when they beheld them carried away with the ſtream, or ſtripped by the Soldiers, among whom were mingled ſeveral Brokers, who carried away thoſe were beſt clad, as if they had belonged to their Family. However, this miſchief at length had an end, but not the multitudes hate and malice to theſe Men, nor yet the Famine which the miſerable People underwent with groans and tears.

Anthony hereupon gave advice to *Libo*'s Friends to invite him out of *Sicily*, to rejoyce with his Relations, and poſſibly do a work of greater importance, promiſing to be ſecurity for his perſon. They preſently wrote to him, nor did *Pompey* at all detain him. In his Voyage he landed in an Iſland formerly called *Pithicuſa*, and at preſent *Ænario*, which as ſoon as the People heard of, they again aſſembled, beſeeching *Cæſar* with tears in their eyes to ſend a Paſs-port to *Libo* who came with Propoſals of Peace, which though with ſeeming unwillingneſs he granted. That done the multitude ran to *Mutia*, *Pompey*'s Mother, threatening to burn her if ſhe did not go to her Son, and diſpoſe him to a Peace. *Libo* perceiving their Enemies not ſo hot againſt them as formerly, deſired a conference between the Generals, to the end they might compoſe all matters between themſelves, XVII.

which

which after the Peoples earneſt prayers had obtained, *Cæſar* and *Anthony* went to *Baiæ*. *Pompey*'s Friends all with one voice adviſed him to Peace, except only *Menodorus*, who wrote to him from *Sardinia*, that he ought rather now to make War, or at leaſt temporize, whilſt Famine fought for them, that when they judged it fit to conclude a Peace, they might do it on more advantageous conditions, he likewiſe warned him to have a care of *Murcus*, who counſelled him to make Peace only for the advancement of his particular fortune; wherefore *Pompey*, who was before jealous of *Murcus*'s experience and authority broke now utterly with him, and no longer took his counſel in any thing: ſo *Murcus* in diſcontent retired to *Syracuſa*, where perceiving ſome of *Pompey*'s Guards that followed him by his orders, he in their preſence railed at and reviled him, this haſtened his end; for *Pompey* having corrupted one of his Tribunes, and one of his Centurions, ſent People to ſlay him, giving out that he was murdered by his Slaves, whom they hanged, to give the more credit to the cheat. However, after what had happened to *Bithynicus*, Men eaſily believed this ſecond attempt committed on the perſon of a Man famous for his experience in War, a conſtant Friend to *Pompey*'s Faction from the very beginning, who had done him ſignal ſervice in *Spain*, and of his own accord came to him in *Sicily*. After his death all *Pompey*'s Friends exhorted him to Peace, accuſing *Menodorus* of being in love with Command, conſidering more his own than his Maſters intereſt, finding it profitable to govern a Province with an Army; ſo *Pompey* embarqued for *Ænaria* with many choice Ships, and himſelf on a moſt beautiful Galley of ſix Banks; and thus in great ſtate came ſailing towards the Evening by *Puteoli*, in view of the Enemy. As ſoon as day next Morning appeared, they drove Piles into the Sea, at ſome diſtance one from the other, and thereon laid two Bridges, upon one of which to the Land-ſide mounted *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, and *Pompey* and *Libo* on the other, which was ſeparate on the firſt by a ſmall interval of water; ſo that without ſpeaking aloud they could hardly hear each other, *Pompey* pretended to be Aſſociate in the Empire, in the room of *Lepidus*; and the others would only grant him the liberty to return to *Rome*, ſo they parted without doing any thing: yet their Friends kept on foot the Negotiation, making divers Propoſitions on the one part and the other; *Pompey* in behalf of the Proſcripts had fled to him for refuge, demanded that ſuch as were culpable, or Abettors of *Cæſar*'s Murder might be in ſecurity in their Exile, and that the others might with Honour be recalled into the City, and put into poſſeſſion of their Eſtates: upon this demand Famine, and the People urging for Peace, *Anthony* and *Cæſar* agreed that they might redeem from the new Poſſeſſors a fourth part of their Eſtates only, and they wrote to them about it, as ſuppoſing they would be therewith contented, and indeed ſo they were, for they began now to ſtand in fear of *Pompey*, inſtructed by *Murcus* his misfortune, going therefore to him, and perſwading him to Peace, he rent his Robe, ſaying, he was betrayed by thoſe for whom he had expoſed himſelf, and calling by name *Menodorus* as the ſole Man worthy of Command, and the only Friend he had. At length by the inſtigation of *Mutia* his Mother, and *Julia* his Wife, they met again only they three on a little Eminence, encompaſſed on all ſides by the Sea, about which they had placed Guards with Ships for their common ſecurity. Here they agreed to theſe Conditions; That all War ſhould ceaſe between them, both by Sea and Land, that there ſhould be a free trade and commerce in all places, that *Pompey* ſhould withdraw all his Garriſons out of *Italy*, that he ſhould harbour no more Fugitives, that his Ships

ſhould

ſhould cruiſe no more on the Italian Coaſts; that he ſhould have the command of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, with the other adjacent Iſles for ſo long as *Anthony* and *Cæſar* held the Sovereign Power, but with condition of ſending to *Rome* what Corn thoſe Iſlands ought to the Citizens, and that beſides all this he ſhould have the *Peloponneſus*; that being abſent he might exerciſe the charge of Conſul by one of his Friends, and ſhould be received into the Colledge of the High Prieſts; that all perſons of Quality might return to the City except the Conſpirators who had been condemned by publick ſentence; that the Goods of all thoſe fled to *Pompey* without being proſcribed ſhould be reſtored, except the Moveables; and for the Proſcripts that they ſhould have a fourth part; that all who had ſerved under *Pompey* ſhould be rewarded, if Slaves with Freedom, and if Freemen, when they had ſerved the time appointed by Law, with the ſame recompences as the Veterans of *Cæſar* and *Anthony* received. Theſe were the Articles, which after being ingroſſed and ſigned, were ſent to *Rome* to be depoſited in the hands of the Veſtals. This done, they by lot feaſted each other: *Pompey* began, who laying his Galley ſide to the Rock therein received his Gueſts; the days following *Anthony* and *Cæſar* treated him, pitching Tents on the ſame Rock, with pretence that the Feaſt might be diſtributed better to the Shore, but perhaps that their mirth might be more ſecure; for there was nothing remitted of the uſual care, both the Ships were in their ſtations, and the Guards at their Poſts, and the Gueſts themſelves had Daggers under their Robes. 'Tis reported, that *Menodorus*, when they feaſted in the Galley, ſent to adviſe *Pompey*, that taking this advantage of his Enemies, he ſhould revenge the wrongs his Father and Brother had ſuffered, and recover the authority they had taken from his Father, and he would be anſwerable that not one ſhould eſcape out of the Ships. But *Pompey* made him an anſwer worthy his Birth and the preſent Affair: *Would to God*, ſaid he, Menodorus *could have done this without me*; *for perjury may become him*, *but never* Pompey. At this Supper *Pompey*'s Daughter, Neice to *Libo*, was contracted to *Marcellus*, Nephew to *Anthony*, *Cæſar*'s Siſter's Son. The day following Conſuls were deſigned for four years: firſt of all *Anthony* and *Libo*, but to *Anthony* with leave to make a Subſtitute, then *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, then *Ænobarbus* and *Soſius*, and laſtly *Cæſar* and *Anthony* again, who being now to be Conſuls together the third time, it was hoped they would reſtore the ancient Adminiſtration of the Common-wealth.

XVIII. Things thus concluded on, they departed, *Pompey* by Sea to *Sicily*, and *Cæſar* and *Anthony* by land to *Rome*. Upon the news of the Peace an univerſal joy was ſpread through the City and all *Italy*, Men were tranſported to ſee themſelves delivered from an inteſtine War, from being often picked out, and forced to go, from the inſolency of the Garriſons, from the flight of Slaves, from the waſting of their Lands, and lying fallow of their Fields, but above all from Famine, which began to grow inſupportable: wherefore whereever the Generals paſſed, Sacrifices were made to them as to the Saviours of their Country. And the City had prepared a magnificent entry, had they not rather choſe to go in by night, that they might not put the Citizens to charge. All ſhared in this general joy, ſave only thoſe who were poſſeſſed of any Lands of the baniſhed, which by the Treaty were to be reſtored, for they believed they ſhould have but ill Neighbours of them, and that upon all occaſions they would ſeek their deſtruction. And indeed all the Fugitives who had hitherto followed *Pompey*,

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except only a very few, after having taken their leave of him at *Puteoli*, embarqued and came for *Rome*, at whoſe arrival the People conceived a new joy, which they made appear by thoſe Acclamations wherewith they entertained ſo many illuſtrious perſons, beyond all hopes returned to their Country. After this *Cæſar* marched into *Gaul*, where there were happened ſome Commotions; and *Anthony* diſpoſed his Affairs to go againſt the Parthians. In the firſt place he cauſed the Senate to approve not only what he had done, but whatever he ſhould do for the future, ſent away his Lieutenants into all parts, and diſpoſed what elſe he thought fit at pleaſure. Then he gave Kingdoms to ſeveral, upon condition of paying Tribute. To *Darius* Son of *Pharnaces* and Grandſon to *Mithridates* the Kingdom of *Pontus*: to *Herod Idumea* and *Samaria*: to *Amintas Piſidia*: to *Polemon* part of *Cilicia*: and in ſhort, to many others other Nations which he erected into Kingdoms. As for the Army that was to winter with him, that he might accuſtom them both to the profits and exerciſes of War, he ſent one part of them into the Country of the Parthians a Nation of *Illyria*, neighbouring upon *Epidamnum*, formerly very affectionate to *Brutus*: and another Party into the Country of the Dardanians, who are another People of *Illyria* uſed to make Inroads into *Macedon*, and gave orders to the reſt to tarry for him in *Epire*, that he might have them all about him, being reſolved himſelf to winter at *Athens*. He likewiſe ſent *Furnius* into *Africa* to cauſe *Sextius*'s four Legions to march againſt the Parthians; for as yet he underſtood not that *Lepidus* had taken them from *Sextius*. Things thus ordered, he ſpent this Winter at *Athens* with *Octavia*, in the ſame manner as he had done the former with *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*, all his buſineſs being only to look upon the Letters brought him from the Army, he laid aſide his Imperial Robe, cloathing himſelf again in the Attick Cloak and Hoſe, having no Guards at his Gate, and walking through the City like a private perſon, without any Enſigns of his Dignity, and accompanied only with two Friends and two ſervants, with whom he went to the Schools to hear Diſputes and Orations; he likewiſe ſupped the Winter after the Greek manner, having always Greeks in his company, and aſſiſting at their Ceremonies, to the great content of *Octavia*, of whom he was very fond; for he was naturally inclined to the love of Women. But Winter being paſt, he ſeemed no more the ſame Man, he reſumed the Imperial Habit, and took the Enſigns of his authority, his Gates ſeemed now as it were beſieged with Lictors, Officers and Guards, to beget an awe of his power, he gave audience to Embaſſadors, whom before he would not admit, adminiſtred juſtice to private perſons, and ſent for Ships from all parts, and made a mighty noiſe with his preparations.

XIX. Whilſt he was buſied in theſe things, there happened ſome diſturbances of the Peace between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, for what certain cauſes not known, but thoſe that publickly appeared were theſe, *Anthony* had quitted the *Peloponneſus* to *Pompey* on condition he ſhould pay what the Peloponneſians ought, or promiſe to pay it, or elſe give ſome time for the recovery of it; but *Pompey* would not receive it in on theſe terms, thinking the Province quitted to him with all its debts; wherewith, through diſcontent, (as *Cæſar* ſaid) or through infidelity, or out of envy to others who had great Armies, or becauſe he truſted *Menodorus*, who ſaid they had not made a Peace but a Truce, he prepared again and fitted out a Fleet, and in a ſpeech to his Army told them, there was more need than ever of new preparations. He likewiſe encouraged Pyrates underhand to infeſt the Seas, ſo that little

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or no remedy was brought to the Famine in the City, and the comfortleſs People cryed out, that by this Peace they had not redreſſed any of their miſeries, but only added a fourth perſon to the Tyranny. Hereupon ſome Pyrates being taken, *Cæſar* cauſed them to be brought to the wrack, where they confeſſed they were ſet on by *Pompey*, which *Cæſar* made known to the People; he wrote about it likewiſe to *Pompey*, who ſtoutly denying it, made his complaints about the *Peloponneſus*. But ſome Noble Men that were about *Pompey* perceiving that he always followed the the counſel of his Freed Men, corrupted ſome of them, either of their own free motion, or for *Cæſar*'s ſake, to incenſe *Pompey* againſt *Menodorus* as a Man commanding his Maſter. They were eaſily drawn to do this, out of the envy they bore this powerful Favourite, ſo they ſoon begot in *Pompey* an averſion to *Menodorus*. It happened that at the ſame time *Philadelphus Cæſar*'s Freed Man came to *Menodorus* to buy Corn, and *Mycilius*, *Menodorus* confident went to *Rome* to treat with *Cæſar* about his revolt, to whom he offered *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, three Legions and many of his Friends: whether *Philadelphus* had procured *Cæſar* this good fortune, or elſe it proceeded from *Pompey*'s diſguſts of *Menodorus*, he made difficulty of accepting it, yet did it, judging the Peace already broken. He diſpatched forthwith to *Anthony* at *Athens* to deſire him to come by an appointed day to *Brunduſium*, to confer with him about this War, he cauſed long Ships to be brought from *Ravenna*, and ſent in all haſte for his Army out of *Gaul* with all its ſtores of warlike Furniture, one part of which he ſent to *Brunduſium*, and the other to *Puteoli*, reſolved to invade *Sicily* on both ſides, if *Anthony* approved it: *Anthony* came at the ſame time prefixed with a ſlender Train, but not finding *Cæſar* there, would not ſtay, whether he approved not this War undertaken againſt ſolemn Leagues, whether he were not pleaſed to ſee the great preparations of *Cæſar*, (for being Competitors for Empire, they were always jealous of each other) or whether he was frightned by a prodigy, for one of thoſe who were upon the Guard about his Quarters, was found eaten up by Beaſts, all but the Face, as if that had been left to know him by, without ever ſo much as crying out, or the leaſt knowledge of thoſe that ſlept by him. All that could be diſcovered, was, that they of *Brunduſium* ſaid, that in the Morning they ſaw a Wolf come out from among the Tents. However, *Anthony* wrote to *Cæſar* he ought not to break the peace, and threatned to clap *Menodorus* in Irons as his Fugitive Slave, for he had been Slave to *Pompey* the Great, whoſe Goods *Anthony* bought under the Spear by right of War. Yet *Cæſar* ſent Men into the Iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica* to take poſſeſſion of them from *Menodorus*, and cauſed Forts to be built upon all the Coaſts of *Italy* to hinder *Pompey* from making any ſpoil, giving orders for building other Ships at *Ravenna*, and ſending for a powerful Army that was in *Illyria*, and when *Menodorus* came to him, from one enfranchiſed made him abſolutely free, by giving him the Command of the Fleet he brought with him, yet but in quality of Lieutenant to *Calviſius* his Admiral. Though things were thus well diſpoſed, yet he would make greater preparations before he began the War, complaining of *Anthony*, that he had not ſtaid for him: however, he gave order to *Cornificius* to bring what Ships he had in readineſs from *Ravenna* to *Tarentum*; in his paſſage there aroſe a furious Tempeſt, in which there yet periſhed only the Admiral, built on purpoſe for *Cæſar* himſelf, which was made an Omen of what was to happen, for moſt men thought this War renewed by the violation of the Treaty; to remove which ſuſpicion, *Cæſar* wrote to the Roman People, and ſpoke in perſon to the Army, telling

them *Pompey* had broke the League, by infesting the Sea with Pyrates, which was evident, both by confession of the Pyrates themselves, and of *Menodorus*, of which *Antonius* was not yet ignorant, and therefore delivered not up to him the *Peloponnesus*.

XX. When all his preparations were in a readiness, he embarqued at *Tarentum* to go and invade *Sicily* on one side, whilst *Calvisius*, *Sabinus* and *Menodorus*, who set sail from *Etruria*, invested it on the other; and the Land Army marched towards *Rhegium* with wonderful diligence. *Pompey* perceived not that *Menodorus* had revolted from him to *Cæsar*, till he came before *Sicily*. However, seeing himself assailed on both sides, he resolved to expect *Cæsar* at *Messina*, and opposed against *Calvisius* and *Menodorus* a great Fleet under the Command of *Menecrates* his Freed Man, who out of mutual emulation was a mortal Enemy to *Menodorus*. *Menecrates* comes out to Sea, presenting himself about Evening to the Enemy, who retired into a Gulf above *Cuma*, where they anchored that night, and he steered his course towards the Island of *Ænaria*. As soon as it was day, the Enemy coasting about the Bay, drawn up in form of a Crescent, for fear of being broken, *Menecrates* appeared in sight, and made towards them; but seeing they would not be drawn off from the Shore-side, and that he could not do what he designed, with a fierce charge he drove them a ground; so with their sterns ashore, and their Prows to Seaward, they lay upon their defence in such manner, that it was easie for the Enemy to come and give them a shock, and then tacking about to stand off to Sea, and so return again upon them with fresh and fresh Ships, they had likewise the Rocks to struggle with, on which many stuck so fast, that neither moving Head nor Stern, it seemed like a kind of Sea-fight against a Land Force, one of which could neither flie, nor the other pursue. Mean while *Menodorus* and *Menecrates* having discovered each other, leaving the rest of the Fight with mutual shouts and fury begin an assault, and in all appearance which of these two got the better would carry the Victory for his Party. In the charge they met so fiercely, that both Ships were disabled, *Menodorus* lost his * Beak-head, and *Menecrates* Oars were broken. At length, having cast their Graplings on Board, they lashed their Ships fast together, and began a Fight, as if on dry ground, and nothing was wanting, either of alacrity or dexterity to gain the Victory, they made use of all sorts of Arms, Arrows, Stones, Darts, and cast Planks from Ship to Ship to board each other; but because *Menodorus*'s Ship was the tallest, it was much easier for his Men to board the other, and the Darts they threw fell with more violence and execution. At last many being slain, and almost all the rest wounded, *Menodorus* had his Arm pierced through with a Dart, which was soon drawn out; but *Menecrates* being struck into the Thigh with a Barbed Iron Javelin, made after the Spanish Fashion, which could not easily be drawn out, he became unable to do more, yet still with his voice he encouraged his Men, till his Ship being taken, he threw himself over-board; *Menodorus* fastening his Prize to his Poop towed it into the Road, and was all he could do that day. This was done on the Left Wing. On the Right Wing which fought against the Enemies Left, *Calvisius* cut off some of *Menecrates*'s Ships from the rest of the Squadron, and pursued them out to Sea: but *Democrates* another of *Pompey*'s Freed Men charging the rest of *Calvisius*'s Ships, put some of them to flight, and drove the rest upon the Rocks where they were beat to pieces, and the Men forced to cast themselves into the Sea, and those which remained whole he had burnt, had not

* *Rostrum.*

Calvisius

Calviſius returning from the Chaſe of the Enemy, and bringing along with him ſome of his Ships that had fled, ſaved one of them. Night coming on, each party retreated to the ſame places where they rode the Night before, and ſo ended this Sea-Fight wherein *Pompey* had much the better. Yet *Democharesa* was ſo much concern'd for *Menecrates*'s death, which he eſteemed a mighty loſs (for *Menodorus* and *Menecrates* were two of *Pompey*'s principal Officers at Sea) that he left all, and ſteered his courſe directly towards *Sicily*, as if he had not only loſt *Menecrates* and one Veſſel, but the whole Fleet. As for *Calviſius*, as long as he thought *Democharesa* would return to him he kept his ſtation, being in no condition to fight, for his beſt Ships were ſunk, and the reſt diſabled; but when he heard his Enemy was gone for *Sicily*, he refitted his Ships, and held on his courſe, keeping the Shore cloſe aboard, and not ſo much as croſſing over any Bay.

XXI. On the other ſide, *Cæſar* being come from *Tarentum* to *Rhegium* with a great Fleet and a mighty Army met *Pompey* near *Meſſina*, who had but forty Ships; wherefore his Friends adviſed him not to let ſlip this opportunity, but to aſſault theſe few with his whole Navy, now in ſuch good order, before more Ships came to *Pompey*, but he would not hearken to their counſel, expecting *Calviſius*, and not thinking it prudence to expoſe himſelf to danger, whilſt he expected greater Forces. Mean while, *Democharesa* coming to *Meſſina*, *Pompey* gave him and *Apollophanes*, another of his Freed Men, the Command of the Fleet inſtead of *Menecrates* and *Menedorus*; and *Cæſar* underſtanding the loſs he had ſuffered near *Cuma*, ſet forward through the Strait to go meet *Calviſius*, having got through the better part, as he was paſſing by the place called *Stylida* to turn about the Rock of *Sylla*, *Pompey* coming out of *Meſſina* firſt fell upon his Rear, and after came up with the reſt of the Fleet to provoke *Cæſar* to give him Battel; and though *Cæſar*'s Ships were ſorely infeſted, yet they ſtirred not from about the Admiral, he having forbid it, whether he durſt not fight in the Strait, or whether he was firm to the reſolution of not fighting without *Calviſius*, he only gave them orders to get cloſe under Shore, and there coming to an Anchor defend themſelves from the Forecaſtles, if any came to aſſault them. But *Democharesa* coming with two Ships to charge each Ship of *Cæſar*'s, put them all into trouble and diſorder, ſo that ſome were ſplit againſt the Rocks others falling foul of each other, ſunk; and in ſhort, many periſhed moſt cowardly, for in the ſame manner as at the Battel at *Cuma* they ſtuck faſt, whilſt the Enemies charging, and then falling off, oppreſſed them in a ſtrange manner, nor was fortune wanting to aſſiſt the Enemy: *Cæſar* himſelf in this confuſion leaped out upon the Rocks, where he received thoſe that ſaved themſelves by ſwimming, and led them himſelf to the next Mountains. But *Cornificius* and the reſt of the Captains encouraging one another, without their General's order, cut their Cables, and went out to Sea to charge the Enemy, judging it better to die fighting, than thus to be expoſed to Blows without any defence. *Cornificius* firſt of all with a dangerous boldneſs clapped on board the Admiral Ship of *Democharesa*, and took her, forcing him to leap into another. Whilſt in this Fight a world of Men periſhed, *Calviſius* and *Menodorus* appeared, coming with full Sails, not towards *Cæſar*'s People, who were either caſt on ſhore, or engaged at Sea, but towards *Pompey*'s, who being far off from Land, as ſoon as they ſaw them, retreated, for tired, they durſt not engage freſh Men, and beſides, 'twas almoſt night; yet the chance was happy for thoſe yet in

danger. Night coming on, many deſerted their Ships, and fled to the Mountains, where they kindled many Fires for Signals to thoſe yet at Sea, ſo they ſpent the night without meat, without ſleep, and in want of all things, yet they comforted themſelves with the preſence of *Cæſar*, who no better ſupplyed than they, went from place to place, exhorting them to have patience till Morning. They knew not yet *Calviſius* was ſo nigh, and had no hopes in their own Ships, forſaken becauſe of the Wrack; but by good fortune the thirteenth Legion, which had taken their March over the Mountains, and was not far off, having heard of the diſaſter, by craggy ways making towards the Fires, found their General and thoſe with him hungry and weary. The Soldiers took what care they could of their companions, and the Officers forthwith brought their General (left without any of his Houſhold Servants diſperſed in the tumult of the Night) to a Tent there pitched, whence ſending all about to give notice he was ſafe, news was brought him that *Calviſius* was arrived, and ſo unexpectedly refreſhed with this ſecond good tydings, he took ſome repoſe. As ſoon as it was day, caſting his eyes upon the Sea, he ſaw Ships flaming, others burnt, and others half burnt, others floating upon the Sea in the midſt of pieces of Wracks, Maſts, Sails and Yards, and many that remained, ſorely ſhattered near the Shore; wherefore ordering *Calviſius*'s Fleet to come near, he took care for neceſſaries to patch up ſuch Ships as yet might be made ſerviceable, while the Enemy gave them leiſure, who were retreated, either out of fear of *Calviſius*, or becauſe they had rather fight him in open Sea.

XXII. While things were in this condition, about Noon roſe a Wind from the South, which ſoon began to make the Waves roar in a Sea naturally moved with little wind. *Pompey* was now ſafe in the Harbour of *Meſſina*; but *Cæſar*'s Ships on a Lee ſhore, craggy Rocks, and without any Port, were either daſhed againſt the Rocks, or againſt one another, beſides wanting many neceſſary Tacklings, they were not eaſie to govern. *Menodorus* therefore fearing leſt the wind ſhould yet every hour grow freſher, got out at firſt into the open Sea, and came to an Anchor, becauſe in deep water the Waves broke leſs, and not ſo violently, and with the force of Oars he eaſed his Cables, leſt his Anchors ſhould give way: ſome others imitated him, but the greater part imagining the Storm would ſoon be over, as is uſual in the Spring, moor'd their Ships with an Anchor to Sea, and another to the Shore, and with Booms kept them off from falling foul of each other: but the wind raging more and more, all fell into confuſion and diſorder, for their Cables breaking, they either fell foul or run aſhore one after another; ſeveral cries and lamentations and howlings were mixed with Commands and Exhortations, which were only uttered to deaf people, there was now no difference between the Pilot and the Sailer, neither for induſtry, skill, nor obedience. They periſhed all alike, whether they ſtayed in their Ships, or leaped over-board, they were killed by the pieces of Timber which the Waves beat againſt the Ships; for all the Sea was floating with the Wrack of the Ships, and with Bodies ſome dead, and ſome living, of which, if any ſwum to Shore, they were miſerably beat in pieces among the Rocks, but when the Sea began to ſwell with a contrary wind, as it ordinarily happens in this Strait, new terrours ſeiſed theſe people who were not accuſtomed to it, and their Ships toſſed now this way, and then the other, fell foul, do all they could; beſides towards the Evening, the wind doubled its violence, to double their grief by making them periſh in the dark; ſo that all Night long

long the air was filled with dreadful Shouts and Crys. Thoſe upon the Shore ran up and down calling their Friends they thought engaged in the Shipwrack by name, and when they anſwered them not, believed them loſt, and wept: others lifting their Heads above the Waves, called to their Friends on Shore to help them, but there was no manner of way to aſſiſt them; for as it was dangerous for thoſe ſtaid in the Ship, or leaped into the Sea, ſo it was no leſs upon the Shore ſide, becauſe of the Waves driven up by the Winds, which all that came near were fearful to be carried away with. Thus by an extraordinary effect of the Tempeſt thoſe who were near Land, feared the Land, and yet durſt not go farther off to Sea, than to ſecure themſelves from beating in peices againſt the Rocks; for the place narrow by nature, the difficulty of the paſſage, the tumbling of the Waves, the Whirlwinds cauſed by the circumjacent Hills, and the ſwallowing Whirlpool by the fierceneſs of the Current ſuffered them not to ſtay in one place, nor yet to retire back, beſides the horrour of an extreme dark night added ſtill to their affliction. Thus they periſhed without ſeeing one another, ſome crying out, others ſilently expecting death, and others through deſpair haſtening it, for the expectation is but an addition of pain; and now they were all out of hopes of any ſafety, when on a ſudden towards break of day the wind began to duller, and about Sun-riſing there was little or none, yet the Sea ſtill continued in a rage. The Inhabitants of the Country remembred not to have ever ſeen ſo furious a Tempeſt. Thus the greateſt part of *Cæſar*'s Ships and Men periſhed, and he beſides the loſs ſuſtained in the firſt Sea-Fight, having received theſe two afflictions one in the neck of the other, retreated the ſame night with all haſte to **Vibone*, by the Mountain Way, not enduring longer to look on that misfortune to which he could apply no remedy.

*Now *Monteleon.*

XXIII. From thence he wrote to all his Friends, and all his Commanders to repair ſpeedily to him, for fear leſt, as it ordinarily befalls the unfortunate, ſome new deſign ſhould be laid againſt him, he likewiſe ſent all the Land Forces he had with him along the Coaſts of *Italy*, for fear leſt *Pompey* puffed up with this ſucceſs ſhould make ſome attempt; but he thought nothing of it, no, nor ſo much, as when the Sea was ſtill, of falling upon the remainder of the Shipwrack, neither while they lay there, nor when they were upon departure. On the contrary, he ſuffered them to gather together whatever they could ſave of Ships or Rigging, and make a ſafe retreat before the wind to *Vibone*, whether he thought he had beat them ſufficiently, or that he knew not how to make uſe of his advantage; or elſe, as we have ſaid elſewhere, was cow-hearted upon an Aſſault, and content only to defend himſelf, *Cæſar* had not above half his Ships left, and thoſe but in ill condition, yet leaving Forces to guard them, he went much troubled in mind into *Campania*, for he had no more Ships, nor time to build any, though he ſtood in great need of them, the Famine growing ſharp, and the people crying out inceſſantly for peace, and deteſting this War, as undertaken contrary to a ſolemn League; beſides, he wanted Money, which was ſcarce at *Rome*. The Citizens would pay nothing, nor permit any to be raiſed on them. At length, being very politick in the conduct of his own Affairs, he diſpatched *Mæcenas* to *Anthony*, well inſtructed to clear all new differences might have happened between them, and to draw him to be his Aſſociate in the War, which, if it ſucceeded not, he reſolved to tranſport his Legions into *Sicily* upon Ships of Burthen, and there fight *Pompey* by Land, without any more hazarding a Sea-fight.

Whilſt

Whilſt he was perplexing himſelf with theſe cares, news was brought him that *Anthony* had paſſed his word to ſerve him; that *Agrippa*, his Lieutenant in *Gaul* had gained a great Victory againſt the Aquitains, and that his Friends and ſome Cities promiſed him Ships, which were already building; whereupon taking heart, he began to make greater preparations than before. About the beginning of the Spring *Anthony* ſet Sail from *Athens*, and arrived at *Tarentum* with three hundred Sail, to aſſiſt *Cæſar* according to his promiſe; but *Cæſar* having now changed his mind, would now ſtay till the Ships, building for him were in a readineſs. And when he was urged to employ *Anthony*'s Fleet, which was ſufficient to put an end to this War, he excuſed himſelf that he was engaged in other Affairs: which made it apparent, he either had ſome new cauſe of quarrel with *Anthony*, or elſe ſcorn'd his aſſiſtance, contenting himſelf with his own Forces. Though *Anthony* was offended at this proceeding, yet he ſtaid ſtill in the ſame place, and ſent to him once more; for whereas his Fleet lay at a great charge, and he ſtood in more need of Italian Soldiers for the Parthian War, he had thoughts of changing his Fleet for Legions. Though by the League each had power of raiſing Men in *Italy*; but becauſe it was fallen to the others diviſion, he imagined it would be more difficult for him. Wherefore *Octavia* her ſelf came to *Cæſar* to be as it were Arbitreſs between them. He told her, that being deſerted by *Anthony*, he had been in danger of loſing his life in the Sicilian Strait. She anſwered, that had been already diſcourſed and declared to *Mæcenas*. He then objected that *Anthony* had ſent *Callias* his Freed Man to *Lepidus* to make a League together againſt him. To which ſhe anſwered, that to her knowledge, *Callias* was ſent to *Lepidus* to treat a Match; for *Anthony* being about to go to the Parthian War, would before his departure have his Daughter married to *Lepidus*'s Son, according to his promiſe. *Octavia* affirming this, and *Anthony* ſending *Callias* to *Cæſar* to torment him, if he pleaſed, and know the truth from his own mouth: he would not receive him, but ſent word he would meet *Anthony* between * *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, and diſcourſe with him himſelf. Through the place appointed runs a River, called likewiſe *Metapontum*: and they both by chance arriving at the ſame time, *Anthony* lighting out of his Chariot, leaps alone into a little Skiff he found there, to go meet *Cæſar*, confiding in him as his Friend; *Cæſar* emulating that Generoſity, did the ſame; ſo meeting in the middle of the River, they diſputed a long time who ſhould go to the other ſide; at length *Cæſar* prevailed, having reſolved to go to *Tarentum* to ſee *Octavia*; he therefore mounts with *Anthony* in his Chariot, lights at his Lodgings, and without any Guards, lies there all night. *Anthony* on the morrow repays him with the ſame confidence, ſo ſudden were their changes, ambition of Empire raiſing reciprocal Jealouſies, and the neceſſity of their Affairs obliging them to confide in each other. *Cæſar* then put off the War againſt *Pompey* to the next year; but *Anthony* not thinking fit longer to delay the War againſt the Parthians, they made an exchange, *Anthony* gave *Cæſar* ſixſcore Ships, which he forthwith delivered him, and *Cæſar* promiſed to ſend him twenty thouſand Legionary Soldiers: *Octavia* likewiſe gratified her Brother with ten Galliots (a ſort of Veſſel between a Galley and a Ship of Burthen) which ſhe begged of *Anthony*, and he in return gave a thouſand choſen Men for Guards, which *Anthony* himſelf picked out. And becauſe the time of the Triumvirate was near expired, they prolonged it for five other years, without ſtaying for the ſuffrage of the People, ſo they parted, *Anthony* making with all diligence towards *Syria*,

* *Tore de Mare.*

ria, leaving *Octavia*, and a little Daughter they had, with her Brother.

In the mean time, whether that *Menodorus* were naturally perfidious, or that he was fearful of *Anthony*, who had threatened him with Shakles as his Fugitive Slave, or were not rewarded to his expectation, or else moved with reproaches of his infidelity, which *Pompey*'s other Freed Men (after the death of *Menecrates*) continually loaded him with, exhorting him to return to his duty, he demanded safe conduct, which being granted him, he returned into *Pompey*'s service with seven Vessels, whilst *Calvisius*, *Cæsar*'s Admiral perceived nothing of it; wherefore *Cæsar* took away his Command, and gave it to *Agrippa*. After that *Cæsar*'s Fleet was finished, he purged it in this manner, Altars were erected in the Sea a little off the Shore, the Ships with all their Crews aloft in a profound silence, ranked in order before them, the Priests sacrificed standing in the water, then placed the Victimes in a Pinnace, with which they rowed thrice round the Fleet, accompanied in other Boats by all the principal Commanders, all together praying, that if the Fleet were threatned with any misfortune, it might fall upon the Victimes, which after dividing in two, they cast one part into the Sea, and burnt the other on the Altars, whilst all the multitude made their Prayers. And this is the form the Romans use in the purgation of their Fleets. It had been resolved, that *Cæsar* parting from *Puteoli*, *Lepidus* from *Africa*, and *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, should invade *Sicily* with three several Fleets, to encompass the Enemy on three sides of the Island, East, West and South; and that to this end, *Cæsar* should give notice to the others what day he would embarque, which was appointted on the tenth of the Summer Solstice, which the Romans call the Calends of the Month formerly called *Quintilis*, and since named *July* in the Honour of the first *Cæsar*, which day he pitched upon, judging it would prove fortunate, because his Father had thereon been always victorious. As for *Pompey*, he opposed to *Lepidus Plenius* with one Legion, and store of other Infantry at the point of *Lilybæum*, fortified the Sea Coasts of the Island to the East and West, and more particularly the Islands of *Lipari* and * *Cossyra*, lest they should prove Ports of Retreat, *Cossyra* to *Lepidus*, and *Lipari* to *Cæsar*, from whence they might at all times assault *Sicily*. All his best Forces he rendezvouzed at *Messina*, that they might be in a readiness to march where-ever there should be occasion. The two Chieftains being in this manner provided, and the first day of *July* come, *Cæsar*'s Party all embarqued about break of day. *Lepidus* set sail out of *Africa* with a thousand Vessels of Burthen, and seventy Galleys, twelve Legions, five thousand Numidian Horse, and all things necessary for their subsistence. *Taurus* from *Tarentum* with one hundred and two Ships, of the hundred and thirty *Anthony* had left *Cæsar*, the Rowers of the rest being dead of the Plague the last Winter. And *Cæsar* from *Puteoli*, having first sacrificed in the Admiral, and thrown the Entrails into the Sea, that the winds might be fair, *Neptune* propitious, the Sea calm, and all favourable to him against his Father's Murderers. Some Ships went before to sound the depth of Water, and *Appius* with good Forces brought up the Rear. The third day after their embarquing it blew very hard at South, and several of *Lepidus*'s Vessels of Burthen foundred, yet he reached *Sicily*, where he besieged *Plenius* in *Lilybæum*, and took several places, some by force, and some by surrender. *Taurus* as soon as it began to blow returned back to *Tarentum*. *Appius* as he doubled the Cape of *Minerva* lost one

XXIV.

* *Pantalarea.*

part

part of his Squadron, another part were driven upon the Flats, and the reſt diſperſed here and there with great loſs. *Cæſar* at the beginning of the Storm got to Anchor with all his Ships in the Gulf of *Elæa* in ſafety, all but only one Galley of ſix Oars to a Bank, which was caſt away near the adjoyning Promontory, but the Wind on a ſudden clapping about to the Weſt, to which this Gulf lies open, they were ſorely battered with the Tempeſt, for the Wind blowing right in, they could neither get out, nor ride there. In vain they plyed their Oars, and in vain let drop their Anchors, they were driven upon the Rocks, or fell foul of one another, beſides night coming on, made the danger much more dreadful. At length the ſtorm being blown over, *Cæſar* cauſed the dead to be buried, the wounded dreſſed, and cloathed thoſe who had caſt themſelves into the Sea to ſave their lives, giving them other Arms, and immediately iſſued orders to refit his Fleet, as well as he could for the preſent, he had loſt ſix great Ships, two and twenty leſſer, and a great number of * Liburnicks. Thirty days it required beſides to repair the damage this ſtorm had done, and Summet was far advanced; wherefore he found it convenient to put off the War till the next year. Mean while, becauſe the People were put to hard ſhifts for want of Proviſions, he preſently cauſed his Ships to be drawn aſhore to refit, ſent thoſe Seamen had eſcaped the ſtorm to *Taurus*, who wanted them, and fearful leſt this diſaſter ſhould work ſome change in the minds of thoſe who had not yet loſt the memory of the great *Pompey*, he ſent *Mæcenas* to *Rome*, whilſt himſelf went through all *Italy* from Colony to Colony, aſſuring the Veterans there was no fear of any thing, and then paſſed to *Tarentum*, to ſee in what condition *Taurus*'s Fleet was, and thence to *Vibone*, where he encouraged his Legions, and haſtened with ſuch diligence his Naval Preparations, that in a ſhort time he was ready to make a ſecond attempt upon *Sicily*.

* Brigantines.

XXV. *Pompey* not yet thinking fit to make any advantage of ſo many Shipwracks, was contented only to ſacrifice to *Neptune* and *Salacia*, whoſe Son he ſuffered himſelf to be called, as perſwaded the Enemy had not been thus twice battered by Tempeſt in Summer time, without divine aſſiſtance. 'Tis likewiſe reported, that puffed up with this ſucceſs, he changed his Coat of Arms, which was of Purple, and took Blew, as the adopted Son of *Neptune*. He hoped after ſo many loſſes *Cæſar* would lie quiet; but when he heard he had refitted his Fleet, and was ready to come into *Sicily* that very Summer, his heart failed him, thinking he had to deal with a Man whoſe courage was invincible, and whoſe treaſure inexhauſtible, yet he ſent *Menodorus* with the ſeven Ships that he had brought him to diſcover in what readineſs *Cæſar*'s Fleet were, and do what elſe he could. But he angry that he was not reſtored to the Command of the Fleet, and perceiving they truſted him with no more than his own ſeven Ships, becauſe they had a jealouſie of him, reſolved once more to change ſides. To this purpoſe imagining, that whatever happened, it would be for his advantage to do ſome brave and valiant action, he diſtributed all the Money he had among his companions, and having in three days come ſeventy five Furlongs, he falls like a Thunderbolt among the Guard-ſhips of *Cæſar*'s Fleet, where they were at work, then going off, and upon a ſudden falling on again, he carried away ſometimes two, and ſometimes three, he engaged likewiſe either in their Ports, or upon the Sea, with ſeveral Ships loaden with Corn, ſome of which he ſunk, others burnt, and took others, and in ſhort, filled all the Coaſt with terrour and tumult, both *Cæſar* and *Agrippa* being abſent, the

the laſt gone into the Foreſt to provide Timber. So bold he grew, that he came to an Anchor in a Shoal Bay, where he lay as if he had been faſt in the Ouz, till the Enemies running down from the Mountains as to an aſſured Prey; tacking about, he rowed off, laughing at, and deriding them, to the grief and aſtoniſhment of the whole Army. After he had thus made known of what importance it was to *Cæſar* to have him for a Friend or Enemy, he gave liberty to a Senator, called *Rebilus*, who he had before taken, that he might go before and prepare matters, raiſing a report among his People, that they ſhould ere long have a Fugitive of conſequence, which was *Vinidius Marcellus*, an intimate Friend of *Cæſar*'s, whoſe affection he himſelf had gained, when he before quitted *Pompey*'s ſervice, and after that drawing near to the Enemy, and deſiring to have ſome conference with *Vinidius*, in a certain Iſland, touching an Affair of Importance to both Parties. Having obtained it, when they were alone he told him, that when he left *Cæſar*'s Party to go to *Pompey*, he had been forced to it by the injuries he dayly received from *Calviſius* then Admiral; but that now *Agrippa* had the Command of the Navy, he was ready to return to *Cæſar*'s ſervice, of which he could not complain, provided *Vinidius* would bring him a ſafe conduct from *Meſſala*, who in *Agrippa*'s abſence commanded the Fleet, promiſing by ſome ſignal Action to repair his fault. However, till he had his ſafe Conduct, he muſt, to avoid ſuſpicion, make War upon *Cæſar*'s Party as before. *Meſſala* at firſt ſcrupled the doing it, as diſhonourable, yet at length he granted it, whether yielding to the neceſſities of the War, or before well informed of *Cæſar*'s mind, or that he foreſaw he could not be diſpleaſed at it. So *Menodorus* once more changed Parties, and going to *Cæſar* caſt himſelf at his Feet, begging pardon for his fault, without telling what obliged him to commit it. *Cæſar* pardoned him becauſe of *Meſſala*'s word paſſed to him, but gave orders narrowly to watch him, and permitted the Officers of his Galleys to go whither they pleaſed.

Cæſar's Fleet being now ready he came to *Vibona*, where he gave order to *Meſſala* to paſs over into *Sicily* with two Legions to joyn *Lepidus*'s Army, and that he ſhould land in the Gulf againſt *Tauromenia*: he ſent three likewiſe to *Stylida*, which is the very extremity of the Strait, to wait a fair opportunity, and commanded *Taurus* to ſail about with his Fleet from *Tarentum* to the Promontory of *Scyllace*, which is directly oppoſite to *Tauromenia*. He came prepared to fight both on Sea and Land; for his Land Army followed him, before whom marched his Horſe, with orders to make diſcoveries from the Land, as the Liburnick Brigantines did at Sea. As he was advancing in this manner, *Cæſar* came; and after having ſeen him near *Scyllace*, and approved the order he kept, returned to *Vibona*: *Pompey*, as we have ſaid, had placed good Garriſons in all places of the Iſland where any Forces might land, and kept his Fleet at *Meſſina*, ready to go and relieve who ſtood in need. Whilſt theſe Preparations were made on both ſides, *Lepidus* having ſent for out of *Africa* for the remainder of his Forces, which conſiſted in four Legions, *Papia*, one of *Pompey*'s Lieutenants met them in open Sea; and whilſt they ſtaid for him as a Friend, gave them chace, they took them for the Ships *Lepidus* was to ſend to meet them; and indeed he did ſend, but coming out too late, when the Ships of Burthen ſaw them, they took them for Enemies, and would not approach them, whereas now ſtaying for *Papia*, ſome were taken, ſome burnt, ſome ſunk, and others recovered *Africa*, of the four Legions two periſhed XXVI.

in the Sea, and if any Soldiers ſaved themſelves by ſwimming, *Tiſienus*, another of *Pompey*'s Lieutenants, cauſed them to be maſſacred as faſt as they came on ſhore. The reſt of the Army came either now or afterwards to *Lepidus*, and *Papia* returned to *Pompey*. *Cæſar* with all his Fleet paſſed from *Vibone* to *Strongyle*, one of the five Æolian Iſles, and ſeeing on the Coaſt of *Sicily* great ſtore of Forces at *Pelora*, *Miles*, and *Tyndari*, he believed *Pompey* was there in perſon, wherefore leaving *Agrippa* his Admiral in the Poſt, he returned to *Vibone*, and ſoon after joyned with *Meſſala*, with deſign to lay hold of the opportunity of *Pompey*'s abſence to ſurpriſe *Tauromenia*, and ſo fall upon him two ſeveral ways. *Agrippa* therefore goes from *Strongyle* to *Hiera*, and driving out the Garriſon takes the place, reſolving next day to attempt * *Miles*, and *Demochares* the Admiral who lay there with forty Ships; wherefore *Pompey* fearing *Agrippa*'s ſucceſs, ſent other forty Ships from *Meſſina* to *Demochares*, under the Command of *Apollophanes* another of his Freed Men, who was followed by *Papia* with ſeventy others. *Agrippa* before day weighed with half his Ships, as if he were only to fight with *Papia*, whom he had ſome intelligence he might meet; but when he ſaw *Apollophanes*'s Fleet followed by another of ſeventy Sail, he ſent preſently to give notice to *Cæſar* that *Pompey* was at *Miles* with the greateſt part of his Naval Force, and placing himſelf in the middle of his great Ships, ſent to the reſt at *Hiera* with all ſpeed to follow him. Theſe two Ships thus magnificently equipped, and having Towers in Poop and Prow, being come up with each other, after the Signals given, and their Men encouraged to do well, charged with great violence, ſome ſtem and ſtem, and others ſtanding off to gain their Enemies Broad-ſide, and fall on with greater terrour, great was the noiſe made by the Ships ſhocking againſt each other, and greater the Shouts of the Men. *Pompey*'s Ships were middle ſized, light, and eaſie to go about, and ſo much more active againſt the Enemy, and by their ſwiftneſs fit to take all advantages in boarding; but *Cæſar*'s being greater and heavy, were of conſequence much leſs nimble, but on the contrary, ſtronger, both to give the Shock, and abler to receive it. *Cæſar* had the beſt Soldiers, and *Pompey* the moſt skilful Mariners; wherefore theſe charged not right forwards upon *Cæſar*'s great Ships, but ſhearing by them, ſometimes broke a whole Gang of Oars, and ſometimes carried away their Rudders, and ſometimes likewiſe ſuddenly bringing about, they charged them with their Beak Heads, giving no leſs a Shock than they received: but when *Cæſar*'s Ships could reach any of theſe light timbered Veſſels, they preſſed upon them ſo furiouſly with their Beak Heads, that they either ſtaved them, or bored them through and through; and if they came at any time to fight Board and Board, the great Ships miſerably knocked them down with miſſile Arms thrown from aloft, and caſting in their Grapnels, eaſily ſtopped them, ſo that the ſervice being too hard to be born, the Adverſary had no way to ſave themſelves, but by leaping into the Sea, where Skiffs appointed for that purpoſe took them up. Mean while, *Agrippa*, whoſe main deſign was upon *Papia*'s Ship, gave him ſo cruel a Shock in the Bow, that he ſunk him, for he opened all his Keel, and thoſe in his Fore-Caſtle preſently fell, and the Water entring, all the lower Bank of Rowers were drowned, the reſt upon Planks ſaved themſelves by ſwimming: *Papia*, received into the next Ship, again renews the Fight. When *Pompey*, who from the top of a Mountain ſaw that his People could very hardly defend themſelves, and that they never came near any of *Cæſar*'s Ships, but they loſt Men, and that the reſt of *Agrippa*'s

* *Melazzo.*

Fleet

Fleet whom he left at *Hiera* were coming to his aſſiſtance, made a Signal for them to retreat, which by little and little they did, ſtill fighting, but being cloſe preſſed upon, they fled, not into the Ports, but the Rivers Mouths, where the Mud and Sand brought down by the conſtant ſtream makes Shoal Water, wherefore *Agrippa*'s Pilots adviſing him not to hazard his great Ships upon thoſe Flats, he came to an Anchor in ſight of them in the open Sea, as if he deſigned to attack them in the Night; but his Friends admoniſhing him not to be ruled more by anger than reaſon, nor to over-haraſs the Soldiers by too great Labour and Watchings, nor yet to be too confident of the calmneſs of the Sea, he retreated towards the Evening, and *Pompey*'s Ships got into Harbour. They loſt in this Battel thirty of their Ships, and ſunk five of *Cæſar*'s, beſides many other loſſes which they as well as the Enemy ſuſtained. *Pompey* commended them for having ſo well defended themſelves, having to fight not againſt Ships but Walls, nor were his rewards leſs than if they had been victorious: he gave them hopes, that fighting in the Strait as their Light Ships would eaſier ſtem the Current, ſo they would certainly be victorious, promiſing withal to add ſomewhat to the heighth of their Ships. Such was the ſucceſs of the Battel between *Agrippa* and *Papia* near *Melazzo*.

After which, *Pompey* judging what indeed was, that *Cæſar* was gone to *Taurus*'s Camp, becauſe he had a deſign upon *Tauromenia*, as ſoon as he had ſupped he ſet Sail for *Meſſina*, leaving at *Melazzo* a part of his Ships, to make *Agrippa* believe he was ſtill there. *Agrippa* on the other ſide having given a little repoſe to his Men, ſailed towards *Tyndari*, which had promiſed to ſurrender; where he was received by the Inhabitants, but the Garriſon defended it ſo generouſly, that they drove him thence, yet ſome other Towns revolting to him, received his Garriſons, and towards Evening he returned to the Fleet. Mean while, *Cæſar* being well aſſured that *Pompey* was gone from *Meſſina* to *Melazzo* becauſe of *Agrippa*, came from *Scyllace* to *Leucopetra*, from whence he reſolved to paſs by Night to *Tauromenia*; but after he heard the ſucceſs of the Sea-fight, he changed his mind, believing he need not conceal his embarquing, but boldly go on in broad day, for he imagined *Pompey* would not come far from *Agrippa*. Day then beginning to appear, he took a view from the Mountains as far as his ſight could reach into the Sea, and ſpying none of the Enemies Ships he went on Board, loading his Ship with all the Soldiers he could ſtow; and leaving the reſt with *Meſſala* till the Ships returned to fetch them: being come near *Tauromenia*, he ſummoned the place, but the Garriſon refuſing to ſurrender, he paſſed beyond the River *Onobola*, and the Temple of *Venus*, and landed near *Archigetes*, where having made his prayers to the Gods, he encamped to beſiege *Tauromenia*; now *Archigetes* is a ſmall Statue of *Apollo*, which the Naxians, when firſt ſent a Colony into *Sicily*, dedicated. There as *Cæſar* ſet foot on ground he fell, but ſoon got up again; he was beginning to work upon the Circumvallation of the Camp when they ſaw *Pompey* coming with a great Fleet, to the aſtoniſhment of all the Army, who thought him quite ruined by *Agrippa*: along the Shore likewiſe came Horſemen, riding, ſtriving in ſwiftneſs to out-paſs the Fleet; and in ſeveral parts were ſeen great Bodies of Foot. *Cæſar*'s People ſeeing themſelves thus ſurrounded by three Armies, were utterly diſmayed, *Cæſar* himſelf was afraid, becauſe he could not now have the aſſiſtance of *Meſſala*. The Horſe firſt fell among *Cæſar*'s Men ſtill employed in their Trenches. And if the Fleet and the Foot had come on at XXVII.

the ſame time, perhaps *Pompey* had gained an important Victory, but being unskilful in military Affairs, and ignorant of the fear their Enemies were in, loth to come to a Battel in the Evening, they retreated, the Fleet to the Promontory of *Coccyna*, and the Foot, who durſt not lodge near *Cæſar*'s Camp, to the Town of *Phæniſſa*, whilſt the night following the lay quiet, the Cæſarians fortified their Camp, but with extreme labour and watching had made themſelves utterly unfit to fight; they were three Legions, five hundred Horſemen without Horſes, about a thouſand light armed Foot, and two thouſand Veteran Voluntiers, beſides the Sea-Forces. *Cæſar* left with *Cornificius* all the Land Forces, with order to defend himſelf as well as he could, and before day himſelf embarqued, leſt he ſhould likewiſe be ſhut in by Sea. He placed *Titinius* on the Right, and *Carcius* on the Left, and himſelf in a Brigantine went from one part of the Fleet to the other, exhorting all Men to do their beſt; and after that (as being in extremity of danger) ſtruck his Flag. *Pompey* preſently coming to aſſault him, they charged through twice, and the Fight laſted till Night. But *Cæſar*'s Ships were many burnt and ſunk, and many of them ſetting their ſmall Sails, fled towards the Coaſt of *Italy* contrary to, and in contempt of Orders, ſome of *Pompeys* Ships purſued them, and ſoon putting them in diſorder, took or burnt them as well as the reſt, thoſe that ſwum aſhore were either ſlain or taken by *Pompey*'s Horſemen, ſome few eſcaping to *Cornificius*'s Camp, who ſent only his light armed Foot to receive them; for he did not think it convenient to go out with his Legions, in that ill poſture wherein they were, whilſt a Land Army of the Enemies lay ſo nigh, whom the ſucceſs at Sea had puffed up, as is ordinary after Victory. *Cæſar* rowed a great way in the night in a ſmall Galley, deliberating with himſelf, whether he ſhould endeavour to paſs through the midſt of his Enemies, and get again to *Cornificius*, or go to *Meſſala*. At length by good fortune he reached the Port of *Abala*, where he landed with one Eſquire, deſtitute of Friends, Servants or Guards, whom ſome that were come up to the Mountains to ſee how things ſtood, found afflicted both in Body and Mind, whom changing from Boat to Boat that they might the better deceive the Enemy, they at length brought to *Meſſala*'s Camp, which was not far diſtant. As ſoon as he got thither, before he would take any food, he diſpatched a Brigantine to *Cornificius*, and ſent to all parts of the Mountains to let thoſe they found there know he was in ſafety, advertizing them to prepare to relieve *Cornificius*; and he wrote to *Cornificius* that he would ſuddenly be with him, and bring him relief. After he had eat a little, and taken ſome ſmall repoſe, he went by night to *Stylida*, convoyed by *Meſſala* to find out *Carinas*, who being ready to ſail with three Legions, he gave him order to paſs over to *Lipari*, and there ſtay for him; and writ likewiſe to *Agrippa*, that conſidering the danger *Cornificius* was in, he ſhould with all ſpeed ſend to him *Laronius* with the beſt of his Forces. He likewiſe ſent *Mecænas* the ſecond time to the City, upon intelligence they were contriving ſome Novelty, the Authors of which were publickly puniſhed: and *Meſſala* he ſent to *Puteoli*, where the firſt Legion lay to bring them to *Vibone*. This was that *Meſſala* who was proſcribed at *Rome* by the Triumvirs, with promiſe of rewards both of Money and Liberty to thoſe ſhould ſlay him; and who eſcaping to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, after their death delivered up on Compoſition their Fleet to *Anthony*: which I the rather mention in this place as a great example of Roman Virtue, ſince *Meſſala* having now in his power him who proſcribed him, without attendance, and in a deplorable condition, received him as his General, and ſaved his life.

As

As for *Cornificius*, though he could have defended himſelf in his Trenches, yet being ſtraitned for want of Proviſion, he drew out to provoke the Enemy to fight: but *Pompey* would not hazard the fortune of a Battel againſt People had nothing but their Arms to truſt to, and whom he hoped to reduce by Famine; yet *Cornificius* having placed thoſe eſcaped from the Sea-Fight, and who were without Arms in the midſt of the Legions, marches on, ſorely infeſted in the Plain by the Horſemens miſſile Arms, and by the African Foot in places inacceſſible for the Horſe, who being lightly armed, though he ſent off ſeveral Parties to engage them, he could do no good againſt them. The fourth day of his March he came upon a dry ground, which the Inhabitants thereabout call *The Torrent of Fire*, reaching quite to the Sea, all waters falling on it being evaporated with the very heat of the ground; ſo that the People thereabouts never travel over it but by night to avoid the heat and duſt. *Cornificius*'s Men not knowing the Country durſt not, eſpecially in a dark Moon, adventure to paſs by night, for fear of an ambuſh; and by day they could not defend themſelves from their Enemies, heat and duſt ſuffocated them, and the ſcorching ground (being now in the heat of Summer) tormented the ſoles of their Feet, eſpecially thoſe were naked; thirſt no leſs afflicted them, not ſuffering them to retard their March to go charge thoſe light armed Foot who continually infeſted them; ſo that they were expoſed to wounds, without making any defence. At laſt, when they drew near to a Strait at the end of this burning ground, they met with other Enemies; wherefore leaving behind their ſick, and ſuch as could not fight, they advanced furiouſly to the Charge, and gained the Paſs; but when they ſaw before them other Straits which the Enemy was likewiſe poſſeſſed of, they loſt all heart, and made a ſtop, being quite ſpent with thirſt, heat and labour; yet when *Cornificius* perſwaded them to take courage, by telling them there was a Fountain cloſe by, they renewed the Fight, and with conſiderable loſs of theirs drove the Enemy from the Poſt, but other Enemies were ſtill Maſters of the Fountain, ſo that now they gave themſelves over to grief and deſpair. In this extremity *Laronius* appeared afar off with three Legions which *Agrippa* had ſent to their relief, they were not fully aſſured he was their Friend; however, the ſight put them in ſome hopes, eſpecially when they ſaw the Enemy deſert the Fountain, for fear of being encloſed on both ſides, then they began to ſet up Shouts of Joy, which *Laronius* having anſwered, they ran all to the Fountain, where notwithſtanding all the good counſel of their Officers to make them more temperate, they drank ſo exceſſively, that ſome of them died upon the place. XXVIII.

Thus *Cornificius* when he was quite paſt hopes ſaved himſelf and the reſt of the Army, and went and joyned with *Agrippa*, who in the mean time had taken *Tyndari*, furniſhed with good ſtore of Proviſions, and ſo commodious for this War, that *Cæſar* landed there all his Horſe and Foot, which were no ſmall number, for he brought into *Sicily* one and twenty Legions, twenty thouſand Horſe, and more than five thouſand light armed Foot. *Pompey* ſtill held *Melazzo*, *Maulochus*, *Pelora*, and all that Sea-Coaſt with good Garriſons, who out of the fear they were in of *Agrippa*, kept continually Fires, as if they would burn the Ships that approached them. He was likewiſe ſeiſed of the Paſſages from *Tauromenia* to *Melazzo*, and had fortified all the Avenues of the Mountains; ſo that he kept *Cæſar* at a XXIX.

Bay;

Bay (who had a deſign to enlarge his Quarters beyond *Tyndari*) and yet adventured not a Battel. But having advice that *Agrippa* was about to land at *Pelora*, he haſtened thither, deſerting the Paſſes of *Melazzo*, of which *Cæſar* ſeiſed, and of *Melazzo* it ſelf, together with *Artemiſia*, a little City, famous for the Oxen of the Sun, taken away by *Ulyſſes*'s companions whilſt he ſlept. But when the news of *Agrippa*'s coming proved falſe, and *Pompey* heard of the Paſſes being loſt, he ſent for *Tiſienus* with his Army, whom *Cæſar* going to meet, ſtrayed out of his way about *Mycono*, where he ſtaid all night without any Tents, in a violent rain, as is uſual in Autumn, with no other covering ſave a Gallick Shield which the Soldiers held over his Head. Here they heard the horrible noiſe and dreadful roarings of Mount *Ætna*, and beheld the mighty Flames, which ſorely affrighted the whole Army, eſpecially the Germans, who ſtarting from the places where they were laid down, were no longer ſcrupulous of believing the wonders told of Mount *Ætna*, eſpecially of the Torrents of Fire. After this *Cæſar* went and ſpoiled the Country of the Paleſtins, where meeting with *Lepidus*, and being ſupplied with Corn, they went both, and ſet down near about *Meſſina*. But when there happened only light Skirmiſhes through all *Sicily*, and no memorable Fight, *Cæſar* weary of it, ſent *Taurus* to cut off *Pompey* from Proviſions, by ſeiſing upon thoſe Cities that ſupplyed them, which made him reſolve to give Battel; but becauſe he was afraid of *Cæſar*'s Land Forces, and thought himſelf ſecure in his Ships, he ſent a Herald to offer him a Sea-Fight. Though *Cæſar* of all things abhorred to have do with Salt Water, where he had ever been unfortunate; yet thinking it diſhonourable to refuſe any thing, he accepted the Challenge, and a day was appointed, when they were to meet with three hundred Ships each, armed with all ſorts of miſſile Arms, Towers and Machines that could be imagined. 'Twas now *Agrippa* invented the Harpagon, which is a piece of Timber of five Cubits long, bound about with Iron, at each end having two Rings, at one of which is the Harpago, or Hook of Iron, and at the other many Cords faſtened in Pulleys to draw it back, with a Catapulta or Sling to dart it forcibly into the Enemies Ships.

XXX. But the day of Battel being come, the whole Gang of Rowers began to ſhew their skill, not without great Shouts and Acclamations, then followed the flying of miſſile Arms, ſome thrown out of Engines, ſome out of Hand, as Stones, Javelins, Arrows, Fire-brands, and flaming Darts, the Ships run Board and Board, ſome in the Waſte, ſome on the Bows, and ſome ran with their Prows ſo fiercely at others, that they over-ſet thoſe ſtood on their Fore-Caſtles, and made their own Ships unſerviceable. Other lighter Veſſels contented themſelves only to skirmiſh, lancing as they paſſed by unto each other Darts, Javelins, and other miſſile Arms, other ſmaller were appointed to take up ſuch as fell into the Sea. The Soldiers, Rowers, and Seamen did wonders, aſſiſted by the skill of the Pilots, heartned by the encouragements of the Commanders, and the continual playing of the Engines: but the Harpagon was moſt of all approved, being light enough to fly at a diſtance into the Enemies Ships, it ſtuck faſt, eſpecially when they drew it back with the Cords; they could not cut it, being bound about with Iron Hoops; and the Cords they could not reach to, becauſe of its length, beſides, this Machine being yet unknown, they were not provided of any long Bills to cut the Ropes. There was but one way in this unprepared condition they could think of, and that was by force

force of Oars to ſtrive to get looſe from it, but then the Enemy pulled up too, both ſtriving one way, the Harpagon ſtill did its office; wherefore coming to a cloſe Fight, they leaped into one anothers Ships, and were often ſo mixed together, that it was hard to know which party any were of, for they wore all one kind of Habit, and moſt ſpoke the Latine Tongue; and the Word for that day was known by both Parties. And in this confuſion when no perſon truſting to anothers giving him the Word, if he did not know him, there was a horrible Slaughter, and the Sea was preſently covered with Bodies, Arms, and Wracks of Veſſels; for they left nothing unattempted beſides Fire, which after the firſt ſhock, and that they came to fight Board and Board, they made no more uſe of. Both Armies from the Shore beheld this dreadful Fight not without fear and paſſion, as thinking them engaged for every one of their particular ſafeties; but how intentive ſoever they were they could diſcern nothing; for it was impoſſible in a long Train of ſix hundred Ships, from whom they heard ſhouts and acclamations, ſometimes from one ſide, and ſometimes from the other, to diſcover any thing diſtinctly. At length *Agrippa* judging by the Colours upon their Towers, which was the only mark of difference between them, that there were more of *Pompey*'s Ships periſhed than theirs, encouraged thoſe about him, as if already victorious, to renew the Charge, and not give over preſſing upon the Enemy, which they did, till thoſe oppoſite to him were firſt forced to give way; and beating down their Towers, ſhewed him their Poops, and fled towards the Strait, to the number only of ſeventeen Ships, moſt of the reſt cut off by *Agrippa*, who got between them and the Flyers from going the ſame way, run violently on Shore, where ſticking faſt, they were either got off by the Enemy, or there burnt, which thoſe that were yet fighting in open Sea ſeeing, yielded. The Cæſarian Sea Forces ſoon proclaimed their Victory by their Shouts and Acclammations, which were anſwered by the Land Army on Shore: whilſt *Pompey*'s Men groaned out of grief and deſpair. As for *Pompey* himſelf, he departed in haſte from *Naulochus* to go to *Meſſina*, ſo aſtoniſhed, that he had no thoughts at all of his Land Army, which made them led by *Tiſienus* ſurrender to *Cæſar* upon good conditions, which example was likewiſe followed by the Horſe perſwaded by their Officers. There were in this Battel three of *Cæſar*'s Ships ſunk, and twenty eight of *Pompey*'s, and all the reſt burnt, taken, or ſplit upon the Rocks, ſave only thoſe ſeventeen that fled.

Pompey, as upon the way he heard of the defection of his Army, laid down his Imperial Robe, and took a private habit, ſending ſome before to *Meſſina*, to load what they could upon his Ships, for he was prepared for this a long time before, and ſending to *Plenius* who was at *Lilybæum* with eight Legions to come preſently to him, *Plenius* forthwith ſet forward, but all his Friends, and all his Garriſons having yielded to the Conquerour, and his Enemies being already in the Strait to come to *Meſſina*, he did not think it convenient to ſtay for *Plenius* in the City, though it were a very ſtrong place, but embarquing upon thoſe ſeventeen Ships he had, made Sail towards *Anthony*, whoſe Mother he had favourably received in a like misfortune, and *Plenius* arriving at *Meſſina* after *Pompey*'s departure, he there ſhut himſelf up, reſolving to ſtand upon his defence. Now after the Victory *Cæſar* ſtaying in his Camp near *Naulochus*, had given order to *Agrippa* to go and beſiege *Meſſina*, which together with *Lepidus* he did. *Plenius* having ſent out to them Deputies to capitulate, *Agrippa* XXXI.

was

was of the mind to defer the buſineſs till next day that *Cæſar* came thither; but *Lepidus* himſelf received them upon compoſition, and to get the Army of *Plenius* into his own poſſeſſion, gave them ſhare in the plunder of the City equal with his own; ſo that beſides pardon which they only asked for, they had found a Booty they did not expect, they that very night plundered the City with *Lepidus*'s Men, and delivered themſelves up to be his. So that *Lepidus* by this recruit beholding himſelf Maſter of two and twenty Legions, and a brave Body of Horſe, raiſed his hopes, and laid a deſign upon ſeiſing upon *Sicily*. This project he founded upon his firſt having landed in the Iſland, and having taken more Cities than *Cæſar*; wherefore he gave Command to his Garriſons not to receive any Forces but his own, and ſeiſed upon all the Paſſages. On the morrow *Cæſar* being arrived at *Meſſina*, ſends ſome of his Friends to *Lepidus*, to make his complaint of theſe proceedings, and to repreſent to him that he was come into *Sicily* only to ſerve *Cæſar*, and not to conquer for himſelf. To which he anſwered by a reciprocal complaint: That they had taken from him his part of the Empire, which *Cæſar* had uſurped all to himſelf, and if he would reſtore that, he would willingly part with *Africa* and *Sicily*. *Cæſar*, angry at this anſwer, goes to him himſelf, reproaches him with ingratitude, and after ſome mutual threats they part, and from that inſtant begin to keep Guard apart, and the Ships went and anchored at ſome diſtance from the Port, becauſe, as was reported, *Lepidus* had a deſign to burn them; and the Soldiers deteſting theſe Diſſentions, believed they were again falling into another Civil War. Not that they made any compariſon of *Lepidus* with *Cæſar*; *Lepidus*'s own Soldiers did not do that, they admired *Cæſar*'s Virtue, and blamed *Lepidus*'s baſeneſs, thinking it a high injuſtice done them, to equal the Vanquiſher and the Vanquiſhed in the plunder of *Meſſina*. *Cæſar* having notice of their thoughts ſent underhand to ſolicite them by his Agents, who gained many, eſpecially of thoſe who had ſerved under *Pompey*, for they thought the pardon granted them ineffectual, unleſs *Cæſar* confirmed it. *Lepidus* knew nothing of this Negotiation, ſo that before he perceived any thing, *Cæſar* comes unlooked for to his Camp, with a ſtrong party of Horſe, which he left before the Trenches, and entred with a ſlender Train, and advancing towards the middle, calls all the world to witneſs that he was forced to make War againſt his Will. The neareſt to him having ſaluted him, calling him Emperour, all *Pompey*'s Men who were made to the purpoſe ran to him, and begged his pardon. To which he anſwered, that he wondered they ſhould ask pardon before they had done what they ought: they underſtood what he meant, and preſently ſome took their Colours, and carried them to *Cæſar*'s Camp, whilſt the others made up the Tents. *Lepidus* hearing the Tumult, comes out of his Tent armed, and falls on, ſo that one of *Cæſar*'s Eſquires being ſlain, and *Cæſar* himſelf ſhot with an Arrow in the Corſlet, though it went not to the quick, he got by running to the place where he had left his Horſe. As he ran, ſome of thoſe who were upon the Guard in one of the Forts at *Lepidus*'s Camp made a mock of him; whereon he immediately fell upon that Fort, and took it with his Horſe. Thoſe who commanded in the reſt yielded, ſome at the ſame time, others the night following, ſome without being ſummoned, and others after a ſlight aſſault made by the Cavalry to ſerve for a pretence of their Surrender: but ſome there were who bravely ſtood to it before they would ſubmit; for *Lepidus* continually ſent relief to all parts; but at laſt theſe reliefs deſerted him likewiſe; nay, even thoſe who had an inclination

tion for him at first changed their minds. First, all those of *Pompey*'s Party, who had till then stood firm for him, left him by whole Bands, and when *Lepidus* caused others to take Arms to stop them, those thus commanded took their Colours, and carried them to *Cæsar*'s Camp with the others. *Lepidus* threatened, intreated, stopped the Ensigns, and said he would not suffer them to depart, till one of the Ensigns telling him plainly, that he should suffer it either alive or dead, he was so terrified that he let them go. The Horse left him last: but before they parted, they sent to ask *Cæsar* whether he would have them kill *Lepidus*, whom they acknowledged no longer for General; but he would by no means permit it. Thus *Lepidus* seeing himself unexpectedly, and in so short a time deserted by so great an Army, and fallen from so mighty a Fortune, changed Habit, and went to *Cæsar*, whither all the world run as to a Spectacle. *Cæsar* rose up to receive him, and would not suffer him to fall on his Knees before him, but he sent him to *Rome* in the same Habit, reduced to that of a private Man, without any power or quality, save that of High Priest. So that this Man who had so often been General of Armies, had reigned in the Triumvirate, made so many Magistrates, proscribed so many of his Equals in Dignity, returned into the degree of a simple Citizen, and spent the rest of his life submitted to authority, and to the power of many of those he had proscribed.

XXXII. As for *Pompey*, *Cæsar* would not pursue him, nor permit it to be done, whether he thought it not convenient to follow him into *Anthony*'s Dominion, or whether he had a mind to see what *Anthony* would do; for if he did not as he ought, he had just occasion to break with him (for both pretending to Sovereign Power, either had a long time thought that when all other were overcome they should fall upon one another) or else, as *Cæsar* said afterwards, because *Pompey* was none of his Father's Murderers. All the Forces being now joyned together, there were five and forty Legions, five and twenty thousand Horse, thirty seven thousand five hundred light armed Foot, six hundred Ships of War, and a prodigious number of Merchants Ships, all which he sent to their owners. He gave likewise to the Soldiers the reward due to them for Victory, with promise of greater Liberalities for the future, distributed Crowns, and other honourable Recompenses to those he thought worthy, and pardoned the Officers had served under *Pompey*. This great Prosperity was worthy of Envy, and Fortune was not wanting to be jealous of it, and to intermix it with trouble: for the Army, and particularly his own mutinied, the Soldiers demanded their Discharge, and to have the same Recompenses they had received after the Victory at *Philippi*; whereupon, though the service they had done against *Pompey* seemed not in his opinion comparable to the other, yet he promised them to reward them honourably, and equal with those now served under *Anthony* at his return, and yet according to Military Discipline he represented to them with some threats the fault they committed against the Laws of War, and against the Oath they had sworn to. At length, seeing that instead of submitting they grew more insolent, he forbore threatning, lest those who were newly come to his Party should raise some Tumult: only he told them he would discharge them with *Anthony* as soon as he could, assuring them in the mean time he would no more employ them in Civil Wars, since they by God's Grace were quite extinct;

but that he would lead them againſt the Illyrians, and other Barbarous Nations who had broke the Peace with them, from whom they would all return rich. To which they told him plainly, that they would ſerve no longer, unleſs he preſently gave them thoſe Rewards and Honours their paſt labours deſerved. He anſwered them, that as to the Honours there ſhould be no delay in them; for beſides the Crowns he had already diſtributed, he had others to beſtow among every Legion, and to the Centurions and Tribunes Robes of Purple, with the Quality of Senator, every Man in his Country. Whilſt he was offering theſe things and many others, fit a Tribune named *Oſilius* began to cry out that Crowns and Robes were to quiet Children, but that muſt have Soldiers Money and Lands. The multitude by their Acclammations ſignifying they approved this diſcourſe, *Cæſar* in a rage went down from the Tribunal; but for the Tribune thoſe about him praiſed him, and reviled the others for not joyning with him, he told them that he alone was ſufficient to defend ſo juſt a cauſe, yet theſe words coſt him dear, for the next day he diſappeared, and was never more ſeen. After which accident no particular perſon durſt utter a word, but the whole Army went together to demand their Diſcharge, and *Cæſar* for his part did all he could to appeaſe them by careſſing their Officers. At length he diſmiſſed thoſe had ſerved him at *Modena* and *Philippi*, who amounted to twenty thouſand, for indeed they had ſerved longer than the time appointed by the Laws of War; but for fear leſt thoſe ſhould corrupt others, he ſent them preſently out of the Iſland, after having told apart to thoſe had ſerved him at *Modena*, that though he had diſcharged them, he would not fail to ſatisfie what he had promiſed. As ſoon as they were ſhipped, he drew the reſt together to ſpeak to them, where he took them for witneſſes of the perjury of the others, whom he called Runaways, becauſe they had forced a Diſcharge from him, praiſed thoſe preſent for their fidelity, made them hope that ere long they ſhould be diſcharged, and that ſo rich, no one perſon ſhould repent his having continued in the ſervice, and with all this he gave them five hundred Drams a Man.

XXXIII. After this Broil was over, he laid a Tribute of Sixteen hundred Talents upon *Sicily*, and ſettled there Pretors as well as in *Africa*, left an Army divided betwixt thoſe two Provinces, ſent *Anthony*'s Ships to *Tarentum*, and ſending part of the reſt of his Forces before him into *Italy*, followed himſelf with the other. When his return was known in the City, the Senate gave him by Decree all the Honours imaginable, referring to his diſcretion the accepting all, or as many of them as he pleaſed. All the Senators, and likewiſe the People, crowned with Flowers, went a great way to meet him, brought him firſt to the Temple, and then to his Houſe. The next day he recited in full Senate, and before the People, two Orations which he had compoſed, and which he afterwards made publick, wherein he orderly declared what things he had done, and his Conduct in the Government of the Common-wealth, from his firſt undertaking the Charge till now, cauſed the Peace to be publiſhed, the Civil Wars being now quite extinct, remitted what was remaining due upon Impoſitions, diſcharged the Receivers of what they ought, and releaſed the Farmers of what they had not yet payed in of their publick Farms. Of all the Honours the Senate offered him he accepted the nobleſt, that on all thoſe days whereon he had been victorious,

victorious, there ſhould be Anniverſary Feſtivals. That there ſhould be placed before the Tribunal for Orations his Statue in Gold, repreſenting the life, with this Inſcription,

For Peace after tedious War, reſtored both by Sea and Land.

Beſides all this, the People would have taken away *Lepidus*'s High Prieſthood, and obliged him to accept it; but he refuſed it, becauſe the Laws forbid the depriving a man of that Dignity, as long he lived; whereupon the People would have *Lepidus* put to death, as his Enemy, but he would not permit it. Afterwards he ſent to all his Armies ſealed Letters, with Directions they ſhould be all broken up in one day, and the Orders they found in them obſerved, which were concerning the Slaves, who, during the Tumult and Diſorders, had run away from their Maſters, and liſted themſelves in the Army. The Senate had granted them all Freedom by the Peace made with *Pompey*; but they being now taken all in one day, and ſent to the Cities, *Cæſar* return'd them into the hands of their Maſters, or their Maſters Heirs, and if none came to claim them, they were put to death in the ſame Cities from whence they had fled: the like he did in *Sicily*. All Men now thought the Civil Wars quite at an end, and that they owed the obligation of it to *Cæſar*, then twenty eight years of age; wherefore the Cities conſecrated him, and placed him in the number of their Gods. Mean time, not only *Rome*, but likewiſe *Sicily* was infeſted with numbers of Vagabond Raſcals who robbed with ſo much inſolence, that *Cæſar* was forced to give a Commiſſion to *Sabinus* to ſuppreſs them, many he took and hanged; but it required a whole years time to purge all the Countrys clear of them. At this time, as it is ſaid, were eſtabliſhed thoſe Cohorts of Watch and Ward which continue to this day. This timely and ſpeedy remedy got *Cæſar* much reputation, who now began likewiſe to appoint many annual Magiſtrates in things that concerned the Adminiſtration of the Common-wealth, according to the cuſtom of their Anceſtors, he likewiſe cauſed to be burnt all Letters writ in the time of the War, leſt they might kindle new Troubles, and promiſed to reſtore the Government to the People, as ſoon as *Anthony* returned, becauſe he knew well that he had deſigned to lay down his Authority as ſoon as the Civil Wars were ended. Upon theſe promiſes, the Citizens perſwaded of *Cæſar*'s good intentions, made him perpetual Tribune of the People, as if by this new Dignity they would invite him to lay down the former: about which he privately wrote to *Anthony*, giving his Letters in charge to *Bibulus*, who was upon his return to him, to deliver; he ſent likewiſe Governours into the Provinces, and made Preparations for the Illyrian War, whither he deſigned to go in perſon.

As for *Pompey*, having left *Sicily* to ſeek a refuge from *Anthony*, he XXXIV.

he landed on the Promontory of *Lacinia*, where he took out of *Juno*'s Temple all the Offerings of an ineſtimable value. Thence getting to *Mitylene*, he ſojourned ſome time in that City, where his Father in the War with *Cæſar* had left him then a Child with his Mother, and whither after his Defeat he retreated. *Anthony* being at this time in *Media* fighting againſt the Medes and Parthians, *Pompey* reſolved to throw himſelf into his Arms at his return, but hearing he was defeated, and that news paſſing for a truth in the opinion of all the world, he began to fancy new hopes, that either he might ſucceed *Anthony*, if he were dead, or ſhare power with him if he return'd, beſides he was encouraged by *Labienus*'s example, who but a little before had made ſtrange Incurſions and Spoils throughout all *Aſia*. Whilſt theſe things run in his Head, news was brought him that *Anthony* was returned to *Alexandria*; wherefore purſuing the reſolution he had taken, he ſent Deputies to offer him his Friendſhip and Alliance; but this was but a Trick, for indeed they went only to pry into his Affairs. In the mean time he privately diſpatched others towards the Princes of *Thrace* and *Pontus*, reſolved to retire towards the Kingdom of *Pontus* into *Armenia*, if he obtained not what he pretended to from *Anthony*, for he had likewiſe ſent to the *Parthians*, out of hopes that in the War which was not yet terminated, they would be glad to accept him for his General againſt *Anthony*, being a *Roman*, and more, the Son of the great *Pompey*. Beſides he fitted up great ſtore of Shipping, and kept in Exerciſe his Sea-Forces, under preterence of being afraid of *Cæſar*, or of making theſe preparations for *Anthonies* ſervice; But *Anthony*, who ſoon perceived his deſigns, and ſent *Titius* with all the Fleet and Army of *Syria*, to oppoſe him with open Force, if he would make War, or to conduct him Honourably, if he had any intention to come to him as a Friend. Now *Pompey's* Deputies ſpoke to *Anthony* in this manner.

The Oration of *Pompey's* Deputies to *Anthony*.

THough if Pompey *had deſigned to continue the War, he might have gone into* Spain, *a Province where he is beloved for his Fathers ſake, of which he had good Teſtimony in his Youth, and who ſtill offered him their Aſſiſtance. Yet becauſe he had rather live in Peace with you; or if there be neceſſity to make War, fight under your Colours, he has ſent us hither to offer you his Friendſhip and Alliance. 'Tis not a deſire of a days ſtanding, you know that when he was Maſter of* Sicily, *and made Inroads into* Italy, *when he ſent your Mother to you, he made you the ſame offers; And certainly had you accepted them, neither had* Pompey *been driven out of* Sicily. *For you had not aſſiſted* Cæſar *with your Fleet, nor you had not come off with ſuch diſadvantage againſt the* Parthians, *becauſe* Cæſar *ſent you not thoſe Forces he promiſed you; Nay, you might have reduced* Italy *to your Obedience. However, though you refuſed them in a time when they might have been uſeful to you, he begs you yet to have a care leſt* Cæſar *who has ſo often deceived you, do not do it at laſt beyond repair. Remember but how contrary to a ſolemn League, he made War*

upon

upon Pompey, *who was likewiſe his Ally, though he had not the ſame pretence. How he has deprived* Lepidus *of his part of the Empire, without in the leaſt making you partaker of his Victories. You are now the only obſtacle ſtands in his way to that Monarchy to which he has ſo long aſpired; and already, if* Pompey *had not ſtood between, you had been engaged one againſt the other. 'Tis more your concern than any mans to look into theſe things, yet* Pompey *out of his love to you would not refrain his advice. Beſides knowing you good and generous he has more eſteem for your friendſhip than for all could be promiſed him by a man he knows for a cheat and a deceiver. He thinks it not ſtrange you lent your Ships to* Cæſar, *becauſe he knows you were urged to it by the want you ſtood in need of Forces for the Parthian War, but he would willingly have you remember how much the not ſending that Army did you prejudice. In a word,* Pompey *yields himſelf up to you with that Fleet he has left, and a faithful Army never deſerted him in diſtreſs. If you have peace, it will be no ſmall Glory for you to have protected the Son of the great* Pompey; *and if you engage in that War which in all likelyhood you diſpoſe your ſelf to, the Forces he delivers up to you will not be uſeleſs.*

The Deputies having done ſpeaking, *Anthony* let them underſtand the Orders he had given to *Titius*, and for a full anſwer told them, that if *Pompey* made theſe Offers ſincerely, he would come along with *Titius*. In the mean time, *Pompey*'s Envoys to the Parthians were taken by *Anthony*'s Captains, and brought to *Alexandria*, where having confeſſed all, *Anthony* ſent for the Deputies had ſpoke to him on *Pompey*'s behalf, and ſhewed them whom he had arreſted. They were extremely ſurpriſed; yet they beſought him to pardon a young Man reduced to the laſt extremities, and who out of a fear of being refuſed, had been forced to ſeek a Retreat among Nations always Enemies to the Roman Name; for had he been well aſſured of *Anthony*'s mind, there had been no need to have had recourſe to others, or to uſe other arts and ſolicitations, *Anthony* believed them, being by nature free from Malice, and of a clear and magnanimous temper.

XXXV. In the mean time, *Furnius*, *Anthony*'s Lieutenant in *Aſia*, made at firſt no oppoſition againſt *Pompey*, who was come over thither in a peaceable manner, whether he were not ſtrong enough to hinder him, or that he knew not *Anthony*'s mind; but when he ſaw he exerciſed his Soldiers, he levyed what Force he could himſelf in that Province, and ſent to *Ænobarbus*, who was not far off with an Army, and to *Amyntas* to come to his aſſiſtance. They being preſently drawn together, *Pompey* began to complain they treated him like an Enemy, whilſt he was waiting what anſwer *Anthony* gave his Deputies, yet all this while he was plotting to make *Ænobarbus* his Priſoner, whom one of his Familiars called *Curius*, was to deliver up to him, hoping he might ſtand him in good ſtead, if an Exchange of Priſoners ſhould happen; but the Treaſon being diſcovered, and *Curius* convicted, he was executed by ſentence of the Council of War, and *Pompey* put to death *Theodorus*, one of his Freed Men, who alone he made privy to this Plot, ſuſpecting he had diſcovered

diſcovered it. This deſign not ſucceeding, he loſt all hopes of deceiving *Furnius*, but he took by treaſon *Lampſacus*, where *C. Cæſar* had planted a Colony of Italians, whom by force of Money he got to engage in his Party; ſo that ſeeing himſelf two hundred Horſe, and three Legions ſtrong, he went and aſſaulted *Cyzica* by Sea and Land, but was both ways repulſed by ſome of *Anthony*'s Forces, who had the Guard of the Gladiators, kept there for the Peoples Divertiſement. He therefore returned to the Port of the *Achæans*, to make Proviſion of Corn, whither *Furnius* following, without offering to fight him, encamped always as near him as he could with ſtore of Horſe, and thus hindred him from foraging the Country, or beſieging Towns. *Pompey*, who had not Horſe enough to take the Fields, went and aſſaulted his Camp in Front with one part of his Forces, againſt whom *Furnius* coming to the Charge, the others whohad taken a great compaſs not to be diſcovered, fell in behind, forced the Camp, and put them all to the Rout. All *Furnius*'s Men fled through the Plains of *Scamandria*, and not being able to run very faſt, becauſe the ground was moiſtned with the Rain, there was made a great Slaughter. Thoſe who ſaved themſelves eſcaped into places of ſecurity, being too weak to ſtand *Pompey*, till ſuch time as new Recruits were come from *Myſia*, *Propontis*, and other places. Mean while, the Country People ruined with Taxes, took Arms, and joyned with *Pompey*, now grown famous by the Victory, gained at the Port of the Achæans. But ſtill wanting Horſe, he often came by the worſt in going to gather in Corn and Forrage. Wherefore upon intelligence that a Body of Italian Horſe were coming to *Anthony*, which *Octavia*, who wintered at *Athens*, ſent him, he diſpatched away ſome of his Agents with Money to corrupt them; but the Governour of *Macedon* taking theſe Suborners, diſtributed their Money to the Horſemen: yet *Pompey* took *Nicea* and *Nicomedia*, where he got ſtore of Wine, beſides many other happy ſucceſſes he had beyond his own hopes: but *Furnius* always encamping at ſome diſtance from him. About the beginning of Spring there came to him from *Sicily* ſeventy Ships, the Remainder of the Fleet *Anthony* had lent to *Cæſar* againſt *Pompey*; for the Sicilian War being ended, *Cæſar* returned them. At the ſame time *Titius* arrived out of *Syria* with ſixſcore other Ships, and a great Army, and all together landed at *Proconeſus*. Thereupon *Pompey* ſomewhat daunted, burnt his Ships, and armed his Rowers and Seamen, whom he thought would do him better ſervice on ſhore. But *Caſſius* of *Parma*, *Naſidius*, *Saturninus*, *Thermus*, *Antiſtius*, and all the moſt conſiderable of *Pompey*'s Friends, and even *Fannius* himſelf, for whom he had the greateſt value, and *Libo* his Father-in-law, ſeeing that after the coming of *Titius*, to whom *Anthony* had given Commiſſion either to make War or Peace, he was ſtill obſtinate to continue the War againſt one more powerful than himſelf, left him, and making their own compoſition ſubmitted to *Anthony*: being deſerted by his Friends, he advanced through the mid-land of *Bithynia*, with deſign, as 'tis ſaid, to get into *Armenia*: *Furnius*, *Titius*, and *Amyntas* having notice that to this intent he had quitted his Camp by night, followed him, and made ſuch haſte, that before day was ſhut in, they overtook him near a certain Eminence, above which they encamped ſeparately without entrenching, becauſe it grew late, and their Men were over tired. *Pompey* ſeeing them in this poſture, drew off three thouſand Men, who went and charged them in the dark night ſo briskly, that they

flew

ſlew a great number, ſome in Bed, and others riſing, and the reſt for the moſt part naked, ſhamefully took their flight: ſo that if *Pompey* had fallen on with all his Forces, or had but given them chaſe, he might have completed his Victory, but his adverſe fortune put it out of his thoughts, and he reaped no more fruit of this Victory, ſave the continuing his March into the Uplands.

The Enemies being rallied, followed him cloſe at the Heels, and very ſorely tormented him, that being reduced to want of Proviſions, he deſired a Conference with *Furnius*, Friend to the great *Pompey*, and beſides that, the moſt conſiderable of all the other Commanders, and the honeſteſt Man. Being in order thereunto come to the Bank of a River that run between them, *Pompey* told them, that having ſent Deputies to *Anthony*, and having in the mean time no Proviſions, nor no perſon that would furniſh him with any, he had been forced to do what he had done. XXXVI.

The ORATION of *POMPEY* to *FURNIUS*.

But for your part, added he, *if it be by* Anthony's *Orders you make War upon me, he is ill adviſed, not foreſeeing a conſiderable War hanging over his Head; but if it be of your own motion, I beſeech you to expect the return of my Deputies, or to carry me to* Anthony, *after having paſt your word for my ſecurity: for* Furnius, *'tis you only I confide in, and put my ſelf into your hands, provided you promiſe me upon your Honour to deliver me in ſafety to* Anthony.

This he ſaid as confident of *Anthony*'s good nature, and fearing only ſome misfortune might happen to him in the Journey, *Furnius* made anſwer:

The

The ANSWER *of* FURNIUS *to* POMPEY.

"IF you had any intention to yield your ſelf to *Anthony*, you ought "in perſon to have gone to him at firſt, or have ſtaid his An- "ſwer at *Mitylene*; but you deſigned War, and have done all you "could; for why ſhould you deny things we certainly know? Yet if "you now repent, we are three that command here for *Anthony*, do "not create any jealouſie among us, but deliver your ſelf up to *Titius*, "who only has Commiſſion concerning you: you may require of him "the ſame ſecurity you do of me; for his Orders are, if you obſtinately "hold out, to kill you; but if you ſubmit, to ſend you honourably to "*Anthony*.

Pompey was angry at *Titius*, as an ungrateful Man, to undertake this War againſt him whom he had ſo kindly treated when he was his Priſoner; beſides, he thought it diſhonourable for *Pompey* to yield himſelf into the hands of *Titius*, a man of mean extract, and whom he was jealous of, either diſtruſting his Principles, or conſcious of ſome injury he had done him before the laſt kindneſs; wherefore he offered himſelf once more to *Furnius*, and begged him to receive him; and when that could not be obtained, he deſired that at leaſt he might yield himſelf into *Amyntas*'s Hands. But *Furnius* telling him that *Amyntas* would not do that which would prove injurious to him who had *Anthony*'s Commiſſion for this purpoſe, the Conference ended. *Anthony*'s Lieutenants believed that *Pompey* would next morning for very want be forced to yield himſelf to *Titius*; but as ſoon as it was night he cauſed Fires to be kindled, and gave orders to the Trumpets to ſound at every Watch of the Night, according to cuſtom, and he without any noiſe went out of his Camp with the Flower of his Forces, not telling any one of them his deſign, which was to return to the Sea, and ſet fire on *Titius*'s Fleet, and poſſibly he might have done it, if *Scaurus*, who deſerted him, and run to the Enemy had not given him notice of his departure, and the way he had taken, without being able to ſay more. *Amyntas* preſently followed him with fifteen hundred Horſe, for whom, *Pompey*'s being all Foot, it was no hard matter to overtake. As ſoon as he appeared, all *Pompey*'s Men forſook him, ſome privily, others openly; ſo that almoſt deſperate, and fearing his own Domeſticks, he yielded himſelf to *Amyntas* without conditions, who had refuſed the Compoſition offered by *Titius*. Thus was the laſt Son of the great *Pompey* taken. He had loſt his Father when he was a Child, and when he grew ſomewhat elder, his Brother, after whoſe death he lay concealed a long time, living

living like a Bandito in *Spain*, till ſuch time as a multitude of looſe People underſtanding he was *Pompey*'s Son, flocked to him, and then he began to over-run and plunder the Country. After the death of *C. Cæſar* having got a good Army, Ships and Money, he made a War, and became Maſter of ſome Iſlands, after which he was created Admiral of the Weſtern Sea, and then ſorely annoyed *Italy*, almoſt famiſhing his Enemies, and forcing them to Peace on his own Conditions: but what is moſt conſiderable, in that dreadful time of Proſcriptions at *Rome*, he was the only Refuge of the Miſerable, and ſaved many perſons of Quality, who were obliged to him for their return to their Country: but as if Fortune had deprived him of Judgment, he never would give the onſet upon any Enemy, but loſt many fair opportunities, content only to defend himſelf. Such was the *Pompey* now taken. *Titius* received an Oath from his Army in *Anthony*'s name, and ſent him to *Miletum*, where at Forty years of age he put him to death, either becauſe the old injury had more power over him than Gratitude for a later kindneſs, or becauſe he had *Anthony*'s Orders for it. Though ſome ſay *Anthony* gave no ſuch Order, but it was done by *Plancus* Governour of *Syria*, who in Affairs of great Importance was wont to ſet *Anthony*'s Hand and Seal. Others believe that *Plancus* indeed might write it, but by private Orders from *Anthony*, who would not do it himſelf, becauſe of the name of *Pompey*; or for fear to diſpleaſe *Cleopatra*, who eſteemed *Pompey* for his Father's ſake: others ſay again *Plancus* did it of his own accord, fearing *Pompey* might raiſe ſome new difference between *Cæſar* and *Anthony*, or that *Cleopatra* might fall in love with him. Let it be how it will, after his death *Anthony* took another Expedition into *Armenia*; and *Cæſar* went to make War againſt the Illyrians, who waſted the Coaſts of *Italy*, ſome of whom were never ſubject to the Roman Empire, others caſt off their Yoak in the time of the Civil Wars. But becauſe the Illyrian Affairs are not ſo well known to me as to compoſe thereof a perfect Volume; and that likewiſe I cannot ſpeak of them more properly, than when writing of the time that Province was abſolutely reduced under the Roman Power; I have deſigned to refer it till I write what paſſed under *Auguſtus*, and now only make a Summary to be annexed to the Hiſtory of *Macedon*, thoſe Provinces being contiguous.

FINIS.

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